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THE DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY

VOL. III

A HISTORY OF
EXPLORATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE FROM
THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH TO THE
EARLY YEARS OF THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY (c. A.D. 1260–1420)

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PREFACE

THE present volume concludes that History of Mediaeval Exploration and Geographical Science ('the Expansion of Europe in the Middle Ages') which I began in 1895, and of which the first two parts appeared in 1897 and 1901. In the Introductory Chapter I have tried to summarize all those matters which I believe worthy of special attention in this part of the subject (A.D. 1260–1420); here I will only express the hope that my work on the Later Middle Ages, as an attempt to open up comparatively fresh fields of historical and geographical inquiry, may be not less kindly judged by those who have welcomed the former volumes on the Early and Central Mediaeval Periods. I am sure, at any rate, that no chapters of the *Dawn of Modern Geography* can pretend to touch matters of such interest and importance as those which attempt to deal with the Overland (mainly Asiatic), and the Oversea (mainly Atlantic), developments of Latin Christendom during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For these developments are of such moment in the history of civilization that they give a new force to the appeal of Paul Verlaine—

> 'C'est vers le Moyen Age énorme et délicat,
> Qu'il faudrait que mon cœur en panne naviguât.'

My grateful thanks are especially due to Mrs. Raymond Beazley, Miss G. Simpson, Prof. C. W. C. Oman, Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher; also to Prof. W. R. Morfill, Major Molesworth Sykes, Señor F. de Arteaga, M. Lesouëf, Mr. Henry Vignaud, Mr. Horatio F. Brown,

Mr. Walter Ashburner, Mr. Henry Kirke, and Mr. J. D. Beazley. Among librarians and keepers of manuscripts, archives, &c., who have most materially aided my researches, I must not forget to mention Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Madan, and Mr. Cowley of the Bodleian, Oxford, Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum, Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, London, M. de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Il Commendatore Biagi of the Laurentian Library, Florence, and in general the officials of the National and Riccardian Libraries in Florence, of the National Library in Turin, of the Library of St. Mark in Venice, of the Basle and Dijon Libraries, and of the Archives in Venice and Genoa.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following are the most important of the abbreviations used in this volume:

(i) in Chapter II, Part I [pp. 15–160].

G. for the primitive French text of Marco Polo, published by the Paris Geographical Society, 1824 [see p. 25, notes 1 and 4; p. 554].

P. for Pauthier's French text (and edition) of Polo [see p. 24, note 1; p. 554].

Y.-C. for Cordier's re-issue of Yule's English edition of Polo [see p. 20, note 1; p. 21, note 1; p. 554; p. 556, last line but one].

(ii) in Chapter II, Part II [pp. 161–309].

W. for Wadding's *Annales Minorum* [see p. 162, note 2; p. 554].

K. for Kunstmann's edition of Monte Corvino's Indian letter [see p. 164, note 1].

Y. for Yule's *Cathay* [see p. 166, note 3; p. 251, notes 1, 2; p. 288, note 1; p. 554].

R. for Raynaldus' *Annales Ecclesiastici* [see p. 187, note 1].

Per. Quat. for Laurent's *Peregrinatores Quatuor* [see p. 190, note 3; p. 554].

O. L. for the *Société de l'Orient Latin* [see p. 190, note 3; p. 191, note 2; p. 203, note 1].

J. A. for *Journal Asiatique* [see p. 207, notes 3, 4; p. 554].

Q.-E. for Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* [see p. 210, note 3; p. 218, note 4; p. 554].

R., in pp. 222–35, for the Paris Geog. Soc.'s *Recueil* edition of Jordanus [see p. 222, note 4; p. 554].

C. for Cordier's edition of (French) Odoric [see p. 251, notes 1, 2; p. 554].

F. for Marignolli text in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* [see p. 288, note 1; p. 554].

(iii) in Chapter II, Part III [pp. 309–81].

B. for Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos* [see p. 309, note 5; p. 555].

K. for Kunstmann's study of M. Sanuto, text of his *Letters*, etc. [see p. 309, note 5].

W. for Wadding's *Annales*, as above.

P. for Pagnini's edition of Pegolotti [see p. 324, note 1; p. 555].

Sa. for Sancha's edition of Clavijo [see p. 332, note 6; p. 555].

H. S. for Hakluyt Society's Clavijo [see p. 332, note 6; p. 555].

L. for Langmantel's edition of Schiltberger [see p. 357, note 1; p. 555].

D., H., N., for Donaueschingen, Heidelberg, and Nürnberg MSS. of Schiltberger [see p. 360, note 1; p. 362, note 3; p. 375, note 9; p. 550].

(iv) in Chapter III [pp. 382-409].

Per. Quat. for *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, as above [see p. 383, note 2; p. 555].

B. for Bongars, as above [see p. 391, note 5; p. 555].

Ba. for Basnage's edition of Boldensel [see p. 393, note 2; p. 398, note 2; p. 555].

D. for Deycks' edition of Ludolf of 'Suchem' [see p. 398, note 7; p. 555].

Kh. for Madame de Khitrovo's texts of Russian pilgrim-travellers [see p. 405, note 1].

(v) in Chapter IV (pp. 410-60].

Av. for M. d'Avezac [see p. 411, note 1].

C. for the *Conosçimiento* [see p. 421, note 1].

Cat. for the Catalan Atlas [see p. 421, note 1].

L. for the Laurentian Portolano [see p. 421, note 1].

M. for Major's *Henry the Navigator* [see p. 423, note 3].

Ci. for Ciampi's edition of the Narrative of the 1341 Canarian expedition [see p. 424, note 3].

B. for Bellefond's *Relation* [see p. 430, note 4].

Mar. for texts and remarks in Margry's *Navigations françaises* and *Conquête des Canaries* [see p. 431, note 1; p. 445, note 1].

Eg. for Egerton MS. 2709 [see p. 445, note 1],

Maj. for text and remarks in Major's *Conquest of the Canaries* [see p. 445, note 1].

Z. for Zeno Narrative [see p. 457, note 3].

(vi) in Chapter V [pp. 461-96].

H. for Heyd's *Commerce du Levant* [see p. 463, note 1].

T.-T. and T.-T iv. for Tafel and Thomas' edition of Venetian Charters—*Urkunden . . . der Rep. Venedig* [see p. 464, note 1].

Marin for Marin's *Storia del Commercio dei Veneziani* [see p. 466, note 2].

Atti Lig. for *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* [see p. 475, note 2].

(vii) in Chapter VI [pp. 500-29].

P. for Peschel's *Geschichte der Erdkunde* [see p. 500, note 3].

O. M. for Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius* [see p. 501, note 3].

Sammlung for T. Fischer's *Sammlung mittelalt. Welt- und See-Karten* [see p. 517, note 1].

(viii) in Chapter VII and Appendix [pp. 530-41; 566].

D.-S. for Defrémery and Sanguinetti's text and (French) version of Ibn Batuta [see p. 535, note 3].

On p. 280, note 2, R. is for the Paris Geog. Soc.'s *Recueil* edition of Rubruquis.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 23, note 3, read *Esposti*, not *Esporti*; note 4, read *fol. 26, v.*, not *p. 81.*

P. 27, line 27, read *d'Abano's*, not *d'Albano's.*

P. 39, last line, read *Janibeg*, not *Janibek.*

P. 56, line 20, and elsewhere, wherever misprint occurs, read *Abbasid*, not *Abbasside.*

P. 60, note 4, delete words *otherwise Bafk.*

P. 62, line 21; P. 259, l. 19, delete words *Dash-i.*

P. 62, line 22, note that Major Molesworth Sykes entirely disputes any visit of the Polos to Tabas.

P. 98, note 2, after *Cora* add *Jordanus.*

P. 166, note 10, line 4, read *Al-Katif*, not *Al-Khatif.*

P. 175, line 25, read *1321*, not *1322.*

P. 183, line 26, delete note-number *6* after *Corvino.*

P. 210, note 3, read *Nationale*, not *National.*

P. 233, note 1, line 3; P. 257, note 3, end, read *part iii*, not *part ii.*

P. 285, line 25, read *Szechuan*, not *Szechuen.*

P. 333, note, line 8, add date of Sreznevski's Clavijo, viz. *1881.*

P. 354, note 1, end, add (*Miletus*) after '*Palatia.*'

P. 380, line 15, add *layman* after *Catholic.*

P. 403, note 3, add that Sigoli's ref. to Prester John is also on pp. 202–3 of Carlo Gargiolli's Florence edition of 1862 (*Viaggi . . . di . . . Frescobaldi*, &c.).

P. 421, note 1, line 10, read *p. 100*, not *p. 50*.

P. 428, line 7, read *Cerda*, not *Corda*.

P. 436, note 1, line 1, read [*Schiffarten*] after *Schiffarthen*.

P. 440, note 4, end, delete last sentence, ref. to *Appendix*.

P. 441, note 1, end, delete last clause, ref. to *Appendix*.

P. 443, line 10, read *Lanzarote*, not *Lancarote*.

P. 444, last line, read *Béthencourt*, not *Béhtencourt*.

P. 466, line 15, read *Alexius*, not *Alexis*.

P. 478, line 20, read *century*; not *century*,

P. 496, line 16, note that *Alexander Borgia* does not imply a Christian name of 'Alexander,' Pope Alexander VI being *Rodrigo* Borgia.

P. 500, line 20, read '*Al Kharizmi*' . . . '*Al Ferghani*'.

P. 500, note 2, add *and p. 535, note 2, of this volume*.

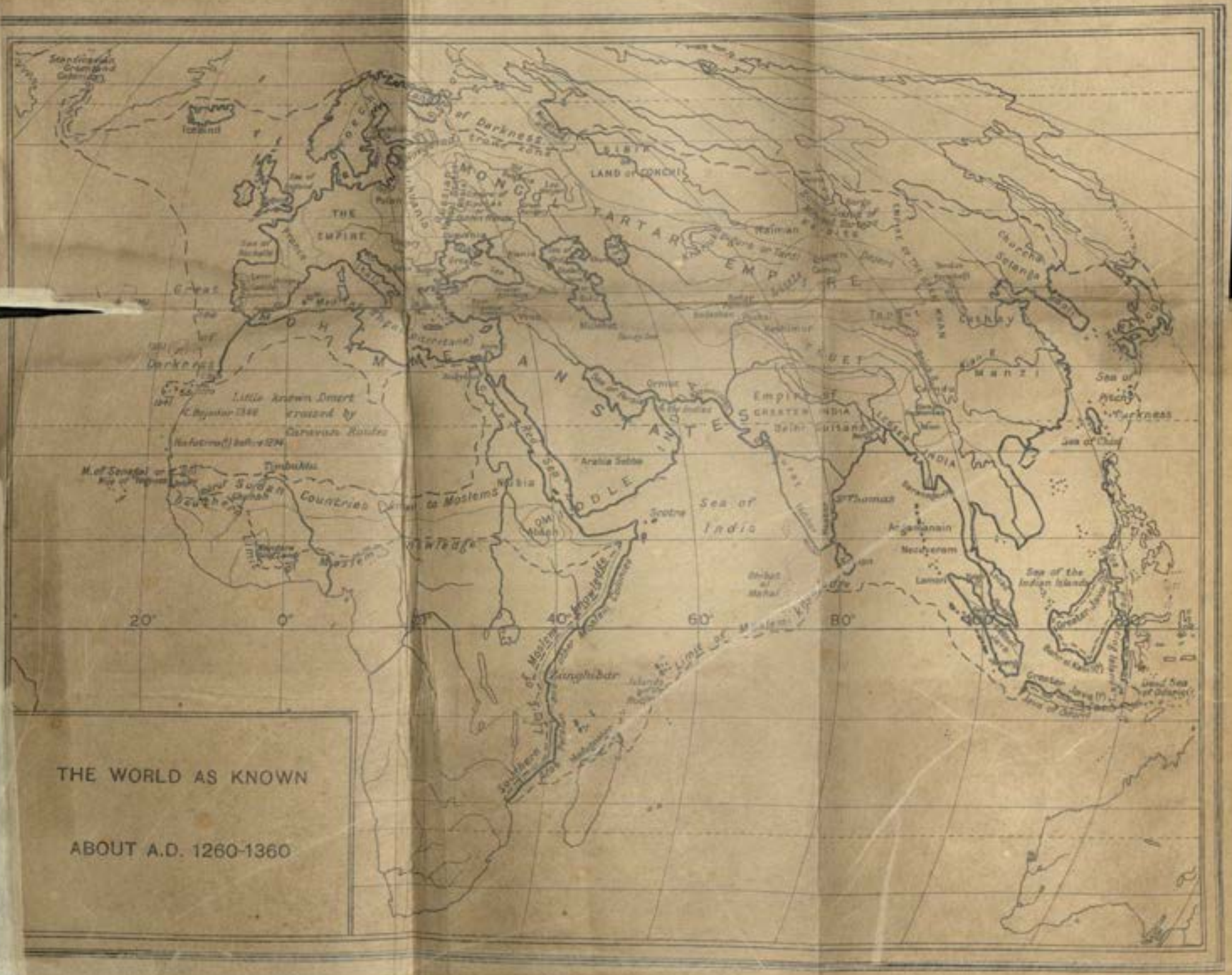
P. 511, note 3, end, add that Raymond Lull, *Ars Magna*, part xi, § 172, *De quaestionibus navigationis* (pp. 676–7 of 1594 edition), also implies that sailors had already begun to keep a sort of dead reckoning.

P. 518, note 2, lines 1, 2, read *State Archives at Florence*.

P. 544, line 30, add two other MSS. of Rubruquis, whose present existence is perhaps doubtful:—(1) Rome, Vatican, 292, 933; (2) Phillipps Library, Cheltenham [no further indication: see the Paris *Recueil* edition of Rubruquis, 1839, pp. 202, 210–11].

P. 549, last line, add another MS. of 'Mandeville' examined, viz. *(20) London, British Museum, Harleian 3589, fols. 74, r.–143, v., of fourteenth cent.

P. 550, line 6, add another MS. of Clavijo:—Madrid, National Library, 9218 (152 fols.).



THE WORLD AS KNOWN

ABOUT A.D. 1260-1360

DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY

PART III, 1260–1420

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the first two parts of this inquiry we have attempted to follow the course of one great stream of human history, the stream of geographical progress, of man's earth-knowledge, from the conversion of the Roman Empire to the close of the Crusading period, from Constantine to St. Louis, from the Bordeaux Pilgrim to William of Rubruquis (A. D. 300–1260). In the present and final section we are concerned with the later Middle Age. And for our present purpose, this later Middle Age may be defined as reaching from about A. D. 1260 to about 1420, from the practical termination of the Crusades to the Council of Constance, from the first true English Parliament[1] to the Battle of Agincourt, from the earlier travels of the Elder Polos to the commencement of the Portuguese explorations led by Henry the Navigator.

Our conquest of the world we live in has a long history; in that history there are many important epochs, eras in which a vital advance was made, wherein the whole course of events was modified; but among such epochs there are few of greater importance, of deeper suggestiveness, and of more permanent effect than the century and a half in which we gradually embark upon the oceanic stage of our development. For, in relation to man's knowledge of the earth and his exploration of the same, it is now that we reach the end of the overland philosophy of European expansion, it is now that we turn to another element to give us that final triumph which seems denied on *terra firma*. The Geographical history

[1] Simon de Montfort's Assembly of 1265.

of the later mediaeval time is in many ways like its Constitutional, Literary, or Religious history—a record of brilliant achievement and still more brilliant hope, chequered by disillusion and disaster. Just as the noble ideals and promising experiments of political reformers, of Classical or Christian idealists, experience during these years the extremest alternations of confidence and despair; just as the 'perfect' Parliament of 1295 leads on to the New Monarchy; just as the struggles which cement the states of Modern Europe take in their later phases a peculiarly repulsive character, and the creative work of a Philip Augustus or a St. Louis has to be completed in such a gloomy and sordid struggle as that of the Hundred Years' War;—so in the annals of European expansion we find the work of earlier time is only perfected in suffering. The pioneers of Christendom cannot be roused to the effective exploration of ocean highways, of sea-routes to Cathay and the Indies, save by the ruin or ruinous decay of their influence upon the older land-routes of commerce; by the disappearance of the earlier, civilized, Islam; by the destruction of well-nigh all the Levantine outposts of Latin Christendom; by the paralysis of Byzantine power; by the break-up of the Mongol empire; by the conversion of the Western Tartars to Islam; and by the consequent revival, for an indefinite future, of the chief enemy of Catholic Civilization [1].

But before this final disenchantment has taken place, before the traders, missionaries, and statesmen of the 'Roman' World are confronted with the wreck of their most cherished castle of fancy, we have to notice an amazing series of efforts for the development of a genuine world-intercourse from Atlantic to Pacific, across the length or longitude of the Old World, mainly conducted by overland paths.

By the side of this we propose to consider the contemporary enterprises, spasmodic and transitory as they often are, in

[1] Only by the revival of the Russian nation did the Christian world at the close of the Middle Ages, and before the complete exploration of the Cape route, make any decided permanent encroachment upon Asia overland.

the way of maritime exploration. These enterprises, it is true, do not assume decisive importance in World-History till after the collapse of the wider overland commerce, when Prince Henry of Portugal imparts permanence, continuity, and comparative rapidity to the hitherto feeble cause of Atlantic discovery. But, at all events, they reveal, for the first time in the long life of mankind, some of the mysteries of the Sea of Darkness: they lift the veil from the Azores, the Canaries, and the Madeira group; they begin the search for an African coast water-way to the treasure-houses of Asia. The finding of that water-way is a decisive event in the European conquest of the outer world; the discovery of the Atlantic Islands contributes almost as much as the Portuguese advance along the Cape route towards the American revelation; here, as elsewhere, the earliest stages of a great movement are by no means the least suggestive, the least important, or the least deserving of study.

Once more, we hope to show how in scientific advance (as in oceanic exploration) the later Middle Ages frequently offer a noteworthy contrast to the decline and decay so often associated with their name; how in the midst of so much *débris* of a dying world we have here the first-fruits of a new and living one; and how the coming victories of our race, revealing the full extent and character of the world-surface, and surpassing in one hundred years the work of the preceding thousand, are prepared for by the invention of nautical instruments, and the execution of the first true maps.

The comparative importance of overland routes, of continental travel and traffic, has rarely been so great as in the earlier Middle Age, when the peoples of the future, the Christian races of Europe, were almost wholly deprived of the free use of the sea, by their own superstition, ignorance, and barbarism, by the growth of Islam, and by the heathen pirates, rovers, and conquerors of the North. In the Central Mediaeval time, Christendom, though full of expansive energy,

relies mainly on land routes for its penetration of the outer world. While, even in the post-crusading period, the maritime side of European activity is far from having reached that preponderance which it attains with the discoveries of Bartholomew Diaz, of Christopher Columbus, of Vasco da Gama, and of Ferdinand Magellan—discoveries which bring with them the Modern World in geography and international history, just as the labours of Erasmus, of Luther, and of Loyola bring with them the Modern World in culture and religion. From the close of the fifteenth century to the age of railways, the overland intercourse of mankind is decisively subordinate to that oversea.

In the time now before us—the later thirteenth century, the fourteenth, the earliest fifteenth—we are, it is true, approaching modern conditions, but we have not yet reached them. We are still considering, for the most part, Continental developments of our civilization; we have not wholly left the age of caravan tracking, river navigation, and coast sailing; we are still far from the freedom and rapidity of movement which even the sixteenth century is able to realize. We are still in a time when the overland journey from the Crimea to Peking can be made with greater safety and in far less time than the sea voyage from the Persian Gulf to the Fokien ports and the mouth of the Yangtse Kiang. Yet even in the lifetime of Marco Polo, Genoese seamen venture into the Atlantic and push far along the West African coast in search of the Indies; the purely oceanic Azores are partially discovered—the Madeira group is sighted—the Canaries are repeatedly visited—by contemporaries of Petrarch and Boccaccio; the first use of the magnet by Italian seamen, the first accurate coast-charts of Italian pilots and captains, date at least from the closing decades of the thirteenth century and the opening decades of the fourteenth.

The Crusading Movement, the greatest collective enterprise of Latin Christendom, ends in military failure; but long before the fall of the Frankish States in the Levant, the non-military effects of the Crusades are proving themselves of

higher value than the political conquests originally planned. And among these effects none is of higher value than the widening of our commerce and geographical outlook consequent upon the sacred wars. From the time of the Latin settlements in Syria, the expansion of Europe, the Christian discovery of *terra incognita*, are much more closely linked with the advance of trade than ever before; in the same way, the maintenance of the Crusading States in the East Mediterranean basin more and more devolves upon the maritime and commercial powers:—with the rise of the Mongol Dominion in Asia, the trade, the faith, and the mental outlook of our ancestors seem alike destined to a momentous extension.

Nor is it merely an appearance, a might-have-been. The history of the formal intercourse between the Mongol world and Western Christendom, initiated by Innocent IV and John de Plano Carpini, covers a period of more than 120 years (A. D. 1245–1368); and in this time, Tartar Eur-Asia—from the Black Sea and the Polish frontiers to the Pacific and the edge of the Siberian forest belt—is traversed in various directions by European preachers, traders, diplomatists, soldiers, and adventurers,—by men of Italy, France, Spain, Hungary, and Germany. Nor is it merely traversed. A very creditable and fairly exact knowledge of High Asia and of the Far East is obtained and embodied in written descriptions, in oral tradition, and in maps: the *Books* of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric (of 1298 and 1330); the *Merchants' Handbook* of Pegolotti (of c. 1340), and the *Catalan Atlas* (of 1375) are but the chief of many works in which a Roman Christian of the fourteenth century could find a reliable body of information and a fairly truthful delineation of great part of China and Indo-China, of India proper, of the Indian Archipelago, and of Upper Asia.

In this premature, but ever-memorable development of continental intercourse, the earliest figures are those of diplomatists, such as Carpini and Rubruquis; the greatest figures are those of merchants such as the Polos; in its later history we find European progress in Asia associated more

and more intimately with trade-enterprise; it is evident throughout, to any one who looks below the surface, that commercial interests are the underlying and essential fact. But, on the surface, missionary activity often arrests our attention more sharply with its romantic daring, its brilliant triumphs won at so vast a distance from home, its pathetic and fascinating literary memorials. The experiment of winning Asia by Mongol alliance, of establishing regular communication,—ecclesiastical, mercantile, and diplomatic—between Western Europe and the Heathen Lands beyond the Islamic World was tried,—and failed; but none the less it illuminated a page too often soiled by baseness and smeared by dullness; and there are few brighter chapters in later Mediaeval history than those which tell of the journeys, schemes, successes, and failures of the Christian Pioneers in Asia. For Monte Corvino and Odoric in China; Jordanus in India; Pascal in Central Asia; the Polos alike in Turkestan, in Mongolia, in Cathay, in the Archipelago, in the Deccan, and in Persia; the Franciscans martyred near Bombay, near Lake Balkhash, or near Astrakhan; the merchants who follow out the commercial routes from Trebizond, the Don estuary, or the Gulf of Scanderoon, to the Pacific; the statesmen who weave a network of Roman bishoprics over the Orient, and dispatch so many Legations[1] to the Court of the Grand Khan —all do something to redeem from reproach a time which, however often misconceived and depreciated, yields in essential import to no part of the Middle Ages.

In reality, while the fourteenth century draws on, the mediaeval stage of Human Development is beginning to pass away,—as the Papacy sinks into that Slough of Despond which we associate with the 'Babylonish Captivity' at Avignon, the Great Schism, and the fruitless efforts at reform by Oecumenical Councils; but as the mediaeval sun declines, it rests upon a splendid failure, and the beginnings of a more splendid triumph. The arms, the commerce, the religion of

[1] Such as those of 1245, 1253, 1268, 1307, 1312, 1338.

the Catholic nations, after an heroic struggle, are defeated in their frontal attacks upon the East; but in this struggle, Europeans acquire much of the knowledge essential to ultimate success; and, by the longer sea routes, they accomplish the outflanking and surmounting of every obstacle.

Italian, Catalan, Castillian, French, and Portuguese seamen share in varying degrees the credit of the first advances in this Oceanic field of action. And as in land travel, so in maritime; the Republics of Italy, both in theory and practice, are the leaders and teachers of the Christian states. Even as the Florentine Dante is the first great name in the new literatures of the West, so the Genoese Dorias and Vivaldi and Malocelli are the first to resume the old Phoenician and Norse enterprise in the Atlantic. And even as commercial ambitions are the most fruitful incentive to the land-exploration of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so the earliest European venture in search of a water-way to the Indies [1] is inspired by the unfulfilled desire to 'bring back useful things for trade.' The same practical purpose which takes the Polos from Venice to the Court of Kublai Khan encourages Mediterranean seamen from the other side of Italy to challenge the timidity, inaction, and superstition of so many generations.

The first age of Atlantic exploration (from about 1270 to 1340) is purely Italian; the second (from the middle of the fourteenth century) is marked by the gradual co-operation of other Europeans, especially from the coasts of Spain and France. Mariners from Catalan harbours, and especially from the Balearics, like the Genoese of fifty years before, seek for mercantile gain beyond the furthest known; they set out in 1346 to find the alleged River of Gold on the African coast, beyond Cape Bojador [2]; with the like object, the conquest of new markets, French adventurers attack the Canary Islands [3] in

[1] That of 1291 from Genoa.

[2] This expedition is apparently the first from Latin Christendom to round that dreaded promontory, so long the limit of the known world to the south of Morocco.

[3] To say nothing of the purely commercial spirit of the alleged French voyages to Guinea, as far as our Gold Coast, between 1364 and 1410.

1402; it is doubtless with similar hopes that unknown explorers (almost certainly Italians) add the Madeira group and the Eastern members of the Azorean Archipelago to the map of the *Terra Habitabilis* before 1351. With the commencement of the third maritime period, that of continuous, state-aided enterprise, led by a royal prince (Henry of Viseu), and prosecuted as a vital national interest by an organized Christian nation (that of Portugal), we have passed out of the Mediaeval and entered the Modern time. The 'Dawn of Modern Geography,' in the strict sense of the words, ends with the first voyages of the Infant's captains.

Down to the close of the twelfth century the Scientific Geography of Christendom is at best a feeble thing, markedly inferior to that of Islam (itself the somewhat slavish disciple of Greek thought), frequently a prey to the most absurd misconception and the most childish fable, and rarely aiming at anything higher than the reproduction of purely traditional methods and results. But when the Northmen and the Crusades have once thoroughly aroused the vital energies of the leading Christian races, they begin to expand in mind as well as in empire, and by the time of Prince Henry, a Portuguese can say 'our discoveries were not made without foresight and knowledge. For our sailors went out well taught and furnished with instruments and the rules of *astrology*[1] and geometry, things which all mariners must know.' There is no exaggeration here: for compass, astrolabe, timepiece, and chart are all in use among South European seamen before the close of the fourteenth century.

A venerable tradition ascribes to Amalfi the introduction of the magnet among Western seamen; but the first mention of the 'ugly black stone' in Europe can be traced to the English monk Alexander Neckam and the French satirist Guyot de Provins, who both mention it about the time of the Third Crusade[2], not as the secret of the learned, but as the

[1] *Astronomy*, as we should say now.

[2] Neckam about 1190, Guyot about 1200.

guide of mariners. And in spite of the astonishment produced half a century later[1] in the mind of Brunetto Latini by the polar properties of the mysterious object, we cannot doubt that what was known to Roger Bacon, to Jacques de Vitry, and to Raymond Lull, as well as to Scandinavian poets and Moslem merchants of the thirteenth century, was employed by many Christian seamen of the Mediterranean when the Genoese made their first voyages in the Atlantic[2].

Amalfi did not introduce the magnet into Christendom; but 'Flavio Gioja' or some other citizen of that once adventurous republic which filled so large a part of the void between two great ages of civilization, the Classical and the Crusading, may have brought the magnetic needle into more general use by fitting it in a primitive compass. That it had reached such general use by the opening of the fifteenth century, at least among the ocean-faring seamen of Portugal, is clear from Prince Henry's exhortations to certain laggards among his earliest explorers[3].

Good maps were as valuable for true progress as good instruments; and here the close of the thirteenth century witnessed a momentous revolution. At a time when most European cartography was still half mythical, when map-designs were often rather picture-books of zoological and theological legend than delineations of the world, strictly scientific coast-charting begins with the Mediterranean 'Portolani[4].' The earliest existing specimen is of about 1300; but the type which then appears (with the *Carte Pisane*) must have been for some time in process of elaboration; and it is probable that examples of such work, dealing with sectional areas of shore-line, at least inside the Straits of Gibraltar, may yet be discovered from the time of the last Crusades[5]. These plans of practical mariners are a refreshing contrast, in their often almost modern accuracy, to

[1] c. A. D. 1260.
[2] c. A. D. 1270–1300.
[3] See ch. vi of this volume.
[4] i. e. 'Handy-plans'—what the ordinary pilot or skipper could conveniently handle and take with him.
[5] e. g. St. Louis' of 1270. See ch. vi of this volume.

the work of other schools, from the most ambitious classical compositions (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) down to the wildest productions of mediaeval fabulists. Careful survey-work of this kind was apparently unknown to the Helleno-Roman world, as much as to the native Moslem civilization. The ancient *Peripli* were sailing directions, not drawn but written, and the only Arabic Portolan yet found is a copy of an Italian one. It was probably in North-West Italy that this kind of work originated, though very early traces of Portolan draughtsmanship may be found in Catalan lands; and long after the Italian leadership in exploration and commerce had begun to pass away, Italian science still controlled cartography; thus, among the early Portolani, the vast majority (413 out of 498) were executed by the countrymen of Marco Polo. At the same time we must recognize that an important minority of the leading fourteenth-century Portolani, such as the 'Dulcert' of 1339 and the magnificent 'Atlas' of 1375, are of Catalan authorship.

The first true maps constitute an important chapter in the history of our civilization[1]; they mark the essential transition, in world-delineation, from ancient to modern, from empirical to scientific, from theory to practice; but they are only just beginning to receive adequate recognition. For they 'never had for their object to provide a popular and fashionable amusement'; they were not drawn to illustrate the works of classical authors or famous prelates; still less did they embody the legends and dreams of chivalry or romance; they were seldom executed by learned men; and small enough, in return, was the acknowledgement which the learned made them when their work was incorporated, by the geographical compilers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in pompous atlases of far inferior merit.

[1] It is, we may notice, from an Italian map, the Laurentian Portolano of 1351 and from a Spanish book intimately associated with Portolan work, the *Conoçimiento de todos los Reynos* of c. 1345, that we derive the first trustworthy indication of the Atlantic Islands; in the former we find the first good guess (if it be no more than a guess) at the true shape of Africa.

The continental or Asiatic[1] travel, the maritime or Atlantic exploration, and the scientific advance of the later Middle Ages are the chief subjects of the present volume: the first may be said to supply the *matter*, the attractions and rewards, of European expansion; the others provided the *form* in which success was reached, the art of navigation, a working knowledge of oceanic conditions.

And the one was as much needed as the other. Human enterprise did its work so well because of a reasonable hope; men crept round Africa in face of the Atlantic storms because of the golden East beyond. That East (as we have noticed) had first been adequately revealed to Europe by the merchants and missionaries, the diplomatists and adventurers, who had followed the Crusading armies to Syria, and had then crept onwards to Cathay and the Indies. Thus inspiring certainty had been imparted to what had long been a tradition, but had remained, for all practical purposes, outside Latin experience; thus to European cupidity had been opened the greatest of earth's material prizes; thus had the true terrestrial paradise been pointed out to Western ambition. It was worth some labour to reach the treasuries of the Orient, once those treasuries were clearly located and verified; however long and toilsome, a sea path, free from all perils but those of nature, became more and more attractive as land routes were more and more endangered and obstructed. And once mistress of the South Asian trade, Christendom, already wielding the fighting power of the West, might hope to crush its old enemy Islam between two overwhelming forces, hammer and anvil—might dream of the control of the entire world.

The Pilgrim-Travel of Greek and Roman Christendom during the later mediaeval centuries does not call for any special notice in this place; though full of quaint and curious incident, it has no longer, as in the 'Dark Ages' or pre-

[1] This Asiatic travel often involved, as in the case of the Polos and of Odoric, a vast amount of sea-voyaging (between China and the Persian Gulf), but its basis was in overland movement.

Crusading period, a typical and vital character. Even more than in the Crusading time it has ceased, except perhaps among the Russian people, to be representative of Christian expansive activity. But in the number and position of those who take part in it, and in the character of their memoirs, we may still find enough of value and interest to compel a rather detailed survey.

Commercial enterprise, on the other hand, has now ceased to be merely the theme of one section of our subject; it pervades the whole. Mercantile conceptions are everywhere; the philosophy of utility is beginning to rule; in the material ambitions of commerce we find the mainspring of the chief outward movements of the time. The more important work of mercantile exploration will fall, of course, within those parts of the present study which are concerned with the leading overland travellers and the chief maritime enterprises of the later Middle Ages. But none the less it will be essential, in a separate chapter, to follow the general activities of the principal commercial states of Europe (apart from those primary figures, incidents, and narratives, dealt with elsewhere) in so far as they involve anything of geographical discovery, any real extension of the horizon.

Once more, in the present volume we have to summarize the history of Moslem and Chinese geography from the close of the tenth century to the end of the fourteenth. The writings of Edrisi and Al Biruni, of Yakut and many lesser 'cosmologists,' the travels and travel-records of Ibn Batuta and Chang Chun, of Al Herawi and Rabban Bar Sauma (to name only some of the most remarkable) must be briefly noticed. The slow decline of Arabic science, the alternate opening and closing of China to foreign ideas and intercourse, will call for some illustration and explanation. The comparative decay, insularity, and barbarism which has touched all non-Christian civilization by the close of the fourteenth century, will strike our attention somewhat forcibly. We shall see that both Islamic and Chinese culture have now lost much of their

former breadth of view, inquisitive energy, and scientific spirit; that both have become prisoners of tradition and convention; that as explorers of the world and investigators of nature there is little more to be expected of them. In these fields the future is for the European, and for the European alone—save only for those, who, like the Japanese of the last two generations, can successfully imitate European methods. If we examine the course of history with any care, and pay even a moderate attention to its lessons, we shall not be deceived by the rapid growth and long apparent prosperity of empires such as that of the Ottoman Turks or the Indian Mongols. No spring of true progress lies in such ground.

At the same time we have to recognize the careful industry, energetic productiveness, and meritorious results of Moslem geographical study in the central and later Middle Ages; from Christian travellers and writers we have an abundant recognition of the matchless wealth and bounty, refinement and intelligence, organization and peacefulness of Chinese civilization under the rule of the House of Chingiz. The whole world has nothing to equal 'Quinsay' and Peking; there is no stream with traffic like the Yangtse; no court with magnificence comparable to that of the Son of Heaven. But would it be easy to find men from the lands of Islam, after the days of Ibn Batuta, worthy to rank as citizens and students of the world with the Sheikh of Tangier, or as geographical encyclopaedists with Yakut? Or could we readily produce in Chinese history, after the great expulsion of 'foreign devils' in 1370, any adequate parallel, either in practice or theory, with the great Buddhist pilgrims of earlier days, Fa-Hien or Hiuen-Thsang? The life of the Celestial Empire, under the Ming, was the life of a race which had ceased to progress, to discover, to aim at conquests beyond its old borders, either political or mental; the literary activity of an Abulfeda is but an emphatic farewell to the spirit of true science among Mohammedan peoples.

Lastly, while ending our detailed examination of the History

of Geographical Discovery and Science about 1420, the era of Prince Henry's first successes, we shall attempt a short complementary sketch of the eighty years between the Portuguese detection of the Madeira group and the achievements of 1486–99, when Diaz and Da Gama laid open the Cape route from Lisbon to Calicut, and Columbus, seeking Asia by a West Atlantic sea-path, found America. To deal adequately with the events of this time would need a volume; nor are these events properly part of the *Dawn* of our modern earth-knowledge. For in the lifetime of the Lusitanian prince, the prophecy of Seneca was already reaching its fulfilment:—

'Venient annis saecula seris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris Ultima Thule[1].'

[1] *Medea*, 376–80.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT ASIATIC TRAVELLERS, 1260–1420

PART I. THE POLOS, 1260–1295

THE great Asiatic travellers, moving essentially by land routes, though often accomplishing considerable journeys in the seas to the South and South-East of the Continent, are so numerous, so interesting, so important, and so detailed, that to treat them with any thoroughness will require more than half of the present volume. We will therefore divide this chapter into three parts, giving the first to the Polos; the second to the Latin missionaries who found and maintain those far distant outposts of the Roman Church in India, China, Persia, and Turkestan; and the third to the later exploration of commerce, diplomacy, and adventure. In our first subdivision we shall have only one work of primary value to consider, the *Book* of Messer Marco Milioni, *concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East*, but this is the principal work of Middle Age geography; only two journeys are here recorded, but together they compose the leading record of mediaeval exploration; and while something of religious, adventurous, diplomatic, and scientific interest can also be traced in these expeditions, it is undeniable that their initial force must be sought in trade-ambitions. In our second section we shall be dealing with an embarrassing amount and variety of source-material, the letters of John de Monte Corvino, founder of the Catholic Mission in China and apparently in Southern India as well; the similar mission reports of Andrew from Fokien, of Jordanus from Gujerat and the neighbourhood of Bombay, of Pascal from Kulja; the remi-

niscences of more voluminous preacher-wanderers, Jordanus himself in times of greater leisure, Ricold of Monte Croce, Odoric of Pordenone, Marignolli of Florence; and the scattered annals of struggling Catholic missions in many parts of Asia; to say nothing of special treatises upon distant civilizations (such as John de Cora's tract upon the Tartar Empire), and curious fragments of official correspondence between the Papal Court and various Christian princes and statesmen, on one side, and the Mongol Emperor, his great vassals, and some of his Christian subjects, on the other. In the third and last part we shall begin with the *Secrets* of Marino Sanuto; we shall continue with the supposed memorabilia and real myths of 'Sir John Mandeville,' the 'ape' of Friar Odoric; and we shall conclude with the *Merchants' Handbook* of Balducci Pegolotti and the Travels of Clavijo and Schiltberger.

In the development of mediaeval overland travel, from Europe into Asia, as we have already seen, the Polos are not 'without genealogy'; they are preceded by the friar-travellers who penetrate Central Asia and Mongolia; but all the same their contributions to knowledge are enormous. For it is they who first reveal to Christendom in a complete and accurate, as well as picturesque manner, the splendours and attractions, the wealth and commerce, of China and Indo-China, of the Deccan and the Indian Archipelago. From the Polo narrative the Latin nations learnt what the more favoured regions of Asia contained, what gain there might be in developing direct trade with the same, what possibilities of commercial empire awaited those who boldly sought it.

These Venetian merchants are the earliest representatives of our Western Christendom to make their way across the Old World's Continental longitude, describing every country they personally traversed, and with rare exceptions describing nothing they had not seen with their own eyes,—from Italy and Cilicia, through Mesopotamia and Persia, the Central Asiatic highland, the Gobi desert, and the Mongolian steppes, to China and the Yellow Sea. They are the first Europeans

thoroughly to discover and adequately to describe the Celestial land, then the most splendid, civilized, populous, and wealthy country under heaven, from whose inland fluvial commerce alone Christian nations could read a lesson of vital interest for their own future, whose cities and manufactures, canals and river ports, ocean harbours and post system, put Europe to shame, whose whole life told of a more excellent path of happiness than the endless wars of feudal princes or the internecine mercantile rivalries of little city-states. They are the first to tell us fully of the nations that border the Middle Kingdom, the almost bestial Tibetans, the strange aboriginal tribes of South-Western China, the peoples of Cochin China, Tonkin, Annam, Siam, Burma and the Laos country. They are absolutely the first to hint to Europe of the existence, and of the half-fabled, half-real splendours of Japan. From them comes the most complete account yet given to our West of the spice-lands of the East Indies, source of those aromatics already so prized, but whose origin was till now so obscure. They first among Catholic pioneers, embark upon the 'waters of pitchy darkness' on the East Coast of Asia, and navigate the southern seas from the Formosa Channel to the Persian Gulf; they first describe, in the tongue of the Franks, the 'very noble' isle of Java, the multiform Sumatra, the barbarous Nicobars and Andamans. They revive our knowledge of the Christian oasis in East Africa, the isolated Orthodox people of Abyssinia, and the still half-faithful island of Socotra. They reveal to us the Zanzibar coast and the island of Madagascar, hitherto visited only by Moslem adventurers, traders, missionaries, and colonists. They give a better picture than had yet been forthcoming, from any Latin pen, of Western and Southern India, of Baluchistan, of Russia, and of that far Northern Land of Darkness, where it was 'as with us in the twilight.'

It is true enough that the Franciscans, Carpini and Rubruquis, in the generation immediately preceding (1245–55), had broken ground in many regions of Asia and begun the discovery of the Mongol Orient. They had traversed the

prairies, the mountains and the deserts from Kiev and the Crimea to the Tartar capital at Karakorum; they had sketched the people and customs of Cathay with surprising accuracy, although the Celestial land itself lay beyond their most distant wanderings; they had described with admirable closeness of observation most of the races of Eastern Europe and of Higher Asia[1]. Rubruquis had even traversed Caucasia, so rarely penetrated by mediaeval Europeans; and just as he skirted the North and West of the Caspian, so his friend, Andrew of Longjumeau[2], likewise a friar, a missionary, a diplomatist, and an envoy from St. Louis of France to the Great Khan, had passed along the Southern and Eastern shores of the mysterious inland sea, proving once for all that it was not, as St. Isidore had reported, 'a gulf of the ocean,' but that on all sides it was enclosed by land[3]. About the same time, or even earlier (c. A. D. 1240–50), the Dominicans had preached among the tribes of the Middle Volga, and Sieur Baldwin of Hainault[4] had wooed and won his Kuman bride and visited the court of Mongol 'Emperor of all men.' Apart from these more recent victories of Frankish Pioneers there was (as we have seen in its proper place)[5] a far earlier penetration of the unknown or half-known East from the Byzantine lands. In the sixth century embassies had passed to and fro between Constantinople and the Turkish Khans ruling in the neighbourhood of the Balkhash, the Altai, and the Syr Daria, embassies which came and went by the steppe route to the north of the Caspian; in the seventh century Nestorian missionaries from the Mediterranean Levant had entered China and were labouring in Southern India[6]. Byzantines had occasionally visited even some of the coasts and islands of the Indian Ocean; in the age of Justinian one

[1] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 276–317, 320–81.

[2] Otherwise 'Longumeau,' 'Longumel,' &c.

[3] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 338; Rubruquis, p. 265 in Paris *Recueil* edition of 1839, to which all references are here made for the text of Carpini, Rubruquis, Jordanus of Severac, Bernard the Wise, and Saewulf.

[4] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 279, 321, 337, 359.

[5] Ibid., i. 186–8.

[6] Ibid., i. 212–19.

at least of these appears in Ceylon; while under the name of *Tzinista* the sixth-century monk Cosmas must be supposed to show a certain knowledge of China, if not as a thing, at least as a name[1]. In the ninth century the remotest land of the West had sought, by one tradition, to open intercourse with the Christian Indies; Ælfred, the West Saxon, was credited with the dispatch of a complimentary mission to the Christians of Malabar and Coromandel; in the twelfth century, several efforts were made by Rome to negotiate with the reputed Christian potentate of innermost Asia, Prester John[2]. But none of these accomplished so important a work for earth-knowledge as the Polos; none contributed so directly, so permanently, and so essentially to the fruitful and continuous intercourse of distant civilizations. For as the new intelligence they brought was bound up with material gain; as the daring Venetian merchants had really opened to the ken of Western Europe those prizes for whose control every ambitious people would naturally long; Christendom, from their time, directed itself with a far clearer and keener ambition than ever before upon the treasure-houses of Southern and Eastern Asia.

The leaders of European advance in the fourteenth century, and in the age of the Great Discoveries, were often close students of Messer Marco's book. We may take three instances of this suggested connexion of the Polo narrative with the successful exploration of the ocean routes, both Eastward around Africa and Westward across the Atlantic.

First, the Catalan Map of 1375, which is so important a record of the Latin movement along the Cape water-way, commemorating, both in picture and legend, the progress of Catalan mariners in 1346 to the headland of Bojador, that supposed 'Finisterre of Africa,' is also a reproduction of Polo's conceptions upon the East and South-East of Asia. Here, indeed, we have something like the sketch of Kublai's realm which Marco himself would have made, if he had turned cartographer. Here we have Cathay (including Polo's *Mangi*,

[1] Ibid., i. 191–4. [2] Ibid., ii. 119.

or South China) put in its true position as a great country in the extreme East and South-East of the Old World, no longer thrust far up towards the North-East and the Arctic regions; for the first time in the history of geography the great Indian peninsula, so utterly misconceived in Ptolemy, is represented with a decent approximation to its real form and relative position. The chief regions of Indo-China and of the extreme South-West of China proper, so fully detailed by Marco, and several of the more important East Indian islands, notably Sumatra, are delineated in close correspondence with the notes of the Polo narrative, and with an excellent understanding of their place in the map of Asia.

Secondly, in 1426, or at least before his return to Portugal in 1428, Prince Pedro of the House of Aviz, an elder brother of Prince Henry the Navigator, was at Venice. Here he was presented by the Signory with a copy of Marco Polo's book, together with a map, which till the latter part of the sixteenth century was preserved in the monastery of Alcobaça, and which, according to one tradition, showed 'as much or more discovered in time past than now,' having 'all the parts of the earth described, whereby Prince Henry was much furthered.' Exaggerated as it is, this tradition in its essence appears to represent at least the fact of a relationship between the Polo Record and the fifteenth-century Portuguese advance.

Lastly, in the printed copy of the Latin version of Marco's book, by Friar Pipino, which belonged to Columbus, and is now at the *Colombina* in Seville, there are abundant manuscript notes in the Admiral's handwriting[1] testifying to the great interest felt by him in the primary European account of Cathay and Zipangu, the countries which he made it his especial mission to reach by the Western sea route. The glories of China and Japan, as the Polos had recorded them,

[1] These autograph notes by Christopher himself occur on fols. 9 verso, 13 verso, 15 recto and verso, 17 v., 18 r. and v., 19 r., 23 and 24 r. and v., 25 r., 31 r. and v., 36 v., 38 v., 39 r., 40 r. and v., 41 r., 42-4 r. and v., 46 v., 47-53 r. and v., 54 r., 55 r. and v., 57 r. and v., 59-62 r. and v., 63 r., 64 v., 65-73 r. and v., 74 r.; cf. Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, ii. 558 (1903). I saw this volume in the *Colombina* in Oct., 1904.

were eagerly sought in the West Indies; almost to the day of his death the discoverer of America believed that he had found Marco's Paradise, the kingdom of the Grand Cham.

Whether we do or do not believe that the Polo family originally came to Venice from Dalmatian Sebenico [1] in 1033, and whether among the ancestors of Marco we can reckon Domenico Polo, a member of the Great Council of the Republic in 1094, at any rate we reach firm ground with Andrea Polo of San Felice. His three sons, Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco, are the father and uncles of the *Milioni*; Nicolo and Maffeo are associated with young Marco in the whole of his outward and homeward journey to and from China (1271–5; 1292–5); they are also independent explorers of the first rank. For they are the sole figures in the earlier expedition of 1260–9; they are the earliest Frankish pioneers to touch, if not to penetrate, Cathay.

Marco the elder, Marco of San Severo, is best known to us from his celebrated will, executed at Venice on August 5, 1280 [2], from which we learn that he had resided some time at Constantinople [3], that he had acquired a house at the famous Crimean seaport of *Soldachia* [4] or Sudak; and that he was on friendly terms with the Franciscans of the last-named place; for to them he bequeathes the house aforesaid, only reserving a life-occupancy to his son Nicolo and his daughter Maroca, both apparently (and Nicolo certainly) being resident at *Soldachia* when the will was made. The same document

[1] In the *Genealogies* of Marco Barbaro, quoted by Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo* [hereafter quoted as Y.-C.] Introduction, *14*, from a MS. copy in the Museo Civico at Venice.

[2] The originals of this will, of the Elder Maffeo's and of Marco Polo the explorer's (see pp. 22, 26), are in St. Mark's Library, Venice; they were first printed by E. A. Cigogna, *Inscrizioni veneziane*, vol. iii (1830), pp. 489-93; better in V. Lazari, *I Viaggi di Marco Polo* (1847), pp. 429–37; see also Y.-C., Introduction, *25–6*, *64–5*, *70–3*, and ii. 510, 513–15. All these wills are executed *Rivoalti*, 'at Rialto.' See Appendix to this volume, for these and the succeeding documents.

[3] 'Ego Marcus Polo, quondam de Constantinopoli,' Lazari, p. 429.

[4] Otherwise Soldaia, Sugdaia, Soltadia, Sudagh, &c. See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 450, n. 2.

implies that the testator had carried on business in partnership with his brothers Nicolo and Maffeo [1], and that this partnership still subsisted despite the latter's absence in the Further East; it confers freedom on all the testator's slaves; and it refers to his nephew, young Marco, son of Nicolo, with whom we are now primarily concerned.

Of the travellers Nicolo and Maffeo we need only say here that after arriving for the second time at Kublai's Court in 1275, their separate personality only appears in a few details —such as their alleged services at the siege of Siangyang in Central Inland China, and the co-operation of Maffeo with his nephew in a mission to Kanchau, near the Western terminus of the Great Wall [2]. They are associated with the whole course of the return journey from Fokien to Persia; but after their final re-appearance at Venice in the course of 1295, they leave but scanty traces of their history. Nicolo seems to have died before August 31, 1300, when his son Maffeo, our Marco's brother, made his will, providing masses for his father's soul. Maffeo the elder, on the other hand, was still alive as late as February 6, 1309, when he executed his own testament [3].

As to Marco Polo the younger, *Marchus Paulo Milioni*, as we have him in the record of 1305, we shall see, in tracing the stages of his exploration, how Shakespearean is his self-concealment, how little he tells us of himself and his own deeds, how difficult it is often (in his record) to separate matters of hearsay from matters of personal experience. The internal evidence of his book, that *Livre des Diversités* in which he weaves together so many different threads, is thus extremely deficient both biographically and geographically,

[1] So the will suggests: 'Item de bonis quae me habere contingunt de fraterna compagnia a suprascriptis Nicolao et Matheo Polo fratribus meis dimitto Maroche filie mee libras ducentas,' Cigogna, vol. iii, p. 490; Lazari, p. 430.

[2] See pp. 78, 114 of this volume.

[3] This has disappeared, but it is referred to in a Venetian state document of March 15, 1328, whose essential parts are printed in Y.-C., ii. 517 ('in testamento dicti domini Mathei Paulo maioris . . . in Anno Domini MCCCVIII mense Februarii die vi').

both for the full history of his personal wanderings and for the exact determination of his route.

Nor from external sources do we gain much additional light on the career of the great traveller. Besides the reference in the will of old Marco of St. Severo, and the far less interesting testament of the explorer himself, we have only a few crumbs of absolutely contemporary information. Such are to be found in the will of Maffeo the younger, already noticed; whereby brother Marco is made the principal heir to Maffeo's property, failing the birth of a son; in the resolution of the Venetian Grand Council of April 10, 1305, in which the *noble Marchus Paulo Milioni* appears with others as a surety for a fine inflicted on a wine-smuggler[1]; in the favourable decision of the Venetian Court of Requests, on March 9, 1311, upon the suit of the *noble Marcus Polo* for the recovery of the price of musk sold on commission (the only document which exhibits him as a practical trader)[2]; in a suit of May, 1323, regarding certain stairs and porticos[3] adjoining his own dwelling and that which his wife, the Lady Donata, had sold him; and, more doubtfully, in another resolution of the Grand Council to exempt the *excellent Marcus Paulo* from a penalty incurred by omission to have one of his water-pipes inspected (April 13, 1302)[4].

Once more, in August, 1307, the French nobleman, Thiébault

[1] 'Ei sunt plegii nobiles viri Petrus Mauroceno et Marchus Paulo Milioñ et plures alii.' The original is in the Venetian *Archivio Generale, Maggior Consiglio, Reg. MS. Carta 82*; printed in Y.-C., ii. 511.

[2] '... Inter nobilem virum Marcum Polo de confinio S. Iohannis Grisostomi ex una parte et Paulum Girardo de confinio S. Apollinaris ex altera parte.' The original is in the archives of the Venetian *Casa di Ricovero, filza 202*; printed in Y.-C., ii. 511.

[3] As to these 'sale sive porticus magne que respiciunt et sunt versus Ecclesiam S. Iohannis Grisostomi,' see Y.-C., ii. 511, 518-20 (Calendar of Documents, Nos. 7 and 16). The chief account of this suit is in a later document, of Aug. 22, 1390, which is a renewal (from a notarial copy) of a lost original of July 12, 1333 (in the Archives of the Venetian *Instituto degli Esporti*, No. 6). This is an attestation by the proper officers of having, put the Lady Donata in possession of two tenements in S. Giovanni Chrysostomo.

[4] 'Quod fit gratia *provido viro Marco Paulo* quod ... absolvatur a pena ... quod non fecit circari unam suam conductam'; original in Venetian *Archivio Generale, Maggior Consiglio, Liber Magnus, p. 81*; printed in Y.-C., ii. 510.

de Cépoy, while on a mission to Venice to procure the aid of the Republic for the claims of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, upon the crown of the Eastern Empire, received from Marco Polo a copy of his book; this copy, a prefatory note in two manuscripts informs us, was the very first made of the Polo Narrative[1]—that is, we may suppose, the first after the original draught dictated to Rustician of Pisa, in the prison at Genoa.

And this brings us to the chief incident in Marco's later life. According to the tradition preserved by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, he was taken prisoner by the Genoese in the battle of September 7, 1298, off Curzola in Dalmatia[2]. The Dominican Jacopo d'Acqui (1289–1334), a contemporary witness, by no means notorious for accuracy, declares the same, except that he puts the sea-fight in the year 1296, 'in the pontificate of Boniface *VI*[3],' and lays the scene of it off Lajazzo on the Cilician coast. But he is probably thinking of the Lajazzo victory of the Genoese in 1294, which (unless we disregard the express statement[4] of Polo's own work) was

[1] 'Vees cy le livre que Monseigneur Thiebault . . . Seigneur de Cepoy . . . requist que il en eust la coppie a Sire Marc Pol, bourgois et habitans en la cite de Venise . . . bien accoustume en pluseurs regions . . . lui, desirans que ce qu'il avoit veu fust sceu par l'univers monde et pour l'onneur . . . de . . . prince . . . Charles . . . de Valois . . . donna au . . . Seigneur de Cepoy la premiere coppie de son . . . livre puis qu'il l'eut fait . . . l'an . . . mil trois cent et sept, ou mois d'aoust,' Pauthier, *Marco Polo* [hereafter quoted as P.], pp. 1, 2—from the Paris MS. Fr. 5649 (Bibl. Nat.); MS. no. 125 in the Cantonal Library at Bern also has this note. See also Appendix to this volume for the later history of the French copies made from this original.

[2] Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. ii, *prefatione*, p. 7 (ed. of 1583). This part of Ramusio's work was (posthumously) published in 1559. His account of the Polo history, especially of the Polo home-coming (vol. ii, *prefat.*, pp. 5, 6), probably embodies some genuine Venetian tradition, but abounds in mistakes of detail; cf. Y.-C., pp. *6–8*, and p. 159 of this volume.

[3] Meaning Boniface VIII, 1294–1303. This passage is from d'Acqui's Chronicle, *Imago Mundi*, and is given according to Baldelli Boni's reading of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library; another MS. at Turin, printed in the Turin *Monumenta* (see below, p. 26, note 4), gives no date, places the battle at 'La Glaza' (another form of Lajazzo), and has many variants. Jacopo d'Acqui can be traced from 1289 to 1334, at least, if he has been rightly identified.

[4] 'Et puis vindrent . . . de Con-

fought a year before the return of the Venetian wanderers. Though Ramusio (who died in 1557) writes more than two centuries after these events, and though he is by no means incapable of error, we may in this matter accept his testimony, as, at any rate, 'not disproven.'

But of Marco's imprisonment at Genoa and of the fact that there, in 1298, he dictated his narrative to his fellow prisoner Rustician of Pisa, there can be no question. It is plainly asserted in the prologue of the narrative in question[1]. As to Rustician, we are fairly safe in believing that his Italian name was Rusticello, *Rusticien* being only the French or international form of that name; that he is identical with the *Rusticien de Pise* who figures as an editor of prose romances of the Round Table[2], and who is known to have translated one of his compilations from a book belonging to Prince Edward of England, then on a journey beyond seas to recover the Holy Sepulchre[3]—the Crusade of 1270–2; and finally that he wrote out the Polo Record, like his Romances, in French[4]. With less confidence we may conjecture that Rustician's captivity dated from that fatal Battle of Meloria (A. D. 1284), which made it necessary, as the proverb said, to go to Genoa, if one would see Pisa—for all the flower of Pisan manhood now lay in Genoese dungeons. Assuming that Marco Polo was one of the Curzola prisoners of 1298, he would be released, with the rest, by the peace of May 25,

stantinoble . . . a Venisse . . . MCCLXXXXV ans de l'incarnation . . .' P. 33; the date is the same in all the MSS. See p. 159, note 3.

[1] 'Lequel livre puis demorant en la carsere de Jenes, fist retravie par ordre a messire Rusta Pisan qui en celle meisme prison estoit . . . MCCLXXXXVIII ans de l'incarnation,' P. 4. The Paris Geog. Soc. *Recueil*, vol. i, 1824 [hereafter quoted as G.], has 'Rustacians de Pise' (p. 2).

[2] e.g. of Meliadus, Tristan, Lancelot, Palamedes, and Giron le Courtois, written by gentlemen of Henry III's Court, such as Hélye or Hélis de Borron, Gasses le Blunt, &c.

[3] This is stated in one of Rustician's own Romance-Preambles; cf. Y.- ., *59*.

[4] Though Ramusio, in *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. ii, *prefatione*, p. 7 (1583), says that Polo's original text was *in Latino*. On the priority of the French text; the value of the Paris MS. Fr. 1116 (printed in 1824 by the Paris Geog. Soc.), our 'G.' for Polo's name-forms; and the other MSS.; see Appendix.

1299, just as the Meloria captives were freed by the treaty of July 31, 1299. Before the end of the summer both Polo and Rustician were probably at home again.

Last in this series of additional facts and references, we have the clauses of Marco Polo's will, of January 9, 1324. And here we might expect valuable information. But our hope is disappointed; this document is far less illuminating than the 1280 testament of Marco the elder; and the only point we need notice here is the release from bondage of a servant, one Peter the Tartar[1], who may have been the explorer's companion in Asiatic travel, and who four years later is naturalized by the Venetian Council on the score of long residence and good behaviour in the city (1328)[2]. Nothing in Marco's final disposition of property, nor in any other contemporary document relating to him, bears out the tradition of enormous wealth, of 'thousand thousand pounds,' as Jacopo d'Acqui has it: at the most it can be said that this tradition is nowhere explicitly contradicted or absolutely disproved.

Marco's death must have occurred soon after the making of his will, and in any case before June 7, 1325, when his wife and daughters[3], as executors of the deceased *Milioni*, execute a deed of release in favour of a certain Marco Bragadino. On his deathbed, according to Jacopo d'Acqui, the traveller was implored by certain friends to tone down his book, by a judicious excision of all that went beyond the facts; to whom he replied that he had not told one-half of what he had really seen[4].

[1] 'Petrum famulum meum de genere Tartarorum'; cf. Cigogna, 493; Lazari, 436; Y.-C.; ii. 514.

[2] 'Petro . . . olim sclavorum Ser Marci Pauli S. Ioh. Gris.,' &c. Original in *Mai. Conc. Delib., Brutus, Cart.* 78 *t.*; printed in Y.-C., ii. 517.

[3] The date of Marco Polo's marriage is not yet known, but in his will of January, 1324, he speaks of three daughters, two (Fantina and Bellela) seemingly married, and one (Moreta) unmarried. In 1333 Moreta appears as a married woman, and Bellela is no more. Almost all genealogies confuse two branches of the family; one, our Marco's, resident in St. John Chrysostom parish, the other resident in St. Geremia and also including a Marco Polo.

[4] Cf. Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. xx, n. 1, in the

From this we might infer that the explorer was frankly regarded by some of his contemporaries as a fabulist; and such is precisely the meaning attached to his title of *Milioni* by one tradition, which makes it the equivalent of 'a thousand stories,' the 'thousand and one nights' of Arabic Romance.

The popularity of the *Livre des Diversités* was doubtless respectable from the first; but that its fame soon filled all Italy, as Ramusio declares, we need not too literally suppose. It is not perhaps until much later in the fourteenth century that the Polo Narrative definitely takes the position which, in spite of occasional gusts of detraction, it still retains, and which we may suppose (from the facts already presented) both Henry the Navigator and Christopher Columbus assigned to it.

For though we are now acquainted with eighty-five manuscripts of the Book of Ser Marco, Friar Odoric's Eastern Travels can claim almost as many, Mandeville's lying wonders a far greater number of written copies.

As yet only five contemporary references to our Marco, his book, and his explorations have been discovered, apart from the necessary allusions in versions, editions, or adaptations, of which Friar Pipino's Latin translation of about 1315–20 is the best example.

Among these references, two—the author's gift of a copy to Thiébault de Cépoy in 1307, and the account of Jacopo d'Acqui—have been already examined. Three still remain:—one of Pipino's, one of Villani's, one of d'Albano's. The first of these (of about 1322?) is contained in a chronicle which has been partially printed by Muratori, but without the passage needed by us at present, a passage in which the Friar notices

Storia del Milione, following the *Vita di Marco Polo*, and preceding the Italian text (Florence, 1827). This passage is professedly extracted by Boni from the Ambrosian Library MS. at Milan, M. 526 Scaf. D.; it is not to be found in the Turin text of d'Acqui (*Chronicon Imaginis Mundi . . . Iacobi ab Aquis*, edited by G. Avogadro from a fifteenth-century MS. in *Historiae Patriae Monumenta, Scriptores*, vol. iii, p. 1582, Turin, 1848), which gives so curt a version—far more abridged than Yule suggests (Y.-C., *54*, note)—of Marco's capture in the sea-fight and the composition of his narrative. See Appendix.

Marco's stay 'of twenty-seven years' in Tartar countries, his account of the same, and the chronicler's own version of that account[1]. The second occurs in the well-known Florentine History of Giovanni Villani, who though he lived till 1348, began the work in question soon after the Jubilee of 1300, and almost certainly wrote the fifth book[2] within Polo's lifetime. Along with the writings of the Armenian King Hayton, he recommends any one desirous of learning about the Tartars to study the 'Book *Milione* which Messer Marco Polo of Venice' had composed. The third and last of these allusions occurs in the *Conciliator* of the celebrated physician and savant Pietro d'Abano, whom a merciful death snatched just in time from the claws of the Inquisition (1316), and who in the course of an attack upon the notion of an uninhabitable equatorial zone, goes on to give the substance of certain conversations he had had with Marco Polo, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer he had ever known. For Marco had evidently traversed much of this very same equatorial region, and on this wise he showed his knowledge. In the country of the Zinzi[3] had been noticed a marvellous star as big as a sack, possessing a faint light like a piece of cloud (the Great Magellan Nebula ?), and remaining fixed in the south. This star Polo had seen under the Antarctic; he described it as having a great tail; with his own hand he drew it for Pietro; and this drawing is professedly reproduced in some copies of the *Conciliator*[4]. Nor was this all.

In a certain island (evidently Sumatra) which exported to Europe[5] camphor and aloes, where the heat was intense and habitations were few, and where the Venetian wanderer, as he himself told d'Abano, had seen the Antarctic Pole showing but a spear's length above the horizon, while the Arctic was as much depressed below—even here lived members of the

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Ch. xxix; in vol. xiii, p. 145 of Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

[3] This name suggests the Zanj country of the East African coast, 'Zanzibar,' &c. See p. 149, &c.

[4] It is not in the 1490 and 1496 Venice editions, but a space is left for it in the latter.

[5] 'Nobis' in d'Abano.

human race, to say nothing of great rams with coarse stiff wool like the bristles of pigs [1].

To these contemporary allusions one other from the next generation may be added. That Abbot of St. Bertin who is known as Long John of Ypres, the first great collector of 'Voyages and Travels,' in a chronicle [2] of his, written after 1350, speaks of the two journeys of Nicolo and Maffeo Polo; of Marco's presence on the second expedition; of the latter's twenty-seven years 'with' the Tartar Emperor; of his journeys in the service of the Khan to various regions of Tartary, India, and the Islands; and of his book in the *French vernacular* [3] on the marvels of those lands, a book which the writer, Long John, himself possessed.

And once again, in the poetical romance of Bauduin de Sebourc 'third king of Jerusalem [4],' apparently composed soon after 1314, there are several passages, which afford strong evidence of acquaintance with, and use of, Messer Marco's Book, though without acknowledgement, a feature not uncommon both in mediaeval and modern compilations.

Lastly, the Doge Marino Faliero (1354–5), a younger contemporary of the Explorer, apparently possessed several relics of his travels and literary work—an autograph manuscript of the Book, a ring given to Marco by Kublai Khan, two leather chests, presents from 'a Barbarian King' to the aforesaid Marco, and a wonderful sword with three blades, which the *Milioni* had with him in his journeys [5].

[1] Cf. *Conciliator Differentiarum philosophorum et precipue medicorum, Differentia LXVII*, among the *Quesita circa res non naturales*, and devoted to the question *An sub equatore sit possibilis habitatio*; fol. 97, verso, col. 2, of the 1496 Venice edition; printed in Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, ii. 486; and translated in Y.-C., *120*. See Appendix.

[2] Cf. *Iohannis Iperii Abbatis Chronicon Sythiense S. Bertini*, in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, vol. iii, pp. 746–7 (Paris edition of 1717), ch. li, pt. 2, *De Legatis Tartarorum ad Papam missis*. See Appendix.

[3] *In vulgari Gallico*; contrast this with Pipino's language about Polo writing in *Lombardic vernacular*, and with Ramusio's assertion of a Latin original; see above, p. 25, note 4.

[4] *Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc, IIIe Roy de Jherusalem*, Valenciennes, 1841; cf. F. Génin, *Preface de Maistre Pierre Patelin*, pp. 44, &c.; P., 57–8, 140; Y.-C., *121–8*. See Appendix.

[5] Cf. *La Collezione del Doge Marin*

Rigorous as is Marco's self-repression, we can see in his Record the man of the world and of business, alive to the value of money and material good, interested in all commercial affairs, a careful, albeit rather solemn, observer of new and quaint customs, passionately fond of sport and the chase, and of very liberal, though orthodox mind, a foe of heretics, but an admirer of the Buddha. Very occasionally he shows a little dry humour, but he does not often or freely indulge in laughter. His worst fault is a certain conventional exaggeration. Every town in the far lands he traverses is 'great'; everything about Cathay is superlative; all the measures of Kublai are miracles of wisdom. His geographical notions and definitions are not very scientific or precise; he calculates the height of the Pole star by cubits; he is astonished to lose sight of the Northern Pole in the East Indies. Though he frequently gives us bearings and distance-reckonings, they are of a rough and ready order; when indicating the direction of his route he cares little about his variations, or about subdivisions of the great compass points.

On the outward way, from Persia to China, the course is almost always defined as east-north-east (*entre levant et grec*); from Peking to Burma it is west (*ponent*); from Peking to Fokien it is south-east (*sceloc*). The Arabian south coast cities, from Aden to Ormuz, are even made to run *north-west* (*maistre*).

We have seen that on his deathbed Marco declared that in his famous Book the half had not been told, and this is to be borne in mind when we are puzzled by the omissions of the Polo Narrative. Why is there no mention of the Chinese wall along which he travelled so long (even if, as Yule suggests[1], he *meant* to notice it in one place); why is nothing said of tea, though he crossed the tea-growing regions of Fokien; why does he give no hint of the *golden lilies* or compressed feet of Chinese women; of the use of fishing cormorants in the Middle Kingdom; of Chinese printing; or of the special

Faliero in the *Bollettino di arti . . . e curiosità veneziane*, iii. pp. 98–103; Y.-C., *79–80*. See Appendix.

[1] Y.-C., i. 292–4.

characteristics of Chinese writing? His associations in China, as has been surmised, may have been chiefly with foreigners, especially Tartars and Persians; it is unquestionably their nomenclature which he usually employs for Chinese towns, rivers, and names of every kind. Yet his Tartar history is very inaccurate from one who had enjoyed such opportunities of intercourse with the best Mongol sources; indeed, it is markedly inferior to Carpini's, just as his apparent knowledge of Chinese customs often falls below that of Rubruquis and Odoric. But, in all probability, he does not trouble himself to be exhaustive; such a plan, as his dying words suggest, he considers a mere courting of incredulity; he is content to select from the treasures of his memory such things as would suit his audience, while adequately reflecting the vast and varied experience of his life.

In the year of Christ 1250, begins the Narrative, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo were trading at Constantinople; either the date is corrupt, or the statement refers to a time about a decade earlier than the journey, which is now described, to the Crimea, the Volga, and Bokhara. Accepting the figure as given by the chief manuscripts, we may suppose that the first arrival of the elder Polos in the Golden Horn is here intended; that Messer Nicolo subsequently returns to Venice; and that it is on a later visit to the Eastern Rome that he plans with brother Maffeo a commercial venture in the lands to the North of the Black Sea [1], where among the peoples of the Kipchak Khanate, the realm of the Western Mongols or Tartars of the Ponent, both Venetians hoped to find a good market for their wares. In any case, it is clear from the course of the story that it was not long (if at all) before the year 1260 that the adventurous brethren, with their stock of jewels, left the Bosphorus, crossed the Euxine, and landed in the Crimea.

The south coast of the old Tauric Chersonese was now fringed with the commercial settlements of the West, above all with the colonies and factories of Italian traders, and it was

[1] Polo's *Mer greingnor*, G., *a*, or *Marmaiour*, P., 5; Rubruquis' *Mare maius*, 214.

at one of these, at that Sudak or *Soldaia* which still lies midway between Sevastopol and Kerch, that the Polos disembarked. Here Rubruquis had started on his great land journey in 1253; here in the fourteenth century, under Genoese control, an imposing series of fortifications was created, whose towering ruins even to-day look down upon the shrunken modern city from the surrounding heights.

But the Polos, in all likelihood, had a special reason for touching here. The house which their brother Marco possessed in *Soldachia* as late as 1280 was not improbably his residence, and the centre of his Pontic business, in 1260; and it may have been in this very dwelling that Nicolo and Maffeo found welcome and lodging when they passed through Sudak.

To the greatest of Moslem travellers, the Sheikh Ibn Batuta of Tangier[1], Sudak appeared, seventy years later, to be one of the five[2] chief ports of the world (c. A.D. 1330); and its prosperity must have been well-nigh as marked in the thirteenth as in the fourteenth century. It had submitted to the Mongols in 1223, and again in 1239; the nomades, who in Central Asia appeared as enemies of all town-life, bent on forcing mankind back from urban to pastoral conditions, here preferred tribute to sack; and the rise of the city's fortunes attracted hither, about 1250, a Venetian factory, which proved the fore-runner of others. At Sudak, therefore, the Polos entered a community of Western merchants, recruited from various Latin countries, but surrounded by the life of the Orient, and in close touch with the Moslem world; here also they crossed the threshold of the greatest earthly potentate. For Sudak was a tributary of the Khans of Kipchak, the Lords of the Golden Horde; and the Khanate of Kipchak was but a

[1] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853-8), i. 28. Sudak's four rivals, in the Sheikh's mind, were Alexandria in Egypt, Kulam and Calicut in India, and Zayton in China. But when Ibn Batuta visits it at a later time (ii. 414-15) he finds it, though still possessing one of the finest of harbours, and 'formerly a very great city,' now terribly wasted by civil war between Greeks and Turks.

[2] Why does Yule make only *four*, in referring to Ibn Batuta, Y.-C., i. 28?

part of that empire which had gone out into all lands, and stood 'by the eternal strength of God'—

'Wherever ears could hear,
Wherever horses could travel,'—

as the Khan of Khans had boasted [1]. To the Golden Horde, ruled by the family of Juji, eldest son of Chingiz the Inflexible and of Juji's second son, Batu the Steadfast and the Gracious, the conqueror of Eastern Europe, fell the task of guarding the north-west border of the Tartar world. And who could reckon the limits of that world? For it had grown like a gigantic cloud, ever throwing its shadow more widely across the earth, till it threatened with the darkness of a universal eclipse all dominions other than those of the new Shepherd Kings; but it had not reached its furthest bounds. Yet even now (1260) it stretched from the Hoangho to the hills and forests beyond the Baikal and the Amur; from the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan to the frontiers of Poland, Hungary, and the Balkan States; from the Gulf of Pechili to the Gulf of Euphrates and the heart of Asia Minor; from the Upper Volga and the Lower Irtish to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. In this realm, therefore, were now merged all Eastern Europe and the whole of inhabited Asia;—South China and India, Indo-China and Arabia, Syria and the relics of Byzantine Dominion, alone excepted.

Under the supreme lord of this domain, comprising over 10,000,000 of square miles, were three mighty vassal-kings, who ruled in the north-western, south-western, and central portions of the empire.

The Great Khan kept in his immediate control the eastern and north-eastern provinces,—Manchuria, Korea, North China, most of Mongolia, Tibet, Tangut or Koko Nor, and most of our Chinese Turkestan, a dominion which stretched from the eastern seaboard of Asia beyond the western end of the Great Wall, to Zungaria, Lob Nor, Kashmir, and the Himalayas.

[1] 'Ubicunque possunt aures audire, quocunque potest equus ambulare,' Rubruquis, 369; see also Carpini, 715; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 292, 313, 366.

The Khans of the North-West, that Kipchak realm which the Polos have now entered, ruled over great part of modern Russia, from the Neva to the sea of Aral, from the northern Tundra to the Crimea and the Caucasus, from the Danube and the Carpathian foot-hills to the middle waters of the West Siberian rivers.

In this last-named region there was soon to form itself yet another Khanate, that realm of Sibir, created by Kublai Khan's great enemy, the rebel Kaidu, who though unrecognized by the Mongol Suzerain at Peking, yet exercised practical control over a considerable, but ill-defined, tract between the Yenisei and the Ishim, the Baraba steppe and the Soghd of Samarcand, the Altai mountains and the Tibetan Highlands.

The Ilkhans, or under-kings of the south-west, belonging to that same branch of Chingiz' family[1] which finally secured the supreme Lordship, controlled, at the time of their greatest power, the whole of modern Persia and Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Scinde, the present Trans-Caspian and Khivan territories of Russia, Mesopotamia, and most of Armenia and Georgia, with Central and Eastern Asia Minor. The Oxus, the Indus, the Southern Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian desert, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, formed the borders of this principality.

Lastly, the Central Asian Khanate, that of Chagatai and his descendants, had once comprised most of our modern Chinese and Russian Turkestan. Its frontier had lain along the Oxus and the Aral, the Chu and the Balkhash, the Altai and Lob Nor, the north edge of the Tibetan Plateau and the

[1] The branch of Tului, to whom Chingiz left the bulk of his Mongol troops, 101,000 out of 129,000, attained the Suzerainty under Mangu (A. D. 1248), and the zenith of power and glory under Kublai. From 1229 to 1248 the branch of Okkodai, Chingiz' second son, to whom the conqueror bequeathed his throne, held supreme power. Hulagu, the founder of the Persian Khanate and the first of the Ilkhans, was brother of Mangu and Kublai. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (edition of 1852), ii. 2, 3, 9–10, 249; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (1888), i. 113, 189, 279, 286, 290, and note 281.

Pamir. A purely artificial line across the desert separated it from the personal holding of the Great Khan. But in Marco's pages, as we shall see, it appears with very shrunken limits.

So rapid had been the growth of the Tartar Empire that non-Mongol Asia now comprised not more than three realms of any great importance. To the south-east lay Manzi or Southern China, still ruled by the Sung Dynasty from Hangchaufu, but only awaiting, as events proved, the triumphant advance of the Great Khan's troops from beyond the Yangtse. To the south lay the Moslem Empire of Northern India, governed by the Turki 'Slave' Sultans of Delhi (1206–88), stretching from Bengal to Scinde, but not yet established in any part of the Deccan proper[1]. While to the south-west, most formidable of all, was the Mameluke dominion, centring in Cairo and Damascus, increasingly victorious over both Tartar and Christian enemies, and controlling the great port of Alexandria, still the staple-market for Indian goods, but tending to decline, as the international routes opened by Mongol conquest to the north of Syria and Irak became more and more attractive, secure, and profitable[2].

And if this was the state of the East when the Polos began their wanderings, what was the condition of the West? In the Holy Empire, now a purely German Kingdom, society, government, civilized order, were a prey to Interregnum, to club-law, to *Faustrecht*; but the very evil of the time was itself providing something of a remedy; and the age of anarchy was also the era of a new commercial and municipal birth. For if the central power was confessedly paralysed from 1246 to 1257, the year 1247 witnessed the true foundation of the Hanseatic League.

[1] Here a powerful Hindu state, that of Vijayanagar or 'Narsinga,' arose about 1300 through the union of several lesser princedoms.

[2] Outside continental Asia the obscurer 'empires' of Japan and the Archipelago lay, as yet, beyond the notice of the overland conquerors. Soon they had to protect their independence against the maritime power of Kublai.

As to the Papacy, that supreme representative of the religion of a Western World federally united by religious bonds and by these alone, almost all things appeared to work together for its good. Victorious over the Hohenstaufen, over the Albigeois, over spiritual free-thought, over political opposition, over all external and internal foes,—it seemed to have reached the goal of its ambitions, to have realized the most daring hopes of ecclesiastical statesmen. Not for half a century was its omnipotence to be seriously challenged.

The sceptre of Constantinople was still grasped by the palsied hand of Latin intruders (1204–61), but ere a year had passed the Eastern Rome would yet again be Greek. Its future master, scheming and waiting at Nicaea, strengthening himself with Genoese alliance, was making ready to spring. Before the Polos had reached Bokhara their fellow citizens would have lost control of the Imperial City and the Euxine. But as yet no flag could challenge that of Venice in Byzantine waters; and as to the Black Sea, was it not almost a private lake of the Adriatic Queen's?

In France St. Louis (1226–70) had now for some six years renounced crusading projects for others nearer home—more fitted to his genius and the needs of his people than the recovery of Syria. For his work was now to show what a patriot king could do, even in the thirteenth century and in a semi-feudalized state; to exhibit, alongside a misgoverned Germany and a disunited England, the sharp contrast of an organized Christian realm, where neither priest nor baron could utterly defy the throne, where the throne was in touch with the people, and where the king's will signified the public good. It was now five years since the last French Embassy to the Tartar Courts, under William of Rubrouck, had returned from Mongolia (1255); it was twelve years since the French Kingdom had opened at Aigues Mortes its first window on the Southern sea (1248); it was less than twelve months since Louis had wrung from England the formal renunciation of all claims on Maine, Poitou, Anjou, and Normandy (December, 1259).

For on the other side of the Channel that dangerous England was a prey to discord. The new spirit of popular liberty, of municipal growth, of constitutional reform, of widespread interest in national well-being, was in open revolt against older and narrower conceptions. Henry III, compelled to accept the galling Provisions of Oxford, with their permanent Council of Advisers (1258), was biding his time. Soon the fight would be fought to a finish.

In Scotland the epoch of English invasion and nationalist upheaval had not yet come; the last monarch of the pre-Edwardian time still lived: but with Alexander III (1249–86) would close the earlier Middle Age of Scottish history. In Spain, Alfonso X, officially styled 'the Wise' (1252–84) was dreaming, legislating, and observing stars in that greater Castille which St. Ferdinand had created, and in which the first signs of maritime and commercial life could now be traced. Aragon was steadily moving towards a wider political and commercial life, towards the position of a great Mediterranean power, under James the Conqueror (1213–76), who had wrested from the Moors, Valencia, Murcia, and the Balearics, and had created the 'Greater Aragon' of the later Middle Age, just as St. Ferdinand had created the Castille which Isabella inherited. Navarre was sinking into a petty Pyrenaean state; while Portugal, under Affonso III (1248–79), had attained her European limits, but without showing much evidence of her future mission on and over sea.

In Italy, the commercial republics had never been more flourishing. Venice was at the height of its power, still dominant at Constantinople, in the Aegaean, and in the Black Sea; Florence was taking the first steps towards greatness; Pisa, not yet crushed by Genoese navies, was manfully struggling to maintain an empire beyond its strength; while Genoa itself was nearing the zenith of its fame and fortune, planning the expulsion of its rival from the Bosphorus, and preparing not only for supremacy in Byzantine waters, but also for discovery in the Atlantic, and for the exploration of a new ocean route to India. Amalfi, indeed, exhibited that grim

spectacle of death in life, of past wealth and present poverty, which was some day to be typical of all these cities; but the recurrent note of the time, among the merchants of Italy, was an abounding prosperity. The rise of the Mongol power, the opening of Further Asia to Christian trade, had more than compensated for the decline of the Crusading States and the revival of Syrian Islam. Even inland Milan and obscure Ancona were taking part in the projects and profits of the new age. No Ottoman danger yet troubled the vision of the Levantine trader.

Turning to the east and north-east, we see Hungary still bleeding from the Mongol ravages of 1241, still nominally governed by that same luckless Bela[1] who had fled before Batu and Subudai. Poland, under Boleslav V (1227–79), the very prince who had given hospitality to Carpini and furthered his mission[2], still smarted from the blows of the same scourge, still trembled with the fear of its return. While Russia, its national life cut short by that awful tempest, save in one marsh-protected region, cowered under a Tartar overlordship which was now a firm-fixed tradition of twenty years. Only in Novgorod by the Baltic did the free Slavonic life still linger, sending out its pioneers and chapmen into the forests of the north; only in the exploits of the hero-saint of Novgorod[3] could the Russian pride still find consolation. And meanwhile the Lithuanians, under the first of their great leaders, were laying the foundations of a wide dominion in west Russian lands; Mindvog (1247–63) was preparing the way for Gedimin, Olgierd, and Vitold.

In Scandinavia, Hakon V (1217–62), the conqueror of Viking Iceland and Greenland, the suzerain of Man, Orkneys, and Hebrides, had restored Norway to a leading place among European powers. But both in Sweden and Denmark feudal and clerical anarchy seemed moving on to victory over the

[1] Bela IV, 1235–70.

[2] Carpini, 734, 'ad ducem Selesiae Boleslaum . . . nobis familiaris et notus . . . ipse nobis dedit litteras . . . et conductum securum et expensas per villas et civitates,' &c.

[3] Alexander Nevski, 1252–63.

forces of order and centralized royalty; and while on the east Stockholm had just been founded (1255), and the Swedish authority established in part of Finland (from 1249),—in the far west the Scandinavian horizon was contracting; the mysterious Vinland was fading into mist and darkness; the early promise of European settlement in America, of a Norway in Nova Scotia, was not to be fulfilled.

After the Polos had stayed some time in Sudak[1]—how long we are not told, but the vague expressions of the text may here conceal the events of several months, and help us to reconcile the troublesome dates we have already noticed[2]—they determined to make a more distant venture. They set out accordingly to visit *Barca* or Berke, the Khan of Kipchak, brother and immediate successor of Batu. Berke had two *hordes*, courts, or royal residences, one at *Sara* or Sarai on the lower Volga, the foundation of Batu himself, the other at *Bolgara* or Bolghar[3], that ancient and mysterious mart of the north, by the junction of Volga and Kama. These cities roughly answered to the modern Astrakhan and Kazan, but the sites were not identical; on the one hand, Sarai lay further to the north; on the other hand, Bolghar was slightly to the south. The former may be fixed either near Tsarev, 200 miles up stream, just where the Volga makes its great bend south-eastwards towards the Caspian, or at Selitrenyi Gorodok[4], the 'Saltpetre township' some sixty-five miles from the mouth of the great river. The Tsarev site is almost certainly that of the later Sarai of Janibek Khan (1341–57)

[1] On Sudak, see also ch. v of this volume.

[2] 'Quant il furent demoire en Soldadie, auques il distrent que il hiront encore plus avant . . . il se partirent de Soldadie,' G., 2-3; 'Quant il furent venu en Soldaie . . . leur semble bon d'aler plus avant. Et se partirent . . .,' P., 6. See p. 31 of this volume.

[3] 'Barca Caan que sire estoit d'une partie de Tartar, qui estoit a celui point a Bolgara et a Sara,' G., 3; cf. Rubruquis, p. 376, on 'Sarai . . . nova villa quam fecit Baatu super Ethiliam.' We may note here the form *Caan* which Yule vainly tries to reserve for the Supreme Tartar suzerain. See Appendix to this volume.

[4] On the two Sarais, see also Appendix to this volume.

destroyed by Timur at the end of the fourteenth century (1395): but the older camp or royal vill, which is in question here, was probably lower down the Volga, at or near the point where the 'hamlet of Saltpetre' now stands. The position of modern Astrakhan answers, of course, to that of the *Gittarchan* or *Hajjitarchan*[1] of the next age; but in general importance, the Sarai of the Polos was the capital of the lower Volga basin, just as truly as Astrakhan is the capital to-day. Bolghar, again, lay a short distance below Kazan, at the spot now marked by the village and ruins of Bolgary[2]. It was the centre of the old Pagan and Moslem Bulgaria, so often described in the early and central Middle Ages. Here, in the tenth, or even in the ninth century, the faith of Mohammed had made its most northern conquest; hither travellers like Ibn Batuta came to buy the furs of the Arctic and to see the wonder of the 'white nights' of midsummer[3].

The Polos seem to have visited both Bolghar and Sarai in the course of 1261–2; but after they had stayed a year with the Khan[4], and made no little progress in his favour, their trade, their travels, and their ambitions were alike threatened by the dynastic war which broke out between the Lord of Kipchak and the Ilkhan of Persia, between the eldest and youngest branches of the Mongol Imperial House (November, 1262).

Berke was among the first of Chingiz' descendants to embrace Islam[5]; nevertheless our Venetians had heard of him as one of the most 'liberal' Tartars[6]; and their expectations had not been deceived. He had welcomed them as they desired; he had bought their gems at twice their real

[1] See ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume.

[2] On Bolghar, see ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] See Ibn Batuta (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), ii. 398–9, and ch. vii of this volume.

[4] 'Quant il furent demorres en la tere de Barca un an,' G., 3.

[5] Thus Rubruquis, pp. 263-4 'Berca frater Baatu qui pascit versus Portam Ferream . . . fecit se Sarracenum et non permittit in curia sua comedi carnes porcinas.'

[6] Not in G., though implied by context ('Cestui Barcha fist grant honore a Messer Nicolau et a Mafeu . . . ' G., 3.); it is an addition of the later texts. Cf. Ramusio, ii. 2 (B).

value[1]; the future was full of promise, with such a patron. Now his defeat at the hands of Hulagu[2] changed everything. It was impossible to return by the way they had come; so at least the brethren believed[3]; they therefore plunged still further into the wilds of Tartary. In reality they appear to have thrown themselves upon the mercy of the Central Asian Khans, of that House of Chagatai whose friendliness to Christian merchants was sometimes to be proved, and sometimes to be disproved[4]; but which was now at all events assumed without disastrous result.

Quitting *Bolgara*, accordingly, Nicolo and Maffeo travelled on to the limits of Berke's sovereignty, at *Ouchacca*[5], perhaps to be identified with Uvyek on the Volga, nine versts south of the modern Saratov, probably the same as the *Uguech* where in the fourteenth century Franciscan friars maintained a Catholic outpost[6], and certainly no other than the *Ukak* of Ibn Batuta, ten days' journey from Sarai. Here they crossed the river *Tigri*[7], under which quaint title we must undoubtedly recognize the monarch of Russian rivers, known to most men of the Middle Age as *Etil*, *Itil*, or *Atil*, but to the Spanish martyr-friar Pascal of Vittoria (A. D. 1338[8]) by the same perverse misnomer as that employed in the book of Messer Marco Polo. From the 'Tigris' the luckless merchants

[1] 'Barch . . . fait leur donner bien deus tant qe les joiaus ne valoient,' G., 3.

[2] 'Alau . . . sire des Tartar dou levant,' G., 3; '. . . devers soleil levant,' P., 7.

[3] 'Les deus frers distroient entr' aus, puisque *nos* ne *poons* retorner a Gostantinople . . .' G., 3, which here breaks into the first person.

[4] See ch. ii, part ii, § 4, ch. ii, part iii, and ch. v of this volume.

[5] 'Ilz se partirent de Bacara [so in printed text] e s'en alent a Ouchacca, qui estoit la fin dou reigne dou sire dou Ponent,' G., 3; *Oucaca* in P., 7. Why the north-western or Kipchak Khans are lords of the *West*, while the south-western or Persian Ilkhans are lords of the *East*, in Polo, the two realms being almost due North and South of one another, it would be interesting to know.

[6] See ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume, and Appendix.

[7] 'Le flum de Tigri,' G., 3; 'le grant flun de Tigeri,' P., 7–8.

[8] See ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume. In Schiltberger (p. 99, l. 20, Langmantel's edition) the *Tigris* is a synonym for the Kur; see ch. ii, part iii, § 5 of this volume. Till Pauthier, no one suggested the Volga for the 'Tigris' here; the Oxus, Jaxartes, &c. were conjectured instead.

had to struggle over a desert without settled dwellings, peopled only by roving pastoral Tartars[1], evidently the steppe or waste land between the Volga and the Aral, still almost untouched by civilization, save where Russian railways cross the plain. The desert once passed over, the rich lands of Bokhara[2] and Samarcand, the oasis of the Soghd, one of the four earthly Paradises of Moslem writers, greeted the wanderers. The route followed was probably by way of Urganj or Khiva; and the seventeen days of desert journey which the narrative records[3] can hardly refer to more than part of the immense tract between the lower Volga and the lower Oxus, which Ibn Batuta was eight weeks in crossing.

In the 'Noble' city of Bokhara, the best in all *Persia*[4], then ruled by a king called Barac, the Polos spent the next three years, finding, when they had come so far, that they could neither proceed nor return. The Barac of our travellers is Borrak Khan, great-grandson of Chagatai, and lord of the Central Asian sub-kingdom from 1264 to 1270. In all likelihood, he had not begun to reign when the Venetians first arrived in Bokhara (an event probably to be fixed to the autumn of 1263), but he had been sovereign for some time before they left.

At the end of their three years' enforced delay in the 'Noble' city, the Polos were discovered by an embassy which they describe as one from Hulagu to Kublai[5], but which was perhaps in reality one from Kublai to Hulagu, returning to the court of the Great Khan from that of his younger brother, the Ilkhan. If the latter be the true version, we may then be certain that the great general Baian, afterwards the conqueror of Southern China, and a very prominent personage in a later part of Marco's narrative, was one of the mission which induced the Polos to push on from Bokhara to China.

[1] 'Seulement Tartars con lor tentes qui vivoient de lor bestes,' G., 3.

[2] 'Boccara' and 'Bucara,' G., 3.

[3] G., 3. See ch. ii, part ii, § 4, and ch. vii, of this volume.

[4] 'Mout noble et grant . . . la meior que fust en toute Persie,' G., 3.

[5] 'Hi demorent trois anz. Et endementier qu'il hi demoroient . . . hi vint un messajes d'Alau le sire dou levant qui aloit au grant sire de tous les Tartars. . . . Cublai,' G., 4.

The envoys, amazed and delighted to see Frank merchants in such a country, were prodigal of invitations; they declared[1] how their master, though he had never seen any Latins, greatly desired such a meeting; they assured the unfortunate wanderers, now stranded in the very middle of Asia, of a safe passage to the presence of the chief of earthly sovereigns; and they performed their promise. After journeying for a year 'northward and north-eastward[2]' the Polos stood before the Lord of all the Tartars.

Their route from Bokhara is left without elucidation in the narrative[3], but if we combine the various indications of local knowledge which are scattered through later chapters, we may perhaps conclude that they passed through Samarcand, and then, crossing the Syr Daria, moved on to Almalig or Kulja, one of the head centres of the Mongol Dominion in High Asia. Thence, perhaps by the Kamul or Hami oasis and the Thian Shan Pe Lu or north Thian Shan road, we suppose they reached the western extremity of the Great Wall and the beginning of the Chinese world at Suchau. From this point they probably travelled by the same road as on their second journey, a road which seems to have led through 'Tenduc' to the north of the Hoangho elbow, and so to the Mongol summer capital on the breezy steppe-land above Peking.

After Chingiz himself, no one of the Mongol Khans could be said to rival Kublai. As a civilizer, a patron of arts and letters, a ruler of spirit finely touched and to fine issues, he was unequalled among the princes of his dynasty. After the storm, a calm; after ruin, rebuilding; after a very frenzy of

[1] 'Il na grant mervoille, por ce que james ne avoient veu nul latin en celle contree . . . le grant sire . . . ne vit unques nul latin, et a grant desider de veoir,' G., 4.

[2] 'Un an por tramontane et por grec,' G., 4.

[3] Which says 'il . . . trovent grant mervoilles et diverses coses, lesquelz ne vos conteron ci, por ce que messier March fil de . . . Nicolau *que toutes cestes choses vit* le voz contera en cest livre,' G., 4. This might be read to suggest that the outward route of the Second Journey was the same as that of the First. But I believe the differences were great. See pp. 70, 74 of this volume, and Appendix.

nomadism, the reconciliation of the nomade with settled life, of the shepherd conqueror with the husbandman and townsman he had conquered. The Tartar Khan now passed, in Kublai's own lifetime and person, into a Chinese emperor. Long before his accession, Kublai [1] had been recognized as one of the shrewdest of the Mongol chiefs. 'Listen to the words of this child: they are full of wisdom,' said Chingiz, when his grandson was but a boy [2]: and the longer he lived, the more reason had the Mongols to prize the profound statecraft, the *mitis sapientia* of the fifth of their Great Khans. He was the fine flower of Tartar nature: the philosopher-king [3] of a dynasty, which had begun with no claim but force, which above all other conquering lines had found peace only in the silence of the desert.

When the Polos came into the *Great Lord's* presence, he received them with the hospitality and distinction they had been promised [4]. In return, he gained some valuable information on the kingdoms of the West, on their sovereigns and order of battle [5], on the Pope and the Church of Rome, and on the customs of the Latins [6]. For the two brethren 'like sensible men' told him the truth in all particulars, having learnt the Tartar language thoroughly [7].

And when Kublai had heard all, proceeds the Record, he was pleased beyond measure, and resolved to send the brethren

[1] He is mentioned, as *Hubilay* (A. D. 1247), by Carpini, p. 668, in the friar's great list of Mongol princes and chiefs.

[2] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 320.

[3] As to this we may recall the story of Kublai having some of the grass seed of the Mongolian steppes sown in the courtyard of his Peking palace to remind him of the origin and secret of his people's greatness. When he looked at this grass, the tale adds, his eyes filled with tears, and he prophesied that the luxury of China would sap the vigour of his race; see another form of the tale in Bretschneider, *Recherches archéologiques sur Pékin*, 56–7, and Appendix to this volume.

[4] 'Il les receut honorablemente et fait elz grant joie et gran feste. Il a mout grant leesse de lor venue,' G., 4–5.

[5] 'Comant il vont a bataille,' G., 5.

[6] 'De l'Apostoille et tous les fais de le Yglise romane, et des tous les costumes des Latin,' G., 5.

[7] 'Come sajes homes . . . ke bien sivoient la lengue de Tartarz et la Tartaresce,' G., 5.

on an embassy to the Pope[1]. And having gained their consent to be his ambassadors, he dispatched them on their journey with one of his own barons named Cogatal, and with letters to the Apostolic Pontiff in the Turkish tongue[2]. And in these letters he asked the Pope to send one hundred persons of the Christian faith, men of intelligence, acquainted with the seven arts[3], and qualified to prove that idols were of the devil, and that the law of Christ was better than the law he and his people knew[4]. And once more, he bade the envoys bring back to him some oil from the lamp that burnt on the Sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem[5].

One other thing remained. For the safety of the travellers, the Grand Khan, being as he was lord of all the Tartars in the world[6], gave them a golden Tablet, on which it was written that the said envoys should be furnished with all they needed in the countries they should traverse[7]. And so they took their leave.

But after a while the Tartar Baron fell sick and could go no further; therefore the brethren, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, went on their way without him. And after three years' journey—being stopped sometimes by snow, sometimes by bad weather, and sometimes by great rivers, they came at last to Laias or Lajazzo[8], in the Little Armenia, finding everywhere

[1] 'Il li plet outre mesure. Il dit a soi meisme qu'il envoiera mesajes a l'Apostoile, et . . . prie les deus frers que il ailent en ceste mesajerie cum un de sez baron,' G., 5.

[2] '. . . Sez chartre en langue *torques* por envoier a l'Apostoil,' G., 5–6.

[3] 'Cent sajes homes de la cristiene loy, et que . . . seusent les sept ars,' G., 6. The 'arts' are the *Trivium* of Rhetoric, Logic, and Grammar; and the *Quadrivium* of Music, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astronomy.

[4] 'Que . . . toutes les ydres . . . sunt coses de diables, e . . . qe la loi cristiene est meior ke la lor,' G., 6. According to one form of the text, the Khan added 'se il prouvoient ce, que il, et tout son pooir devendroient crestien et homme de l'Eglise,' P., 13. This occurs only in MS. Fr. 5631, Bibl. Nat., Paris [P.'s A.]. For the Ramusian additions on Kublai's view of Christianity, see Appendix.

[5] 'De l'olio de la lanpe que ard sor le sepoucre de Deo . . .' G., 6.

[6] G., 5.

[7] 'Une table d'or en laquelle se contenoit ke les trois messajes . . . deüst estre donnee toutes les mession que lor bazongnoit,' G., 6. See pp. 129, 154 of this volume, and Appendix.

[8] 'Il furent venu a Laias . . . il hi poinent aler troiz anz,' G., 7. On Lajazzo, see pp. 46, 47, 51 of this volume.

upon their way that all their needs were supplied by reason of that Tablet of Authority which they carried from the Lord.

The route of the Polos on this their first return is as difficult to reconstruct as their preceding outward journey from Bokhara, through the entire absence of detailed indication; but their course was probably much the same between the Mongol Imperial Court and Suchau. Thence we may fairly assume they must have moved on by one of the Central Asiatic main roads—the Northern Thian Shan, the Southern Thian Shan, or the Northern Kuen Lun[1]; in the last part of their itinerary they can hardly have strayed from the famous highway through Tabriz, Erzinghian, and Siwas, to the Gulf of Scanderoon.

In their relations with the Khan, we may notice, they show little or none of the reserve and suspicion displayed by earlier European visitors. Thus Rubruquis[2] can scarcely conceal his indignation when questioned on the wealth and defensive power of Christian States; to all suggestions of a Mongol embassy returning to Europe in his company, he returns (like Plano Carpini) an absolute *non possum*; the oft-rumoured conversion of the Khans he treats with wholesome scepticism. In one point only the action of the Polos here agrees with that of their predecessors; such men as Carpini had impressed upon the Tartar mind the presidential claims of the Popes among Christian sovereigns; and it is clear that the Polos allow this impression to continue, just as in Europe, they permit the continuance of the time-honoured belief in the impending conversion of the Mongol rulers.

It was, we have seen, at Lajazzo, the ancient *Aegae*, the great port-town of Lesser Armenia, that the returning Venetians emerged again: this famous harbour was now one of the chief resorts of Italian merchantmen in the Levant; it had become the residence of a Venetian *bailo*; it was the

[1] See pp. 43, 70, 74–5 of this volume.

[2] e. g. Rubruquis, pp. 308, 314, 354, 360; Carpini, pp. 766–7.

terminus of one of the chief trade-routes of Mongol Asia; and here began or ended several of the greatest mediaeval journeys. Close to its harbour, according to Jacopo d'Acqui, took place the sea-fight by which our Marco, falling into Genoese captivity, was led to write his book.

From Lajazzo, the Polos, in the April of 1269, passed on to Acre—that doomed, but still defiant stronghold of Crusading Syria—only to hear that the Pope was dead [1]. As they could not carry Kublai's letter to Clement IV, they did the next best thing: they repaired to the Papal Vice-gerent in the Levant, one Tedaldo Visconti of Piacenza [2], the future Gregory X, now the Legate for 'the whole realm of Egypt,' and told him of their mission. And he—wise as he was and of great authority [3] (the Polo narrative here speaks of one of the chief ornaments of the Mediaeval Church)—deemed the thing to be of great advantage for all Christendom; and he bade them wait until a new Pope was made. So they went to their home by way of Negropont [4]. And when they came to Venice, Messer Nicolo found in place of his dead wife, an almost grown-up son, Marco by name, now fifteen years of age [5].

After two years' stay [6] in their own city, Nicolo and his brother determined to wait no longer for the election of a Pope and set out again from Venice for the court of the Great

[1] S'en alent ad Acri . . . hi joingent dou mois d'avril ales. 1260 (*sic*) ans de l'ancarnasion et trovant . . . ke l'Apostoile estoit mort qui avoit a nom . . . [space left for Clement IV], G., 7. On the absurd date of 1260, see Appendix to this volume.

[2] 'Legat . . . en tout le rengne d'Egipte . . . Teald de Plaienze,' G., 7.

[3] '. . . Sajes clercs . . . home de grande autorite,' G., 7, which on p. 8 calls him 'des greingnor sire de toute la Yglise de Rome.'

[4] 'A Venisse pour veoir lor mesnie . . . De Negrepont se partirent en une nes,' G., 7. Negropont was now the head centre of Venetian power in the Archipelago, for since 1261, Latin, semi-Venetian, Constantinople was no more. By Negropont they also passed on their second and final return in 1295.

[5] 'Nicolau treuve que sa fame estoit morte, et les remes un filz de xv [in printed text the MS. is misread *douze*] anz . . . Marc . . . celui . . . de cui cestui livre paroile,' G., 7. That Marco was 'born in his father's absence' does not appear in the original French text: cf. Ramusio, ii. 2 (F)–3 (A).

[6] 'Demorent a Venese encor deus anz,' G., 7.

Khan, taking young Marco with them[1]. At Acre they found Tedaldo the Legate, who furnished them with letters to Kublai; and after visiting Jerusalem and procuring the oil from the Holy Sepulchre, required by the Khan's devout curiosity, they took ship for Lajazzo, where their second trans-Asian journey was to commence[2], as the first had ended. But meantime a change had come upon the scene; Tedaldo had been elected Pope[3]; the prolonged quarrels of the cardinals had ended in the victory of merit. The new Pontiff had already committed himself to the Polos' venture. He now formally associated himself with the policy of Innocent IV. Just as the latter had sent out Carpini with the definite object of Catholicizing the Mongols, and reconciling to Rome the Churches of the East, so now Gregory X—already planning his famous Council of reunion, destined to win such apparently decisive, though temporary, victories at Lyons in 1274—commissioned the Venetian traders, natural envoys of Italian commerce, to be ambassadors of Latin Christianity as well. To this end he recalled them to Acre (whither they hurried from Lajazzo in a galley lent them by the King of Little Armenia), and furnished them with Letters Apostolic and with two learned, if somewhat chicken-hearted, spiritual colleagues[4]. Kublai had asked for a hundred Christian doctors; only one-fiftieth of his demand was acceded to, and in the end he received none but his old merchant friends again—for Brother Nicolas of Vicenza and Brother William of Tripoli[5] 'of the Dominican House at Acre' had no sooner arrived at Lajazzo, than their timid hearts began to prompt excuses. They were panic-stricken, they declared, at the invasion of Armenia now threatened by Sultan Bibars[6]—an invasion of which the

[1] 'Moinent avech elz Marc . . . s'en alent tout droit ad Acri,' G., 8.

[2] About November, 1271.

[3] 'Et s'apeloit pape Gregor de Plaience,' G., 8.

[4] 'L'Apostoile donee a . . . Nicolau et . . . Mafeu deus freres precheors . . . les plus sajes . . . en tute celle provence . . . Nicolau de Vicense . . . Guilielme de Tripule . . . il done elz brevilejes et carte et sa embasce,' G., 9.

[5] Author of the *De Statu Saracenorum*. See the 'Mandeville' section of this volume.

[6] 'Bondocdaire . . . soldan . . . de Babelonie vent en Arminie . . . et fait grande domajes,' G., 9.

Narrative implies the real existence, but which appears only to have been a border foray in the course of the struggle between Mongol Tartars and Mameluke Saracens for the possession of North Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. The Polos, accordingly, took over the documents and other things entrusted to the friars and went on from Layas alone [1]. The cowardice of their companions may have wrecked a great opportunity; but where John of Monte Corvino failed [2], Nicolas and William could hardly have triumphed. The trend of the Eastern Mongols towards Buddhism, as that of the Western Tartars towards Islam, was perhaps beyond the power of Christian missionaries to alter.

This second expedition of Venetian traders to China falls into three stages; the first, from Lajazzo to Ormuz, from the head of the Gulf of Scanderoon to the mouth of the Persian Gulf; the second, from Ormuz to Balkh, Badakhshan and the Pamir; the last, from the Upper Oxus to Peking. Once more, in the first of these stages we have, some have thought, both a land journey from the Armenian or Cilician coast to Basrah or Bassorah; and a maritime journey from the ancient port of Baghdad to the open waters of the Sea of India [3].

By this water-way, according to their original intention, our travellers should have gone on from Ormuz to China around the South of Asia [4]. Their change of plan brought them back to the great overland routes of Central Asia, through the desert lands of Eastern Persia to Balkh, that Mother of Cities in the middle Oxus basin, where ended the realm of the south-western Mongols, and where the Polos passed

[1] 'Il donent a . . . Nicolau et Mafeu tous les breviles et carthe k'il avoient et s'en alent avec le mestre deu temple,' G., 9.

[2] See ch. ii, part ii, § 1 of this volume.

[3] On the other hand, the whole of this stage may have been overland, as Major Sykes suggests, and as I prefer to think; see pp. 50, 51, 55, 57 of this volume.

[4] So Friar Odoric goes in the early fourteenth century, and probably Monte Corvino at the end of the thirteenth. See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 1, 5 of this volume.

definitely into Upper Asia, the 'Middle Empire[1].' And if Balkh is the north-eastern terminus, on Marco's route, of the Persian sub-kingdom, Kashgar equally well marks in his experience the western limit of the suzerain Mongol state, that 'Empire of the Great Khan' which was based on Northern China and answered in rough outline to the modern realm of the Son of Heaven, plus the territories torn from it in the nineteenth century by Russia, by France, by Germany, and by England.

Between Lajazzo and Ormuz the steps of the new Polo advance—even the principal resting-places—are almost entirely matters for conjecture. It is true that the Record, starting from Little Armenia, tells us next of Turcomania, with its cities of Kuniyah, Kaysariyah, and Siwas, but the actual course of the journey cannot well have embraced Iconium, far to the west of the obvious line of march. It is true, again, that after describing Great Armenia, Messer Marco turns to Georgia, on one side, and to Mosul and Baghdad on the other; but here again it is evident that no mere itinerary is given us. Nor does it seem more necessary to trace the route through mediaeval Nineveh and the Moslem *Abode of Peace* than through Derbent and the Iron Gate. It must, in fact, remain exceedingly doubtful whether our Venetians ever visited Baghdad or sailed down the Persian Gulf from Basrah to the entrance of the 'Sea of India.' For if so, why does the worthy Marco turn the Volga into the Tigris, while affording no hint of the true name of the Arrowy River? Why does he give so feeble a sketch of the city of the Caliphs? And, above all, why does he speak as if merchants could descend the stream that flowed through Baghdad till they arrived at Kish, a voyage of eighteen days, almost to the mouth of the Gulf? In the face of these difficulties, is it not reasonable to look at the alternative route, equally deducible from the Narrative, and more in harmony with the main lines of trade and travel since the Mongol conquest of Persia, Armenia, and Irak? In

[1] On the names of *Medium Imperium* and *Medorum Imperium* for the Central Asian Khanate, see ch. ii, part ii; and especially § 4.

other words, may we not suppose that the Polos followed the 'Grand Trunk' road from the Gulf of Scanderoon to Tabriz, and thence dropped down upon Ormuz by the track through Yezd and Kerman? On a careful, consecutive, and unprejudiced reading of the text, such a view seems preferable to any other.

According to this theory the indications of our authority best correspond with the real order of progress (at least until we reach the Southern Ocean) in the opening chapters of the *Livre des Diversités*: herein the Lajazzo-Tabriz highway is more or less followed as far as Erzinghian and Erzerum; after that we must assume that the historical fame of the great cities lying to the south and west of his true course leads Messer Marco to speak more lengthily (though more inaccurately) of these, and to give only a brief reference (though a perfectly true one) to his own trail through the great mart-town of North Persia [1].

We shall see later that similar vagueness and ambiguity confront us in later (as in earlier) sections of the history; nor is this to be wondered at. For the personal experience of the author is not the prominent thing in the book he dictates to Rustician; that book, indeed, after supplying in the *Prologue* a meagre outline [2] of both the great expeditions of the Polo family, takes the form (as already noticed) of a *Description of Sundry Matters*, an *Account of Various Things met with in Travel*. The geographical interest is not dominant in the writer's mind—though to geography, above all branches of human knowledge, his work was serviceable: we have to pick out the road, the relative positions of places, the author's notions of the world-surface, from a mass of notes on the history, religion, legends, manners, trade, and sport of Asia.

The first chapter of this *Liber Diversorum*, here at least a

[1] See Appendix to this volume.

[2] Marco's promise (G., 10) to supply the deficiencies of the *Prologue* in the *Description of Countries* is anything but fulfilled, as far as a proper itinerary is concerned. But, of course, the undertaking is only 'ce que il trovent en la voie . . . voz conteron . . . per ordre,' G., 10.

faithful reflection of the journey, is occupied with Armenia the Lesser (a land quite distinct from the 'Armenia Minor' of ancient historians, and originating in Rupen's eleventh-century migration from the table-land of Great Armenia to the southern slopes of the Taurus [1]), ever a faithful and serviceable ally of the Latin world, owning the political headship of the Holy Empire and the spiritual headship of the Papacy, but really depending, from about 1225, on Mongol overlordship for protection against nearer Moslem foes [2]. Though encircled (in Sanuto's [3] language) by four savage beasts—the Tartar *lion*, the Egyptian *panther*, the Turkish *wolf*, and the Corsair *serpent*—the country (as Messer Marco found it) was well peopled, a land of great solace, abounding in all good things; it was, however, both unhealthy and cursed by a cowardly, drunken race—'vile caitiffs, good at naught but boozing: they are great at that [4].'

Their chief title to respect lay in their famous port. For hither came every kind of spicery, silk, and gold stuff; here trafficked merchants of Venice and Genoa, and all other lands; and whoever would go up to the Euphrates, adds Polo, whether to trade or no, took their way by this city of Laias [5].

After this Southern or Cilician Armenia, as we have seen, comes *Turcomanie*, subject to the Persian Ilkhans, inhabited by Moslem Turcomans, by Armenians, and by Greeks, and famous for its Turcoman horses, its fine carpets, and its silk stuffs [6]. *Como*, *Sevasto*, and *Casserie*—in better-

[1] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 382–3, 456.

[2] So Polo declares that the 'sire' of 'pitete Harmenie' was 'sout-post au Tartar,' G., 16.

[3] Cf. Marino Sanuto's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* [written 1306–21] in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 32; also ch. ii, part iii, § 1 of this volume.

[4] 'Hi a mantes viles et . . . castiaue . . . toutes choses en . . . abundanze . . . tere de grant solaze . . . mes . . . pas saine . . . les gentilz homes . . . chetif et vilz . . . ont nulle bonte, for qu'il sunt buen beveor,' G., 16.

[5] 'Laias . . . de gran mercaandie . . . toutes le speseries et . . . dras de Fratere . . . et . . . mercaandies de Venese . . . de Jene . . . de toutes pars hi vinent et l'acatent. Et tous . . . ke vuelent aler en Fraterre prenent lor voie de ceste ville,' G., 16.

[6] 'Trois jenerasion de jens . . . Turcomams que aürent Maomet et

known language Iconium, Sebaste, and Caesarea of Cappadocia —were the chief cities of this region, by which the central area of the old Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm is evidently meant.

How far the Polos, in all likelihood, now pushed along the Siwas-Tabriz road, and made acquaintance with the countries next described—Great Armenia and Georgia, the basins of the Upper Euphrates, of Lake Van and of the Kur and Aras—has been already discussed. But on the return journey it is probable that they penetrated still further into these tracts, when they followed the North Armenian caravan route from Tabriz to Trebizond, and perhaps learnt something of Lake Gokcha (far within the present Russian frontier), which one theory even makes them to have visited [1], by a digression from the main road through Erzerum [2] and Baiburt. In any case, what Marco has to say of Great Armenia—bounded by Georgia on the north and by Mosul [3] to the south—in which matchless woollen stuffs were made [4], and upon whose lofty plateaux, infamous for their awful winter cold, the army of the Levant Tartars [5] found excellent pasture in summer—offers little to criticize or to remark. He repeats the usual tradition of the Ark of Noah resting on a mountain of this region; and apparently includes within the limits of *Armenia Maior*, though on the side towards Georgia, the wondrous fount that spouted oil and supplied all the surrounding parts with fuel [6]. The

. . . ont brut lengajes. Il demorent en montagne et en landes . . . ou il savent qui haie buen pasquor . . . vivent de bestiaus . . . hi naisent buen chavalz Turcomam . . . Autres gens . . . Armin et Grezois . . . demorent en viles . . . vivent de mercaandie et d'ars. . . . Hi se laborent le souran tapis . . . et li pius biaus . . . dras de soie cremosi . . . Il sont post au Tartar dou Levant, et cil hi met sa seignorie,' G., 17.

[1] Quite wrongly, as I believe: see p. 155.

[2] 'Argiron,' G., 17.

[3] 'Ke sunt jens cristienz . . . Jacopins et Nestorins,' adds Polo, here, G., 18.

[4] '. . . Grant Armenie . . . comance d'a . . . Arzinga, en laquel se laborent les meilior bocaran . . . les pius biaus bangnes . . . les meiliors d'eive surgent . . . jens . . . Armin . . . homes do Tartar,' G., 17.

[5] i. e. of the Ilkhans. 'Hi demorent toute la hoste dou Tartar dou Levant; . . . mout bon pasquor l'este as bestes; . . . l'inver . . . froidure de la nois . . . i a outre mesure,' G., 17–18.

[6] 'A ceste confine devers Jorgiens

naphtha springs of Baku, and the eternal fires they lighted (though not usually regarded as Armenian), had been famous and sacred from a high antiquity, and Polo is only one of several Europeans, in this age of new knowledge, to celebrate their marvels [1]. As to the Georgians, neighbours of these eternal fires, they were a valiant people, skilled in archery, and adherents of the Greek Church [2], who worked admirably in gold and silk [3], possessed the finest goshawks in the world, and by their fashion of close-cropped hair, recalled the appearance of western clergymen. Their land [4] was also celebrated in story: for here was the Iron Gate [5] (our pass of Derbent), so named from the strong tower that Alexander built, when he shut up the Tartars [6] between two mountains —a truly perilous defile, four leagues long and very narrow, with the sea on one side, and, on the other, mountains impassable to horsemen.

As to the *Sea of Gleveshelan*, or *Ghelan* [7], which here washed the foot of the great mountain range, Polo's notions, though in essentials clearer than most westerns had hitherto possessed, are somewhat inadequate. For though Marco realizes, like Rubruquis, that the Caspian is an absolutely inland basin 'seven hundred miles in extent, and twelve days' journey from any other sea,' and though he tells us that Genoese merchants

ha une fontane ke sorze oleo . . . si que cent nes hi kargent a une foies; . . . pas bon a manger, me . . . bon a ardoir; . . . vienent de . . . loingne por cesto . . . environ ne ardent autre . . .' G., 18.

[1] See Ricold of Monte Croce in ch. ii, part ii, § 2 of this volume.

[2] 'De . . . loy Grezois,' G., 18.

[3] 'Dras de soie et dras dores les plus biaus . . . meillor astor,' G., 19.

[4] The forms *Jorgiens*, *Jorjens*, *Jogies*, *Jorgienie*, occur in G., 17-18. The king was 'sotpost au Tartar,' G., 18. Later texts add that in Georgia all the forests were of box-wood, a very genuine characteristic: cf. Ramusio, ii. 5 (A).

[5] 'Port dou fer,' G., 19. Polo here refers to the *Livre Alexandre*. See Ricold in ch. ii, part ii, § 2, and Clavijo in ch. ii, part iii, § 4 of this volume.

[6] 'Ce ne fu pas voir qu'il fuissent Tartar,' adds Marco in a critical spirit, 'mes furent . . . Comains [Kumans] et autres . . . car Tartarz n'etoient a celui tens,' G., 19.

[7] 'Mer de Gleveshelan . . . zire environ sept cent miles . . . longe de tous mer bien doze jornee . . . tout environee de montagne et . . . terre,' G., 19. . .

had even then begun to navigate it[1] (one of the most interesting facts he records anywhere), with the next breath he asseverates that among its tributaries was the *Euphrates*[2].

And now, after the North, the South. Having described Georgia and the Caspian, on the left hand of the Armenia through which his course probably lay, he tells us of Mosul and Baghdad on the right hand of the Tabriz road. Of Mush and Mardin, in Armenian Kurdistan and Northern Mesopotamia, through which various students of Polo have brought down his route south-south-east from Erzinghian, only the later texts have any mention, and that one which hardly supports the theory in question. For though in reality cities 120 miles apart, they are lumped together as the title of one province—that of *Mus and Meridin*, lying *near*[3] to Mosul—and are vaguely described as subject to 'the Tartar King,' and as peopled by craftsmen and traders who manufactured *buckrams*[4].

But the 'great realm' of Mosul (nearly all Polo's towns and kingdoms are vast, like Xenophon's) appears in the oldest form of Marco's Narrative, and is there celebrated not only for its Nestorian and Jacobite Christians, under a Patriarch or *Jatolic*[5], who sent his suffragans even to India and Cathay[6],

[1] 'Novelemant les marchians de Jene najerent por cel mer,' G., 19. See ch. v of this volume.

[2] 'Hi met de denz le flu d'Eufrautes,' G., 19. But his statement 'd'iluech vint la soie ke est apelle gelle' is true enough of the Ghilan silk.

[3] Over 100 miles to the north-west.

[4] Cf. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, ii. 5 (D); Y.-C., i. 60–1. As to *Buckrams*, their original derivation, name and thing, from Bukhara or Bokhara, and their apparent variety, sometimes signifying quilted cotton material, sometimes (perhaps) bleached cloth with lustrous surface, sometimes linen stuff, see also Appendix to this volume.

[5] I.e. *Katholikos*, misprinted *Jatolie* in G., 20. See ch. ii, part ii, § 2 of this volume.

[6] 'En Indie et au Cata, ausint con fait l'Apostoille de Rome,' G., 20. Nestorian churches or communities are mentioned or implied by Polo at Tabriz and Kirman in Persia; at Samarcand, Kashgar, Yarkand, Kamul or Hami, and Kanchau, the capital of *Tangut* (the Koko Nor region, &c.) in Central Asia; at Ghingintalas (perhaps a region of the Upper Yenisei); at Suchau, by the west end of the Great Wall of China; in north-eastern Tibet (*Erguiul*); in Alashan and Inshan (*Egrigaia* and *Tenduc*) round the north of the great Hoangho

but also for its cloths of silk and gold known as *mosulin* or muslins [1] (like the rich merchants of Mosul themselves) from this the sole region of their manufacture. Round the carcase gathered the vultures. To plunder the wealth of Mosul was the joy of the neighbouring Kurdish banditti, that 'evil race,' then divided between Christian and Moslem faiths, but then, as always, undivided in their devotion to plunder and their attention to every passing caravan [2].

Good indirect evidence of Marco's personal ignorance of Mosul may be gathered not only from his sweeping statement as to *all* the 'Muslins' of the world being made here, and his apparent inclusion of the local Jacobites in one communion with the Nestorians, but also from his distinct implication that the *Jatolic* or Pope of the Eastern Separatists resided not in Baghdad but in the Mosul region, at some place quite distinct from the old Moslem capital, *to which* he sent his suffragans.

From the region of ancient Nineveh, Polo's Rehearsal of Kingdoms now descends the Tigris valley, with a noticeable absence of all indications of personal travel, to *Baudas* or Baghdad. His hasty and superficial account of the Abbasside capital, now reft of its Caliph, its old spiritual and political pre-eminence, and much of its commercial prosperity, sometimes recalls in phraseology certain passages of Benjamin of Tudela, who saw the city of the *Saracen Pope* [3] in almost undiminished splendour. Even in Polo's time Baghdad was still the noblest town of all these parts [4]; the making of silk and gold stuff had not ceased to be a flourishing industry [5], and many merchants

elbow; at Yunnanfu in south-western China; at Hokienfu, south-west of Peking; at Yangchau, on the Grand Canal, just north of the Yangtse-kiang; at Chinkianfu on the Kiang itself; at Hangchaufu, then the greatest city of China and the world; and on the Coromandel coast, near Madras. See also ch. ii, part ii, and ch. vii of this volume.

[1] 'Grandisme mercaanz que sunt apeles mosulin,' G., 20.

[2] 'Card que sunt de Cristiens Nestorin et Jacopit; . . . une partie . . . Sarain; . . . prodomes et mauveise jens . . . robent voluntere les mercaant,' G., 20.

[3] Both travellers use very similar language here; cf. G., 21; Benj. Tud., in Asher's edition, i. 93; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 250.

[4] G., 21. This may be only hearsay, but it is not inaccurate.

[5] 'Dras doree et de soie . . . nassit . . . nac . . . cremosi,' G., 21. On the *Baldakin* of *Baldac* or Baghdad, see

were yet to be seen here; it is well known, from other sources [1], that the place recovered with Oriental rapidity from that Mongol sack of 1258, which our traveller ante-dates by three years [2].

But when Messer Marco (in words already noticed) tells how, by the great stream that flowed through Baghdad, one could go to the entrance of the Sea of India at Kish (a voyage of eighteen days) [3], he neglects to copy any trustworthy informant, and makes it clear that in this section at least his Recital of Countries is far from being a Recital of the Journey 'in due order,' as we might have gathered from the Promise of the *Prologue*.

He now, as we conceive his route, returns to follow it through Tabriz, Yezd, and Kerman, down to Ormuz, after saying all he had to say of the regions of the Tigris basin to the south-west and west of his true course.

Standing in an excellent position for trade, and already famous for its silk and gold stuffs, its gems, and its fruits, *Toris*, that 'great city of Irak [4],' had begun to attract merchants from the Latin world, just as it drew them (or their goods) from India and Mesopotamia and the 'hot coast' of Southern Persia [5]. The true natives of the town, an evil and

ch. v of this volume, and Appendix.

[1] See Appendix.

[2] 'En l'an 1255,' G., 21. Polo's version of the last Caliph's death (allowed only his treasure to eat) is much the same as that of Ricold of Monte Croce and King Hayton of Little Armenia. See ch. ii, part ii, § 2 of this volume. It is the one popularized by Longfellow. As in the case of Samarcand, Marco, knowing little or nothing first-hand, falls back on legend.

[3] 'Por mi la cite passe un flun mout grant et por ce flun poit . . . aler en la mer de Yndie et hi alent . . . les mercaant et le flun est lonc de Baudac a la mer d'Endie . . . dix huit jornee e les mercaans qe vuelent aler en Yndie vont par cel flun . . . a Chisi, et d'iluec entrarent en la mer d'Yndie'; 'sor cel flun entre Baudac et Chisi' was 'Bascra,' G., 21. Basrah's wealth of dates (G., 21) is a point which Polo has got right. Cf. Schiltberger, 60 (L.).

[4] 'Toris . . . grande cite en Yrac; . . . la pueple . . . apeles Tauriz,' G., 22.

[5] 'De Yndie . . . Baudac . . . Mosul . . . Cremosor . . . et . . . maint mercant latin,' G., 22: P., 60, adds 'et proprement genevois,' from the Cépoy MSS. *Cremosor* is *Garmsir*, the hot coast of Persia both outside and inside the Gulf; cf. Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione*, ii. 40; P., 60; Y.-C., i. 75.

faithless race, 'adored Maomet'; but Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, and Georgians[1] were also to be found in the medley throng which peopled this rising market, destined under Mongol rule to become the chief emporium of West Asia.

It is only after describing Tabriz (and, as we suppose, after quitting it upon his southern journey) that Polo definitely notes the commencement of *Persie*[2], once so illustrious and mighty, now so wasted by Tartar savagery, a land which he divides into eight 'kingdoms' or provinces, as follows. The first *Casum*, the second *Cardistan*, the third *Lor*, the fourth *Cielstan*[3], the fifth *Istanit*[3], the sixth *Cerazi*, the seventh *Soucara*[3], the eighth *Tunocan*:—names and regions which answer to Kazvin and Kurdistan, to Luristan—east and north-east of Baghdad—to Shulistan, on the north-east shore of the Persian Gulf—to Ispahan and Shiraz, to the Shabankara country—on the highland just behind the hot coast of the Gulf—and to the districts of Tun and Kain—in Kuhistan. Alone among these *roiames* the last-named lay towards the east, and bordered on the *Arbre Seul*[4]; all the rest were situated in southern parts; in both these indications it is plain that the traveller is regarding Persia from Tabriz or some adjacent point of the north-west. A centre at or near Baghdad would not harmonize with the directions given: did one accept the Tigris valley route, preferred by Sir Henry Yule, it would compel one to search for some highly artificial explanations of the text in this passage[5].

As to the *Lone Tree*, we shall soon arrive, in the course of the journey, at the classic locality of the sacred and prophetic

[1] 'Armi, Nestori, Jacopit ... Girogian ... ' G., 22.

[2] '... Ansienamant ... mut nobles orendroit les hont destruite ... les Tartarz,' G., 27. On all this part of the Polo journey, cf. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, especially pp. 262–8.

[3] In Ramusio, ii. 6 (E) *Suolistan*, *Soncara* and *Spaan* (for *Ispan*), which give the necessary connexions between G., 29, and the true forms.

[4] 'Tuit cesti ... dever medi, for le un sol levant, c'estee Tunocan qui est pres a l'abre seul' [*sic*], G., 29, 30.

[5] Yule's notes and maps here (Y.-C., i. 78–115) seem at times ready to bear evidence against his own theory of the route. On this whole question, see also Appendix.

Kuru Dirakht[1], near the frontier of Khorasan. Dealing with the products and characteristics of the Persian land, our historian praises its horses and asses as super-excellent, and notices the valuable export-trade in these animals, especially to India, from Kish and Ormuz[2]; but on the other hand he pictures the country as infested by murderous brigands, above all by a half-caste stock of Indo-Tartar uffians, the *Caraunas*, skilled in enchantment, able to bring darkness over the face of day (and that for the space of a week's march), who often swept the open in battue style, and from whose hands Messer Marco himself was only delivered by good fortune and his own speed. This adventure, the only direct and unmistakable allusion to the personal experience of the Polos since they had left Lajazzo and the Cilician coast, is located near *Canosalmi* castle, perhaps the *Salmous* of ancient historians, and the now ruined *Kamasal*, some sixty miles north-north-east of Ormuz[3].

Yet the Narrative, though in a general and impersonal manner, has many other details to furnish of the route between Tabriz and the southern sea; and in all these details, as it seems to us, it is the reflection of a real itinerary,—it describes the course actually followed by our explorers, a course identical with that pursued in after-days by Odoric, and probably by Monte Corvino[4]. Thus it glances at *Sava*, home of the Magi, to the west of Kum; at *Jasdi* or Yezd, home of the famous *Jasdi* silks[5]; at the realm and town of *Crerman* or Kerman, celebrated for its exquisite

[1] The *Kurru Thereck* of Schiltberger, 72 (L.): see ch. ii, part iii, § 5 of this volume.

[2] 'En cesti roiames . . . maint biaus destrer . . . emoinent en Yndie a vendre . . . a Chisi et a Curmosa . . . sur le rive dou mer a d'Yndie,' G., 30.

[3] '. . . Caraunas . . . lor mer . . . indiene . . . lor pere par tartarz . . . il font por lor encantemant pour evre diablotique [*sic*] tout le jor devenir osour . . . Messier March . . . fu tel come pris da celle gens en celle oscurite; mes il escampe a . . . castiaus *Canosalmi*,' G., 30, 33, 34. On the Caraunas, cf. Y.-C., i. 101–6. Pauthier's text adds that only seven of Marco's company escaped with him (P., 84).

[4] See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 1, 5 of this volume.

[5] G., 30.

steel[1], its turquoises, its embroideries, its manufacture of war-like implements[2], and its falcons; and at the decayed city of *Camandi*, now represented by the Komadin quarter of Jiruft, on the right bank of the Khalil Rud[3]. Nor are particulars wanting of the march between the main halting-places. From Yezd to Kerman the route lay for a whole week over great plains where excellent hawking and hunting were to be had, but where only three practicable resting-stages existed—one of them probably to be fixed at the modern Baft[4]. Again seven days from Kerman, through a pleasant well-peopled flat land, to a lofty mountain guarded by terrible winter cold[5], which, once surmounted, a man began to descend towards Komadin, the coastal lowland, and Ormuz.

Marco probably crossed this 'mountain' by the Sarbizan pass, over 9,000 feet high, some thirty-five miles from Jiruft[6]; he now entered the country of *Reobarles*, or Rudbar, where his sketches of the humped oxen, black partridges, and fat-tailed sheep might have been written by an observer of to-day. The last stage of the sea-ward descent (after the Caraunas had been evaded) lay through a rich and beautiful plain which Polo calls *Formose*; this traversed, the wanderers stood by the shore of the Indian Ocean, in the port of *Cormos*[7]. Ormuz had not yet deserted its mainland site and taken refuge on its island; but already it had become the Aden of the East Arabian Gulf; already it was outstripping its ancient rivals and rising towards that fabulous prosperity which made it for centuries the prize of the south, the 'jewel in the ring' of the world. For hither even now came merchants not only

[1] 'Vene d'acier et d'ondanique,' G., 31.

[2] 'Pieres ... torchiose ... en grant habundance ... il se laborent de tuit harnois de chevalier mout bien ... frain et selle ... speronz espee ... arc ... carcas,' etc.: 'et les dames ... labourent ... de aguigle sor dras de soie de tous colors a bestes et a osiaus et a ... autres ymajes ... et coltres et coisin et horeiler ... mout sotilment,' G., 31; cf. Y.-C., i. 92–6.

[3] Cf. Sykes, *Persia*, 266–7.

[4] Otherwise Bafk; cf. Y.-C., i. 89; Sykes, *Persia*, 265.

[5] Edrisi's 'cold mountains' specially so-called.

[6] Sykes, *Persia*, 268. On the whole of the route from Kerman to Ormuz, see also Y.-C., i. 110–15.

[7] 'La mer Osiane, et sour la rive ... Cormos,' G., 34.

from India, but also from Cathay and the Furthest East, with gems, furs, spices, ivory, silk, and gold stuffs; bearing all these treasures in the miserable, nail-less, unpitched vessels of the Southern Sea, sewn together with the fibre of the cocoa-nut, a poor defence in storms[1].

The intolerable heat of Ormuz, especially in the sirocco time, was only to be avoided by living in the water; all the rich men of the city, therefore, had tanks in their gardens where one could lie, sit, or stand, till the danger was overpast, or the comparative cool of night had come. No green herb was to be seen hereabout, save date-palms; the people were black worshippers of 'Maomet'; sickness was rife; and the greedy masters of the city seized the goods of all foreign merchants who died there[2].

The Polos could hardly have made their way to Ormuz, save for one purpose—to prosecute their journey by the sea route to Cathay: the dangers and hardships of the overland journey, already accomplished by Nicolo and Maffeo, were reasons enough for attempting another line of advance. But at Ormuz they changed their mind once more; for one thing, it is said, because they could not find a ship in readiness, for another, because (if we may believe the later tradition[3], though absent from the primitive French text) young Marco fell ill in the pestilential heat of the Gulf, and the party dared no longer journey under the tropical sun; by a quick return northward they hoped to restore his health. Both these reasons may have operated; in any case, it is fairly evident from the Narrative itself that our Venetians feared to venture in the flimsy, perilous vessels of the *Sea of Hind*[4].

Once more, then, we turn towards the Persian Upland and

[1] 'Lor nes . . . ne sunt clauee cum agu de fer, mes sunt cuisie de fil . . . de l'ascorce de les nocces d'Yndie . . . ont un arbres . . . voilles . . . un timon, et ne unt cuverte . . . ne . . . enpeccee, mes l'oingnent d'une olio de peison,' &c., G., 35.

[2] G., 34.

[3] Cf. Y.-C., i. 159, based on Ramusio, ii. 10 (c), describing how in Badakhshan Marco recovered from the illness that had hung about him for a year.

[4] '. . . Grant perilz a najere en cele nes . . . la mer d'Endie fait grant tempeste plusor foies,' G., 35.

retrace our steps to Kerman, along a road (probably the modern 'winter route' through Sirjan) abounding in hot baths of great medicinal virtue, through a country with bitter water, making bitter bread[1]. Thence through an arid desert, peopled only by a few wild geese[2],—through another waste scarcely more cheerful, to *Cobinan* (our Kubanan or Kubenan district[3])—and so onward to the north-east frontier lands of Iran, to the region of *Tonocain*.

It is clear that the seven days of wearisome travelling from *Crerman* to *Cobinan*[4] (the latter lying only some hundred miles to the north-north-west of the former) must have been by a circuitous path, avoiding the mountains that lay between. In the Kubenan neighbourhood is still found the 'vein of earth' (our sulphate of zinc) whose soot, grease, and slag Marco celebrates under the names of *tutia*[5] and *spodio*, the *tutty* of our own East India Company, although no 'large town' any longer exists in this desolate little Persian canton, and no manufacture of steel mirrors or Indian blades is kept up[6]. While, lastly, the eight days of desolate travelling[7] from *Cobinan* to *Tonocain*, almost certainly brought the Polos over the north part of the Dash-i-Lut, or Great Sand Desert, to Tabas, a march of 150 miles. For to Marco's Tun-and-Kain the modern Tun-and-Tabas corresponds, as a provincial name, Kain being now reckoned apart from its ancient sister. Here the wanderers were close to the southern border of

[1] 'Retorneron por un autre voie a . . . Crerman . . . en retorner da Cremosa a Crerman a mout biaus plain,' &c., G., 36, one more hint of the route actually followed to Ormuz. Cf. Sykes, *Persia*, 270.

[2] P., 92; G., 37, speaks only of a 'dezer . . . grant secchte . . . ne . . . fruit ne arbres . . . eive . . . amer et mauveises.'

[3] In Polo Cobinan is a 'grant cite,' G., 37.

[4] 'Bien sept jornee de mout aneuise vie,' G., 36. The Narrative divides this stretch into two parts, one of three, the other of four days' travel—all about equally repulsive and desolate. Between these two the Ramusian text interpolates an oasis, depending on a stream of fresh water running underground, cf. Y.-C., i. 123-4; Ramusio, ii. 8 (D–E).

[5] Called both *tutia* and *titue* in G., 37; cf. Y.-C., 126–7. Marco's description of extracting *tutia*, name and thing, is exactly true of Persia to-day.

[6] '. . . Ondanique asez, et hi s'i font mireor d'accer,' G., 37.

[7] 'Por un dezer . . . huit jornee,' G., 37.

Khorasan; here once more they had entered a pleasant temperate country, with abundance of human life, food, sport, and pleasure; and here the Book stops to tell us of the mystic Lone Tree or Tree of the Sun, which Christians called the Dry Tree [1]—tall and thick, having its bark green upon one side and white upon the other, its wood yellow like box, and its fruit-husk rough like a chestnut, but without a kernel. Save in one direction, no other tree could be found for a hundred miles; according to local story, it marked the scene of 'the battle' of Alexander and Darius; it was apparently some famous *Chinar* or Oriental plane, standing in a vast untimbered plain, and forming a tangible centre for the clouds of myth with which romance had encircled the life of the Macedonian conqueror.

There was another marvel in this part of the world. For here, in Tonocain, Marco finds it natural to stop and talk to us of the Old Man of the Mountain [2], of his *asciscin*, hashish-eaters, or Assassins, and of their citadel in the Elburz range to the south of the Caspian. The *Eagle's Nest* at 'Alamut,' taken at last by the Mongols in 1252, may have been visited by the Polos on their return; it probably lay too far to the north-west of their outward route.

From the Assassin stronghold in *Mulecte*, the Narrative now takes us eastward, 'by fair plains and fair coasts [3],' for six days' journey, towards Balkh, leaving Herat unnoticed to the south, but pausing at *Sopurgan* [4] or Shibrkan, in our

[1] 'Tonocain . . . hi . . . cite et chaustiaus asez . . . en le confinnes de Persie dever tramontane' . . . [and later 'abundance de toutes chouses bones . . . femes . . . belles outre mesure' . . .] . . . 'hi a une grandisime plaingne en lequel est l'arbre seul que les cristiens appellent l'arbre seche,' &c., G., 37–8; cf. also G., 254, for the form 'arbre *sol*, qe en livre d'Alexandre est appele l'arbree seche.' On the whole subject of the tree or trees in question, see Y.-C., 128–39, and Appendix to this volume.

[2] 'Mulecte est une contree ou le Viel de la Montagne soloit demorer ansienament,' G., 38. On the training of the *asciscin*, see G., 39, 40; on their achievements, G., 40, 41; on their ruin in 1262 (by mistake for 1252), G., 41; on the name of *Mulehet* or 'Heretics,' *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 240; on the whole subject, Y.-C., i. 139–48; and Appendix to this volume.

[3] 'Par biaus plain et . . . bele vallee,' G., 41.

[4] 'Sopurgan . . . plantee de toutes couses,' and especially 'les meior melon do monde,' G., 42. On the six

Afghan Turkestan. The Venetians probably crossed the Paropamisus by the Robat Pass and skirted the present Russo-Afghan frontier, if they did not actually touch at Kushk, Panjdih, and Maruchak. The melons of *Sopurgan*, celebrated by Marco, are famous in Oriental writings, such as the Persian *History of Herat*; and the same is true of the ruined splendours of Balkh, its marble palaces and houses, now all desolated by the Mongols.

It is here at *Balc*, as we have seen, that Marco fixes 'the limit of Persia in the direction between east and north-east [1].' The road by which he takes us now leads upward from the dangerous Kunduz lowlands to a highland district,—our Badakhshan,—uniformly healthy, but of varying fertility and attractiveness, where (in wilder regions) one met with none but cave-men and hill-dwellers, living in constant terror of robbers; where eagles, lions, and wild-deer usurped the place of towns and villages; and where a meal was only to be gained by hunting [2].

Elsewhere, however, the land abounded in fruit, vines, corn, and salt; the last in plenty sufficient to supply the whole earth till the Day of Doom [3]. But all was not well in these more fertile lands. They were inhabited by an evil and murderous generation, whose joy was in the wine-cup, and whose zeal in getting drunk was in no wise affected by the fact that all their wine was boiled [4].

Here in the pure, life-giving air of the hills, Messer Marco

days given by the text and the probability of a mistake here for a much larger number, see Y.-C., i. 149–50.

[1] 'Le confin de Persie entre Grec et levant,' G., 42. On Balkh, cf. also ch. vii of this volume.

[2] As at *Scasem* or Keshm, south-west of Faizabad, and on a sub-affluent of the Upper Oxus. See G., 43–4.

[3] As at *Taican* or Talikhan, due north of Kabul. See G., 43.

[4] 'Mauves jens et morturies . . . ont mout bon vin cuet,' G., 43. Not till three days' journey beyond *Scasem*, and after passing through some very desolate country ('abitasion nulle, ne a mangier, ne a boire,' G., 44), does Marco place the beginning of *Balascian*, or Badakhshan, though according to most ancient and nearly all modern descriptions we should consider the Polos had entered that region at *Taican*.

(as Ramusio[1] tells us) shook off the illness which had hung about him for a year, perhaps ever since he had traversed the pestilential coast land of the Persian Gulf and drooped under the heat of Ormuz. He was not the first to value these glorious hills; for here[2] Zubaydah, Harun al Rashid's queen, was said to have often spent the months of spring, at a time when the Baghdad Caliph was still Lord of these Central Asian highlands. Over this paradise of a land we cannot wonder if Polo is ecstatic. In his eyes it was a 'very great kingdom,' where the local sovereigns all boasted of their descent from Alexander and the daughter of Darius; where the precious balas rubies were found, sometimes in veins of silver[3]; where the finest *azure*[4] and the noblest horses could be had; where, in old time, steeds had been bred from Bucephalus himself[5]; where good saker and lanier falcons[6] had their home; where abundant sport rewarded the manly horseman; where vast herds of wild sheep wandered upon the uplands[5]; and where a man's lost strength might be recovered. For here were grassy lawns and spreading trees; here were rich fields of wheat and barley; here were bountiful watercourses pouring down through rocky ravines; here were brook-trout and many another dainty fish; and here above all was the purest and most bracing air of heaven[7].

As he moves on his eastward way from Badakhshan towards the great dividing range, Marco next glances at the two

[1] Ramusio, ii. 10 (c); Y.-C., i. 159.

[2] In the plateau of 'Baharak,' near Jauzgûn (the ancient capital), now replaced by Faizabad; cf. Y.-C., i. 156, relying on Faiz Baksh's report of the local tradition.

[3] 'Le pieres presioses que l'en appelle *balasci*' (some 'que cavent la voine de l'argent') . . . 'en une prope montagne apellee *Sighinan*,' G., 44.

[4] 'En une autres montagnes se treuvent les pieres desquelz l'en fait le azur, le plus fin et le meior qui soit,' G., 45. For *azure* we should say lapis lazuli. Cf. Appendix to this volume.

[5] Not in G., cf. Ramusio, ii. 10 (B); Y.-C., i. 158.

[6] 'Fauchons sacri . . . faucons lanier,' G., 45.

[7] Not in G., except a remark on the 'grant plantee forment,' the 'orze,' and the 'olio de suzimau et de noce.' (G., 45); cf. Y.-C., i. 158-9.

neighbouring countries of *Pasciai* or Udyana[1] and *Kesimur* or Kashmir, both ancient holy lands of Buddhism; both described by Polo rather as if recounting archaic traditions than personal impressions; and both probably unvisited by himself or any of his party. Kashmirian enchanters were seen by the Polos at the Court of Kublai, and their 'magical devilries' evidently produced an immense impression on the Frankish strangers. For does not our history declare that these wizards could make idols speak, could change the weather, and could bring on darkness; and that their land was the ultimate source and fount of *Idolatry*[2]? It is true enough that from Udyana and Kashmir the religion of Gautama advanced to the conquest of Tibet, of Central Asia, and of Afghanistan; that the men of these countries are still brown and lean, and the women fine looking brunettes; that the climate is still eminently temperate; and that the frontiers have not ceased to be remarkable for their natural strength. Even the local fondness for coral[3], touched on by Marco, is well confirmed by recent observers, from Tavernier's day. But we can hardly follow our guide in his directions, at this point. For no route from Badakhshan to Kashmir would naturally bring one, as he suggests, to the Sea of India[4].

We have not ventured to doubt the Ramusian story that in the Oxus Uplands Messer Marco did of a truth 'regain his vigour lost, and live and breathe again'; even in the bald, curt Narrative which the traveller dictates to Rustician in the prison at Genoa, there is some trace of a new energy, of a joy in youth and strength recovered. The page smiles[5], the

[1] G., 46. In Polo's *Pasciai* we may also include our modern Chitral, Dir, and Swat; cf. Y.-C., i. 164-6.

[2] 'Il sevent [*sic*] tant d'incantamant ... il font parler as ydres ... canger les tens, et font faire le grant oscurite ... il sunt chief des autres ydoles,' G., 46. In *Pasciai* also 'ils savent mult de incantament et des ars diabolitique,' G., 46.

[3] 'Le coral que de nostre tere s'aporte, po vende plus en cele contree qe en autre,' G., 47.

[4] 'De ceste leu poroit l'en aler a la mer de Endie,' G., 46.

[5] Thus Marco, so rarely a jester, seems to enjoy a sly laugh at the fashions of Badakhshan:—'les grant dames et les gentilz portent braies ... metent bien cent brace de toile bausin et de tel hi a que in metent quatre vint, et de tel soixante ...

style takes for the moment an unusual animation, as our wanderers toil upwards to the roof of the world. We plod along with him from morning till evening ascending the heights, but once there we know that they were worth the climbing. On through *Vocan*[1] (our Wakhân), up the valley of the Oxus, the 'river of Badakhshan,' always among mountains, always moving to the north-north-east, till at last one reached a height so great that men said it was the highest point on earth. And here one found, in a plain between two mountains, a great lake which overflowed in a beauteous river, traversing the most fattening pastures[2].

The travellers probably struck the Higher Oxus near its most southerly bend, due north of Chitral, and followed its course at least as far as the junction of the Panja and Pamir rivers. If we consider the 'great lake' of Ramusio's text[3] to represent (as we believe it does represent) a genuine Polo tradition, it would be natural to suppose that the route of our Venetians in these solitudes, after leaving the site of the modern Panja village, ascended the valley of the Pamir, the present frontier line of Russia, passed by the shore of Lake Victoria or Zor Kul,—the received source of the Amu Daria in later nineteenth-century diplomacy, and the only fresh-water basin in Great or Little Pamir which could be called 'large,' even by Marco,—and thence wound along, perhaps by the western head-stream of the Aksu and the Danali and Kutma passes, to the region of the Little Kara Kul, from which it descended into the plains of Eastern Turkestan. If on the other hand,

por mostrer qe aient grose natege, por ce qe lor homes se deletent en groses femes,' G., 45; cf. P., 122; Y.-C., i. 160, 163.

[1] 'Douze jornee entre levant et grec sor por un flum qui est do frere au seingnor de Badasciam' . . . till 'une provence ne trop grant . . . appelles *Vocan*,' was reached, G., 47; Polo's Wakhan is apparently much smaller than ours. After this 'trois jornee por Grec, toutes foies por montagnes, et monte l'en' to the 'plus aut leu deo monde.'

[2] G., 47–48, except the lake, added from the later texts; cf. Ramusio, ii. 10 (F); Y.-C., i. 171.

[3] 'E quando l'huomo è in quel luogo, truova fra due monti un *gran lago*, dal qual per una pianura corre un bellissimo fiume,' Ram., ii. 10 (F). How could Ramusio have got this definite and accurate notion of the *gran lago* on the Pamir except from the Polos? See Appendix.

we disregard everything beyond the 'very words' of the primitive record, we may surmise that Marco's company followed a more circuitous and south-easterly way, and one more favoured by recent explorers[1],—by the Panja to Bozai Gumbaz and thence by the Taghdumbash Pamir and the neighbourhood of the Chinese outpost at Kurgan-i-Ujadbai to Tashkurgan and the Lesser Kara Kul. In any case, it is probable that the party skirted the western side of Mustagh Ata, that 'Father of Ice Mountains,' whose mysteries still await a perfect revelation; thence by the Gez defile they would naturally drop down upon Kashgar.

But we must not forget that our authority is far too vague for us to construct a detailed Polo *routier* over the great divide of Asia. Nothing is given us, geographically, save the highland plain with its unequalled pasturage watered by the river, and (as we venture to add) by the lake we have already discussed; together with an estimate of the time consumed in crossing the plateau. For just as it had taken twelve days from Badakhshan[2] to reach this 'highest place on earth,' so a good twelve days more were needed to go across *Pamier*[3], and full forty days to cross the land of *Belor*[4], the fearsome alpine country to the east of the plateau. This is all we have before us, and from this it would not be reasonable to attempt extracting anything like a minute itinerary, with definite stages clearly laid down. That the Polos crossed the Pamir, that they followed one of the head-waters of the Oxus to a good-sized lake, and that from this point they pursued a very winding course, spending far more time than has been found needful by later travellers[5]—so far and no farther can

[1] This, reversed, was Younghusband's route in 1891, from Kashgar to Little Pamir; and M. Cordier definitely declares for it as Polo's; see Y.-C., i. 175, and map facing i. 178; also Appendix to this volume.

[2] 'Douze jornee entre levant et grec,' G., 47.

[3] 'Por cest plain ala l'en bien doze jornee ... apellee *Pamier*,' G., 48.

[4] 'Bien quarante jornee entre grec et levant,' G., 48.

[5] Thus Faiz Bakhsh was only twenty-five days going from Faizabad in Badakhshan to Kashgar; cf. Y.-C., i. 175. Marco allows sixty-four days (12 *plus* 12 *plus* 40) for about the same distance.

we come with the help of Messer Marco's Narrative. When we leave our taciturn guide, we can roam with conjecture's aid over every mountain path that crosses or ever did cross the *Bam-i-Dunya*, but the best of our conjectures must here remain conjecture still.

On that *World's Roof*, a waste without fixed dwellings or green thing[1], cold and height were alike so vast that no birds were to be seen, and fire lost much of its warmth and brilliancy[2]; while, through the whole region of 'Bolor,' one struggled over hills and mountains, crossed streams and valleys, or wandered in tracts of utter desolation[3]. The only inhabitants of these recesses were evil tribes of wild, skin-clad, idol-worshipping[4] huntsmen, who kept high up among their crags and gave no welcome to the wayfarer.

But to a sportsman, such as Marco, there was one consolation in this rugged land,—the abundance of all kinds of animals and especially of the mountain sheep or arkali, whose horns (a good six palms in length) were used by the shepherds of these hills for making feeding-bowls and building cattle-pens[5]. The *Ovis Poli* of our zoologists had been already described to Latin readers by William of Rubrouck[6], but the modern world has seldom cared much about justice in choosing the name for a new-found animal—or continent.

And now the Polos had fairly passed the watershed, and come down into the Eastern lowlands of Central Asia. Again we miss any proper indications of route; again we have to

[1] 'Ne ha abitasion, ne herbages,' G., 48.

[2] G., 48.

[3] 'Toutes foies por montagnes . . . couste et . . . valee et passent maintes fluns et . . . dezers leus . . . ceste contree . . . appelles *Belor*,' G., 48.

[4] 'Demorent es montagnes mout haut . . . Ydres et mout sauvages . . vivent . . . de chazhagions de bestes. Lor vestiment . . . de cuir de bestes et sunt mauves jens durement,' G., 48.

[5] 'De cest cornes font le pastore grant escueles la o il mengiunt, et . . . encludent les leus où il tienent lor bestes,' G., 48.

[6] Rubruquis, 230, an admirable sketch: 'arcali quod habet recte corpus arietis et cornua tortua ut aries, sed tante quantitatis quod vix poteram levare una manu duo cornua.' Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 328.

elicit the probable course of the journey from general descriptions of kingdoms, cities, and provinces. But the main stream of these descriptions unquestionably flows in one direction,—along the southernmost of the caravan high-roads of Chinese Turkestan, along that path which creeps below the northern face of the Kuenlun, and by the southern edge of the Desert, from Kashgar through Khotan and Cherchen to Lob Nor[1].

At *Cascar*[2], for the first time after many weeks, our travellers must have entered a large city, and have found themselves surrounded by Oriental civilization, for here[3], then as now, was an important centre of commerce, even though inhabited, as Marco grumbles, by a wretched set of misers[4]. Numerous merchants went out from this region into neighbouring countries, and a certain number of Nestorian Christians were also to be found in Kashgar (to say nothing of vineyards, gardens, and cotton fields[5]); from other sources we know that the city had been a metropolitan see of the great Eastern Schism, well-nigh four centuries earlier[6] than the Polos' visit; and it was still a bishopric and one of the chief seats of the 'Protestantism of Asia' beyond the Pamirs.

From Kashgar the narrative flies off to *Sanmarcan* or Samarcand, where Nicolo and Maffeo may have halted on their first journey to the Far East, but which seems to have lain quite off the road of the second expedition; having no personal knowledge of the Pearl of Turkestan, Marco tells us merely that it was great and noble[7], that it was situated

[1] See Y.-C., i. 191-2, 194-6, 199; ii. 595.

[2] G., 48-9.

[3] Marco says it was subject to the Great Khan ('post au grant Kaan,' G., 48), which, if it means the *immediate* domain of Kublai, is contradicted by what the narrative tells us of Kaidu's supremacy over Yarkand a little later (G., 50), and by our information from other sources, such as Rashiduddin: cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 47; pp. 33-5, 157 of this volume; and Appendix.

[4] 'Mout escarse jens . . . maus menjuent et . . . boivent,' G., 48-9.

[5] 'Jardins et vignes . . . hi nait banbaxe,' G., 48.

[6] At the close of the ninth century, under the name of *Kashimghar*; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 221, 242.

[7] 'Grandisme et noble . . . jens

'towards the *north*-west,' that its people included Christians[1] as well as Saracens, and that it belonged to the unfriendly *nephew* of the Great Khan, in other words to the rebel Kaidu[2], the grand-nephew of Kublai's father, who now held the city in joint occupancy with the Khans of Chagatai, his cousins and often his allies[3]. To our historian, Samarcand was chiefly interesting as the traditional scene of the miracle of the Christian pillar, deprived of its foundation by Saracen malignity, but supported by divine power on air alone; this tale recounted, he resumes what we imagine to be his onward march from *Cascar*.

The route now lies through the region of *Charcan*[4] or Yarkand, also containing some Nestorian (and Jacobite[5]) Christians, but like Kashgar, mainly Moslem, and now under the power of that same Kaidu who had mastered Samarcand.

The city and province of *Cotan*[6] or Khotan, on the other hand, are reckoned by Marco among the Great Khan's possessions, which from this point stretch eastward without a break to the Pacific, in his enumeration. Cotton, flax, hemp, wheat, and wine abounded here; the famous local jade, or 'jasper,' Polo does not describe until he arrives at his next

cristens et sarazins . . . sunt au neveu dou grant Can et ne est plus son ami . . . vers maistre,' G., 49. Viewed from Kashgar, Samarcand did not lie 'vers maistre,' but almost due West, in 39° 38′ 50″ N. lat., as against 39° 27′ 8″.

[1] As to the Samarcand Christianity of which Polo speaks, a Nestorian metropolitan see was established here before A.D. 750, and a simple bishopric existed much earlier, apparently before 540: see also the Samarcand letter of Sempad, Constable of Armenia (1246–7), to King Hayton, in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 383. For Thomas of Mancasola, Latin Bishop of Samarcand in 1328, see ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume.

[2] Kaidu we should call Kublai's cousin rather than his nephew. He was grandson of Okkodai, Chingiz' third son and first successor, while Kublai, like Mangu, was a son of Tului, Okkodai's youngest brother.

[3] On the Christianity of *Cigatai* or Chagatai himself, as alleged by Marco (G., 49), see Appendix.

[4] G., 50, which only notices it as a 'provence,' not as a city, 'que dure de lonc cinq jornee.'

[5] Not in G.

[6] 'G., 50–51. The province was 'longue huit jornee.' No native Christians are noticed here, though Grenard lately brought to Europe a bronze cross, the only sign of the faith yet discovered in Khotan. Cf. Grenard, iii. 134–5; Y.-C., i. 189; and Appendix to this volume.

stage, the land and town of *Pein* or Pem [1], doubtless representing the 'Pima' of Hiuen-Thsang, and probably marked by the modern Uzun Tati, north-west of Kiria, about sixty miles east of Khotan. This region and its capital are pictured by Marco as prosperous and immoral, belonging to the faith of Mohammed and the empire of Kublai, with rivers in which men found store of jasper and chalcedony [2]. But of the silk, grapes, and wine of the Khotan territories, so famous in Chinese records, our Venetian tells us nothing. Nor does he speak of native Christians. He is content to add that the people lived by 'mercandies' and 'ars,' and that plenty of cotton grew hereabout [3].

In all this and in what he tells us of *Ciarcian* or Cherchen [4], the next stage on the road to China, Marco's words constantly recall the itinerary and descriptions of Hiuen-Thsang [5], who, six and a half centuries before, celebrated the jade, wool, felt, and taffetas of 'Kiustanna' or the Khotan country. In Cherchen, as in Pem, the Polos noticed rivers that brought down jasper and chalcedony [6]; in this oasis were numerous towns and villages, a people that 'worshipped Maomet,' and most of the other features noticed by Marco in the regions of *Great Turkey*—as he terms the modern Chinese Turkestan, between Kashgar and Lob Nor [7].

But at *Ciarcian*, and right along the road from Pem and even from Khotan [8], the desert began to encroach upon the cultivated land; from the sandy soil issued bitter springs, with seldom a sweet one; and beyond Cherchen, riding for

[1] G., 51. *Pein* province was 'longe cinq jornee.'

[2] 'Diaspe et calcedoine,' G., 51.

[3] 'Il y naist banbauce asez,' G., 51.

[4] Both 'provence' and 'mestre cite,' G., 51–2. M. Cordier, Y.-C., i. 195 (relying on Grenard, iii. 146, 183–4, &c.), suggests that the Polos' Cherchen lay west of the present oasis. It is not mentioned by Hiuen-Thsang. On the way from Pem to Cherchen the Polos may have passed through Nia [Nijang (?) of the old Chinese geographers], about forty miles east of Pem, in marshy country bordering on the desert, and marking the frontier of Khotan (in the wider sense) on this side; cf. Y.-C., i. 195.

[5] Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 513.

[6] 'Il y a fluns qe moinent diaspes et calcedon, lesqualz portent a vendre au Cata,' G., 51–2.

[7] Marco does not notice the lake, only the city and desert, of *Lop*.

[8] 'Et de Cotam a Pen est ausi sablon,' G., 52.

five days through the sands on the way to the 'large' town of *Lop*[1] or Lob, there was nought but bad and brackish water[2].

Here, on the edge of the greatest Asiatic wilderness, travellers crossing the central Gobi, on their way to or from China, usually stayed, in Marco's days, to rest and refresh themselves; and here one laid in a month's supply for man and beast. As to the way in which the desert was crossed, our Italian, like earlier wanderers, has much to say. But not even Hiuen-Thsang is more picturesque than Polo.

The length of the waste, he tells us, was commonly said to be a year's journey and the least breadth was a month's distance[3]. The whole wilderness was 'mountain and sand and valley,' with nothing anywhere to eat, and only here and there a little fresh water,—'in some eight-and-twenty places altogether you will find it good, but in no great quantity, and in four places brackish.' Beasts there were none, for there was nothing to live on, but of ghosts there were plenty; and when travellers were so hardy as to journey by night, and any one chanced to lag behind, from drowsiness or other cause, these hobgoblins were very mischievous. For they would call the wayfarer by name, or draw him by the sound of their voices, or by the simulated noise of a great cavalcade[4], or by the crash of drums and instruments of music[5]; and so, chasing these phantom sounds, the straggler would perish miserably. Even in the daytime one might sometimes hear these spirits talking[6]. It was no wonder, therefore, that men took great

[1] 'Un grant cite' (G., 52); perhaps situated near the supposed ancient site of Lob Nor noticed in Chinese geographers and defended by Richthofen but disputed by Prjevalsky. It may answer to the Napopo of Hiuen-Thsang. Cf. on the Lob question, Y.-C., i. 197-203, and Appendix to this volume. Marco adds that it belonged to Kublai, was a Moslem town, and that the 'grant dezert' was here called after it 'dezert de Lop,' G., 52.

[2] G., 52, 'de mauveisse aigue et d'ameres.'

[3] 'En un anc alerroit l'en au chief . . . o il est moin large se poine a passer un mois. Il est toutes montagnes et sablon et vales,' G., 53.

[4] Not in G.

[5] 'Instrumenti et propemant tanbur,' G., 53.

[6] G., 53. For Hiuen-Thsang's account of these desert goblins, cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 504; for Odoric, Chang Chun, and Ibn Batuta on the same, see ch. ii, part ii, § 5, and ch. vii, of this volume, and Appendix.

care in crossing this desert, always keeping close together, hanging bells on all their animals, and at camping-time putting up a signal to show the direction of the next march [1].

But when for thirty days a man had struggled through the waste, with its unseen array of powers infernal, the homes of settled men were reached again at *Sacion* [2], and here the young Venetian approached (as Messer Nicolo and Maffeo had done before) the western outposts of that Chinese world which dies away into the desert at 'Sowchick.'

Sachau, the 'sandy district,' now reckoned within the province of Kansu, is rightly assigned by Polo to *Tangut* or Hia [3], the once independent and powerful empire of the south-eastern Turks, which Chingiz conquered with so much effort. Most of the people here, a purely agricultural race, professed 'idolatry [4]' or Buddhism, though some Nestorian Christians and Mohammedans were also to be found [5]; of the peculiar customs of these idolaters—their 'abbeys and minsters,' their sacrifices at the New Year and at idol festivals, their funeral ceremonies, their burning of paper images and money, and their astrology—Marco has much to tell: for 'such is the way of idols all the world over [6].'

It is possible that the Elder Polos, on their first journey to Kublai's court, may have passed through Hami, Kamul,

[1] Not in G.

[2] 'Une cite apelles Sacion . . . la provence Tangut,' G., 54. This was 250 miles west of the end of the Great Wall at Suchau, Jenkinson's 'Sowchick.'

[3] Tangut was called Kansu in Chinese records of the Mongol period. See Appendix to this volume.

[4] Here the meaning is clearly *Buddhism*, though in some places of Marco's book Shamanism, Brahmanism, and other cults are included in the term 'idolatry.' See pp. 82, 140 of this volume.

[5] 'Tuit ydres,' Marco dictates at first, then recollecting himself, 'Bien est il voir qu'il hi a auques cristienz Nestorin, et encore . . . Saracinz. Les ydres ont langajes por elle. La ville . . . entre grec et levant; il ne . . . vivent de merchandies, mes des bles,' &c., G., 54. On the history (including the Nestorians) of Tangut see ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix.

[6] 'Tuit les ydules dou monde iront par la maniere que je voz ai dit,' G., 56. Sir Henry Yule (Y.-C. i. 205), though translating very freely, gives the same substantial sense.

or Khamil, Marco's *Camul*, which lay, as he rightly tells us, north-west of Tangut, at the extremity of the desert[1]. In mediaeval and modern trade-history it appears as an important junction to the north-east of Lob Nor, and near one of the main junctions of the northern and southern Thian Shan routes[2]:—in the Polo record, as both a province and a city; as occupying a fertile strip between the main Gobi and a lesser desert; and as peopled by idolaters[3] who lived only by the produce of the earth and led a merry and shameful existence. For here all husbands were wittols, and all wives wanton; and to the passing wayfarer nothing was denied. The Great Khan Mangu[4] had striven to amend their manners, but so desperately did they cling to their naughty ways that he had abandoned them to their disgrace, on which alone, in their eyes, the favour of heaven depended.

Continuing his excursion to the north, Marco next tells us of *Ghinghintalas*. This was a large province, sixteen days' journey in extent; it belonged to the Great Khan; it lay on the verge of the desert, 'between north-west and north'; it abounded in towns; and it contained idolaters (Shamanists or Buddhists), 'adorers of Maomet,' and Nestorian Christians. Towards its northern boundary was a mountain containing a fine vein of steel and 'ondanque[5],' and another vein of that substance from which came the 'salamander' or asbestos[6]. From a Turkish comrade of his, one *Zurficar*, who had spent three years in this region, extracting steel and sala-

[1] 'Ver maistre joste le chief de cest dezert,' G., 56.

[2] See ch. ii, part ii, § 6 (p. 293) of this volume.

[3] Marco says nothing of Christians here ('les jens . . . tuit ydres,' G., 56), yet Nestorians were active at this very time; see ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix, on the general history of the oasis, and especially on the Bishop of Kamul's appearance (at the installation of the Catholicos Denha) in 1266.

[4] G., 56–57, which has the forms 'Mongu' and 'Mogu'; see Appendix.

[5] G., 57: cf. p. 59 of this volume, and Appendix, on this surpassing quality of steel.

[6] 'Une voine de laquel se fait la salamandre,' G., 57.

manders for the Khan, our historian had learnt that the salamander was no animal, as folk imagined, but a substance which, when dug out of the hills and crushed, could be divided like wool-fibre, could be made into napkins, and could be washed and whitened in the fire[1]. So Polo had seen himself[2], and he knew, moreover, that at Rome a napkin of this stuff, sent by the Grand Khan to the Apostolic Pontiff, was used as a wrapper for no less holy a relic than the *sudarium* of Christ, the cloth of St. Veronica.

Where was *Ghinghintalas*? In seeking an answer to this question we may either assume (as seems most natural) that the traveller is still mentally looking out from a centre in Western Tangut, such as Sachau, or we may suppose that Polo now takes a new point of departure in Khamil. In the former case we should rather seek to place this baffling locality in or near the extreme east of the Chinese Altai, slightly north-east of *Camul*; in the latter, we should look for it still further in the direction of Siberia, near Uliassutai or Kobdo, or in the uppermost valley of the Yenisei. It is not at all unlikely that Marco, here as in some other cases, has made an error in direction, and that a strict limitation of search to the 'north-north-west' of the text will only lead us away from the true scent. Such an error in this instance cannot easily be corrected with the aid of the name-form, as that is peculiar to the Polo narrative. Nor can we fix the territory in question due east of Khamil, as Marco's words almost invite us[3]—for on this side there is nothing but desert.

On the whole it seems most probable that *Ghinghintalas*

[1] '... Ne est pas beste ... mes ... quant l'en a cave des montagnes de celle voine ... et l'en la ront et despece, elle se trent ensemble et fait file come lane ... et puis en fait fer toaille ... il la mettent en le feu, et la toaille devient blanche come noif,' G., 57-58, which describes *Zurficar* (Zulfikar) as 'un Turs que mout estoit sajes.'

[2] 'Et je meisme le vi,' G., 58. This need not mean that Marco ever saw the extraction of asbestos in the mountains of *Ghinghintalas*.

[3] For while *Camul* is 'ver maistre' (from Tangut) *Ghinghintalas* is 'entre tramontane et maistre,' G., 56, 57. On the whole question here discussed, see also Appendix to this volume; Y.-C., i. 214-16.

answers to the *Kienkien* of Changchun[1], the *Kemkem* of Rashiduddin, the basin of the Mongolian or highest Yenisei, here known as *Kem*[2]. Asbestos is assigned by a vague tradition, preserved in Martini, to the 'land of Tangu,' perhaps the Tangnu-ola arm of the Northern Altai immediately to the south of the Yenisei sources, and Gervase of Tilbury[2] mentions having seen at Rome a strip of 'salamander skin' which was *cleaned in flame*[3]. But no perfectly conclusive confirmation either of Marco's name of *Ghinghintalas*, or of asbestos deposits in any district of Mongolia closely answerable to Marco's indications, or of any wrapper of this material presented by any Mongol emperor to any pope, has yet been forthcoming.

The allusion to *Zurficar* (whose name is certainly Arabic, whatever his race may have been) is one of the too rare personal details which Polo allows himself. We can only conjecture that his acquaintance with this 'clever Turk' was not in *Ghinghintalas* itself (there is no necessity to suppose that any one of the Polos ever visited this region), but in some other part of Asia and, presumably, one lying more upon the main route of our explorers.

After this digression we resume the main course of the journey[4], 'between east and north-east'—*entre Levant et Grec*—and after ten days' march through a desolate country, at last arrive in a well-peopled district of Tangut, called *Suctuir*[5], our Suchau, at the western extremity of the Great Wall; whose mountain-rhubarb[6] was eagerly sought and widely exported; whose brown-complexioned people, partly Christians and partly idolaters, lived by agriculture and pasturage; and whose herdsmen must needs avoid the

[1] See ch. vii of this volume.

[2] See Appendix to this volume.

[3] Cf. the Chinese references to the 'linen washed with fire' in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 532.

[4] i. e. from Sachau.

[5] 'Provence . . . Suctuir . . . la mestre cite . . . Suctin. Il y a cristians et ydres . . . la grant provence . . . ou cest provence est . . . est . . . Tangut,' G., 58–9.

[6] 'Ribarbar . . . l'acatent les mercaant et le portent . . . por le monde,' G., 59. See Appendix to this volume.

poisonous plants of the mountains, which destroyed the hoofs of cattle[1]. Here, too (though the Polo Book says not a word of it), the Great Wall of China sinks into the plain with feeble earthen battlements—the first clear signs (1,500 miles from Peking) of that great civilization within whose influence our travellers were now passing. But Marco shows no interest in tracing that mighty rampart, to which (as the *Barrier of Gog and Magog*) he perhaps, in a later chapter[2], intended to allude. He pays far more attention to the capital of Tangut, *Canpicion* or Kanchau[3], which seems to have marked the next stage in his progress towards Shangtu and Peking. This 'very noble' city lay just within the Great Wall, over 100 miles east of Suchau, and about the same distance north of Koko Nor, on the north slope of the Nan Shan range; but of its geographical position Polo says nothing. Yet he knew the place well; for here his father Nicolo, his uncle Maffeo, and himself stayed an entire year[4], either upon their outward journey, or as some manuscripts read 'upon a mission' which we may suppose was one from the Great Khan's court in later years. Accordingly the narrative has a good deal to say about the town: about its Christian, Saracen, and idol-worshipping natives; about its three fine churches, presumably Nestorian; and about the minsters and monks[5], the enormous recumbent idols, and the ecclesiastical calendar[6] of the Buddhists[7]. Lastly, the

[1] Not in G., which also omits the brown colour of the people; cf. Y.-C., i. 217–18, and Ramusio, ii. 13 (A).

[2] See p. 89 of this volume.

[3] 'Canpicion . . . mout grant cite et noble . . . chief et seingnorie toute la provence de Tangut,' G., 59. It is the *Camexu* of Balducci Pegolotti; cf. ch. ii, part iii, § 3 of this volume.

[4] 'Mesier Nicolau et . . . Mafeu et . . . March demorent un an en ceste cite por lor fait qe ne fa a mentovoir,' G., 60; 'demourerent en ceste cite. Messire Maffe et Marc Pol bien un an en legation,' P., 169.

[5] 'Regules des les ydules,' G., 59.

[6] 'L'ivier ausi con nos avum les mois,' G., 59.

[7] Always 'idolaters' ('ydres') in the Polo text, cf. G., 59. Lesser images of wood, clay, and stone are truly described by Marco as often grouped around the great figures (of Buddha), as if adoring and paying homage. Polo speaks of an extreme length of ten paces for these last: much greater size is asserted by other travellers (e. g. by Hiuen-Thsang), and has been verified; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 506.

extreme chastity and temperance of the Buddhist orders is contrasted with the lax morals, easy divorce, and incestuous marriages of the lay people, who, in a word, lived 'like beasts.'

From this point Marco again digresses—possibly giving us the route of a side-journey made by himself and his companions during their long stay at Kanchau. On this excursion of 'full 60 days' towards the north he first takes us (a distance of nearly a fortnight's ride) to *Ezina*[1], Yetsina or Itsinai, beyond the Great Wall, on the southern edge of the Gobi desert, and on the extreme northern limit of Tangut or Kansu. The people, all idolaters, lived on their camels[2], their cattle, and their land, doing no trade; and among them the wayfarer, desirous of crossing the waste to Karakorum and the ancient home of the Mongols, must lay in a good forty days' provision. For although this part of the desert appears in Marco's pages as by no means so terrible as between Lob Nor and the end of the Great Wall, and although some wild asses, a few other beasts, and even some pine trees were met with here and there, yet no habitation could be found in all this distance, nor any place where men and animals could rest and refresh themselves.

If Marco really visited *Caracoron*[3], in the Upper Valley of the Orkhon, he must have taken little interest in it; for his description is of the most cursory and insufficient kind, merely telling us that it was 'some three miles' in compass; that it was surrounded by a strong earthen rampart, stone being scarce; that it possessed a citadel with a governor's palace[4]; and that it was the first city possessed by the Tartars after they issued from their own country. This said, the narrative plunges into a disquisition on the History of the Mongols,

[1] 'Chevauche doze jornee et treuve Ezina.' This was the initial section of the 'seisante jornee ver tramontaine . . . de Canpicion,' G., 60.

[2] 'Gamaus,' G., 60.

[3] G., 61. Properly 'Karakuren,' the 'Black Enclosure'; see Appendix.

[4] Neither the rampart nor the palace occurs in G.; cf. Y.-C., i. 226.

their old home in *Ciorcia*[1] or Manchuria, and their countless wars. The struggles of Chingiz with Prester John (whom Marco identifies with Ung or Wang Khan, the chief of the Keraits[2]) are lengthily described, and the scene of the Prester's overthrow is placed in *Tenduc* or *Tanduc*[3], where the Prester's lineage still ruled in Polo's day, as he tells us later[4]. But to Chingiz'[5] later wars there is only a hasty reference, and a miserably inadequate list of his successors is given.

For Marco knows nothing of Okkodai, and although his *Cui*, 'the next that reigned after Chingiz,' may pass for Kuyuk, the third of the Mongol Emperors, his next two names —*Bacui* or *Batuy*, and *Alton* or *Alacou*[6]—are not eligible at all; for Batu and Hulagu were but sub-Khans of Kipchak and of Persia respectively, and neither ever gained possession of the supreme power, though under Mangu (Polo's *Mongu*) Batu the King-maker was more powerful than the Great Khan himself[7]. All the descendants of Chingiz, according to Marco, were buried in the 'mount called Altai[8],' however far they might be from the same when they died. 'And while the body of the Grand Cham is being borne to this mountain, those that go with the corpse slay all whom they fall in with, saying, Go, and wait upon our Lord in the other world. And the same they do with horses, for when the Lord dies they kill all his best horses, that he may have the use of them in the other world[9].'

The manners and customs of the Tartar tribes was an immense subject; but Marco, like Carpini and Rubruquis,

[1] G., 61, 'en tramontaine entre Ciorcia'; cf. the 'Churche' country of Moslem geographers, and see Appendix.

[2] 'Unecan . . . en franzois, Prestor Johan,' G., 61. See pp. 88–9 of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] G., 63; cf. pp. 87–9 of this volume, and the statement of John of Monte Corvino, in ch. ii, part ii, § 1.

[4] See p. 88 of this volume.

[5] 'Cinghins,' 'Cinchins,' &c., in G., 60–5.

[6] *Cui*, *Bacui*, and *Alton* in G., 65; *Cuy*, *Batuy*, and *Alacou* in P., 184. See Appendix.

[7] Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 365, 384.

[8] G., 66. Probably a highland further east than any to which the term is now applied; cf. Appendix.

[9] G., 66.

could not avoid attempting a general sketch of these mysterious and redoubtable peoples; and it is in connexion with Karakorum and the plains of Mongolia that he does it.

Their favourite habitat in winter was the warmer prairie land, where they could find good pasture for their cattle; but in summer they betook themselves to the cooler highlands, where woods and running waters abounded in Alpine valleys [1]. Their houses were circular, made with wands covered with felt [2], and they carried these dwellings about with them wherever they went; for the frames [3] of these huts, though strong, were light and portable. When they pitched their tents, the door was always to the south. Their waggons, covered with black, rain-proof felt [4], were drawn by oxen and camels, and used for transporting the women, children, and goods.

The men had no occupation in peace-time, but hunting, hawking, and various exercises (especially of horsemanship) in preparation for the fighting in which their true life lay. To the women fell all the work of the household [5].

Their food consisted of the milk and meat which their herds and hunting supplied, and (in time of need) of the flesh of horses, dogs, rats of the prairie [6], and any other animals they could catch. Their drink was *chemius*, kumiss, or mares' milk, prepared in such a way that one would take it for white wine [7].

Husbands and wives were most loyal to one another, and adultery was held as an abominable thing; yet any man might marry as many women as he would, although the first bride was always considered the chief, and her sons held the

[1] G, 66.

[2] Ramusio's reading ('feltro,' R, ii. 14, c) preferable to the 'cordes of P., 188, and to the phrase of G., 66 '(Il ont maison de fust et le covrent de) *fennes*,' which, if 'fennes' mean 'ropes,' seems rather inadequate. In the next line 'verges de fust' are spoken of. See Appendix.

[3] 'Le verges de fust,' G., 66.

[4] 'Charrete coverte de feutre noir . . . eive ne beingneroit nulle chose,' &c., G., 66.

[5] G., 67.

[6] Lit. Pharaoh's rats, 'rat de faraon,' G., 67.

[7] 'Il boivent lac de jumente . . . ele semble vin blance et bone à boire et l'apellent *chemius*,' G., 68. Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 327–8.

highest rank[1]. Further, the Tartars allowed intermarriage between cousins; between a son[2] and any of his father's wives, save his own mother; and between a man and his deceased brother's wife: and, while the husband always gave a marriage present to his wife's mother, the wife brought nothing to her husband in return[3].

As to religion, they worshipped a Most High God of Heaven, to whom they prayed for health of mind and body, but not for any other worldly goods[4]. Their children, cattle, and crops were guarded by a lower divinity, the God of Earth, called *Nacygai* or *Natigay*[5], of whom every householder possessed a little image, made of felt and cloth, as a guardian spirit in the house. On the left of Natigay's image was a similar one of his wife. In front of this noble pair stood other puppets, representing the children of the household god. When meal-time came, the idols were propitiated with a share of food and drink; some of the fat was smeared upon their mouths; and a portion of the broth was sprinkled on the earth before the tent door[6].

For dress, the wealthy Tartars possessed not only the richest furs—sable and ermine, vaire and fox[7]—but also stuffs of cloth of gold and silk.

Yet the Tartars really lived for war, and for war alone; and such civilization as they had was chiefly shown in the organization of their armies. The host was organized by tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands; the full army corps[8] was a hundred thousand strong. Their weapons

[1] G., 67.

[2] Provided he were the eldest son ('greingnor fil'), adds Marco, G., 67. This restriction is not recognized by Carpini, to whose account most of Polo's sketch in this connexion is closely parallel. Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 282–6.

[3] G., 67.

[4] Ramusio, ii. 14 (E), possibly interpolated from other records, e. g. Carpini's; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 282.

[5] 'Nacygai,' G., 67; 'Nacigay,' P., 190.

[6] G., 67–8.

[7] 'Zebelines,' 'ermines,' 'vair,' 'voupes,' G., 68.

[8] Or *tuc* (misprinted *tut*), G., 69; the *toman* being 10,000; the *miny*, 1,000; the *guz*, 100; the *un*, 10. The last three technicalities are not in G.; P., 194, supplies *guz* from the Cépoy MSS. On these terms and their significance (*tuc* or *tugh* being

were swords and maces, cuirasses of buffalo [1] and other hide, and above all bows and arrows. For in archery their skill was super-excellent [2]. They were brave, crafty, and beyond compare in their endurance of hardship and fatigue, in the rapidity of their movements, in the cheapness of their maintenance [3]. Their scouting system was excellent; their power of moving without baggage almost incredible. For, on a distant expedition, they would take with them nothing save two leathern bottles for milk, some ten pounds of dried curds [4], a cooking-pot of earthenware, and a little covering against the rain; while, in urgent cases, they would ride ten days at a stretch without lighting a fire or taking a meal, save what they could eat or drink as they sped along. For sustenance in an extremity they would drink the blood of their horses [5].

Their tactics in battle were the manœuvres of a light cavalry. They never allowed themselves to be entangled in a close fight, but tried to keep perpetually on the move, riding round and pouring volleys of arrows into their enemy [6]; their favourite device was a pretence of flight, under cover of which they would turn in the saddle and shoot as hard and true at the foe, as if they faced him. Their own horses were trained to turn and double like hunting-dogs [7].

As to the justice of the Tartars, they punished petty thefts with stripes [8]; greater robberies (such as the lifting of a horse) with death. But the rich could always ransom their persons or their backs; nine times the value of the stolen thing made

the famous 'horse-tail'), cf. Carpini, 757; *Dawn Med. Geog.*, ii. 310; and Appendix to this volume.

[1] 'Bufaf,' G., 68.

[2] 'Trop buen archier,' G., 68.

[3] G., 68 '. . . main velent de despence,' none repaid expense so well.

[4] 'Lait secce, saude comme paste,' G., 69; this is the *grut* or *gri-ut* of Rubruquis, 229; the modern *kurut*. See Appendix to this volume. The ten pounds specified is not in G.; cf. Y.-C., i. 262, from Ramusio, ii. 15 (B).

[5] 'Chascuns poinge la voie a son cheval et boit d'un sanc,' G., 69.

[6] Mostly from G., 69, with some additions from Ramusio, ii. 15 (A–B).

[7] 'Il se girent . . . ausitost con firoit un chien,' G., 69.

[8] With 'sept bastonee' for the smallest and 'trois cent sept' (why *107* in Y.-C., i. 266?) for the greatest of those offences, G., 70.

full atonement[1]. All live stock were branded with the owner's mark, and grazed together freely, without herdsmen, save only for the sheep and goats[2].

North of Karakorum and the mountain tombs of the Great Khans in the 'Altai[3],' there lay a vast region where the Mongol lords sometimes went for sport and change, stretching forty days towards the Pole, and terminated by the plain of *Bargu*[4]. This 'plain' or plateau to the east of the Baikal, whose name survives in the river of *Barguzin* and the Russian town of *Barguzinsk*, was inhabited by the tribe of *Mecri* or *Mecrit*, answering in name at least to that Kerait branch of the Mongol race which won such fame for its real and legendary championship of the Cross, and which is noticed under various slightly different name-forms by Rubruquis and Carpini[5].

From the conversion of the Kerait Khan about A. D. 1007, as we have seen, arose the first story of the Christian Priest-King, cut off by a waste of heathendom from the rest of the faithful. But in Marco's page the realm of Prester John is associated with a later tradition and a different country, that of *Tenduc*, on the great northern bend of the Hoangho, far to the south of *Bargu*, across the Desert; while the tribe of *Mecrit* figures only as a semi-savage race, owning subjection to Kublai Khan and having customs like the Tartars, but possessing neither corn nor wine, living by their cattle, and especially by their reindeer, upon which they rode[6], and

[1] G., 70, 'neuf tant que cel que il a enble.'

[2] G., 70. Marco closes his sketch of Tartar customs with an account of the quaint ceremony of the marriage of the dead, G., 70, 71. He also warns his readers that all the foregoing description applies only to the genuine Tartars, 'des droit Tartars'; now, he adds, they were very much *bastardized* ('enbatardi'); those settled in Cathay ('Cata') had adopted the ways of Idolaters, those in the Il-khans' territories ('Levant') the manners of Saracens, G., 70.

[3] See Appendix to this volume.

[4] 'Baigu' in G., 71; 'Bargu' correctly in P., 199. See also Appendix to this volume.

[5] On these forms see Appendix to this volume; Marco's description of the *Mecri* obviously combines Mongol and Tungus characteristics.

[6] G., 71; Ramusio, ii. 15 (D); the reindeer of course are simply 'cerf' in the original, 'et voz di qu'il chevauchent les cerf.'

eking out a scanty sustenance by fowling and fishing in the lakes, pools, and marshes, with which their land abounded.

Bargu or *Barguchin* was known to Rashiduddin, the historian of Chingiz' conquests, as the northern limit of the inhabited earth: but Messer Marco takes his readers further still, and we go with him for yet another forty days to the ocean limit of the world and the islands and mountains of the falcons. Here, in a land so cold that one found no living thing save peregrines and gerfalcons [1], and the birds on which they preyed [2], and at a point so far towards the north that *the Pole star itself was left behind* [3], did Kublai Khan procure his hawks. Is it here the courtier, recklessly exalting the glory of his patron, or the scribe, misconceiving what is dictated, who thus takes us outside the realm of Nature, to an Arctic beyond the Pole?

So does the *Book of Diversities*, with all its confusions and shortcomings, give us a sketch, not only of the Mongol homeland, but of Siberia (beyond the most distant regions inhabited by Tartars), of the lacustrine regions of North Asia, and of the rocky shores of the Polar sea. It is not a sketch of which Marco need ever be ashamed; at the same time the Mongolian portion of his book is inferior to the more finished, detailed, and lifelike pictures of the two friar-travellers, his chief forerunners. For down to the close of the mediaeval time, and even later, John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubrouck have no rivals, in Eastern Tartary, among Christian writers and investigators.

Among the particulars of Marco's North Asian narrative, many of the most important are doubtless from eye-witnesses, if not from first-hand knowledge; others, less satisfactory to the modern observer, are the result of over-great compression

[1] 'Pellerin ... jerfaucz ... fauconz,' G., 72.

[2] 'Apeles barghenlac,' G., 71. See Appendix to this volume.

[3] G., 72, 'tant ver tramontaine, que la stoille de tramontaine remaint auques en derriere ver Midi.' P.'s text, p. 201, only says the star 'vous demeure auques a delivre demi jour,' or, as P. explains, 'demeure quelque peu visible à midi.' See Appendix to this volume.

or of hasty generalization—the union of diverse regions, races, or customs in one description: others again are the fruit of that appetite for the marvellous which has so often been a temptation to explorers. But, in any case, it is not likely that the personal experience of any one of the Polos extended at furthest beyond Karakorum and the upper valleys of the Orkhon and Selenga; it is not probable that any of them ever visited *Bargu*, or travelled beyond the mountains—Marco's *Altai*—which divided the Siberian plain and the Holy Sea of *Baia-khal* from the Mongolian steppes.

Across those steppes we now return—across the desert on the south of them—to the other side of the Gobi, to Tangut and its capital of Kanchau [1], whence we resume our eastward march towards the court of Kublai. Again we pass a goblin-haunted region, marching for five days over a country where spirits were often heard to talk at night [2]; in this wise we come to *Erginul* or *Erguiul* [3], another of the 'kingdoms' that made up the once great Empire of Tangut, probably answering to the modern district and city of Liangchau, north-east of Koko Nor, and at no great distance from the Nan Shan mountains, the northern fringe of the Tibetan plateau, and the upper waters of the Hoangho. Here the direct road to Cathay branched off south-east-ward [4], passing by *Singui* or Sining—where China really began; where, as in *Erguiul*, Buddhist idolaters [5], Nestorian Christians, and 'worshippers of Maomet' lived side by side; and where our traveller describes

[1] Here called *Canpitui* and *Cancipu*, G., 72. Marco of course gives no itinerary or time-table for this return journey, though previously (G., 60) he warned us to accompany him *sixty days* towards the north (only twelve to *Ezina* from *Canpicion*, and forty over the desert, being specified). He simply has a 'voz avon conte . . . de tramontane . . . retorneron a Canpitui.'

[2] 'Maint espiriti, lesquelz oit l'en parler le nuit le plosor foies,' G., 72.

[3] 'Roiames . . . Erginul . . . est de la gran provence de Tengut . . . mestre cite Ergigul,' G., 72. On Erguiul see also Appendix.

[4] 'Ver iscioloc . . . es contres de Catai . . . en ceste voie . . . treuve une cite apelles *Fingui*,' G., 72; see Appendix to this volume.

[5] 'Ydres' simply, G., 72, but certainly Buddhists here, both in Sining and Erguiul.

with evident delight the cattle and other products of a rich country—yaks, wild and tame, as big as elephants, and of amazing strength, with silky hair a good four palms in length[1]; musk-deer, somewhat like gazelles, producing the best musk perfume in the world; and long-tailed pheasants, almost as large as peacocks[2]. For five-and-twenty days this rich corn-growing province extended, peopled mainly by fat, sensual, beardless idolaters, with little noses and black hair, whose chief merit in Marco's eyes seems to have been the soft loveliness of their women[3].

But the Polos do not enter China by way of Sining[4]; they continue apparently to follow the modern 'courier'[5] route, on the north of the Chinese Wall, to the Ninghia region and the Alashan Highlands, Marco's *Egrigaia*, where the Hoangho leaves the protection of the great rampart and plunges into extra-mural Asia. And from this point our Venetians can hardly have shaped any other course than that of the Yellow River valley, as it winds round its great northern bend, while they pushed on to their next stage—the *Tenduc* of our narrative, the Inshan of modern maps. The capital of *Egrigaia*, called *Calacian* or *Calachan* by Polo, is probably the old summer residence of the Tangut sovereigns, which stood near the foot of the Alashan Mountains, somewhat to the west of Ninghia and the Hoangho, in about North Latitude 39°[6]. Here, in the midst of an 'idolatrous' or

[1] 'Messer Marco,' adds the later text (Ramusio, ii. 16, A; Y.-C., i. 274), 'brought some of this hair to Venice, as a great curiosity.'

[2] 'Messer Marco brought the dried head and feet of a musk deer to Venice with him,' Ramusio, ii. 16(A); Y.-C., i. 275. On the 'buef sauvajes,' the 'belle beste' which yielded the 'meillor masco,' and the 'faizam de la grant de paon,' see G., 72, 73; Y.-C., i. 277–80.

[3] 'Les dames ne ont nul poil for que en chef . . . Elle ont mout bien faites des toutes faisionz,' G., 73. For the 'vingt-cinq jornee' of G., 73, Y.-C., i. 275, substitutes 26.

[4] Although this was, and is, the regular way for any one going from Kansu, or from Northern Tibet, to Central or Southern China.

[5] Cf. the Archimandrite Palladius Katharov, *Elucidations of Marco Polo*, in vol. xxxviii of the *Izvyestya* of the Russian Geographical Society (1902); originally published in English in vol. x of the *Journal* of the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, x. 1–54 (1876).

[6] See Appendix to this volume.

Buddhist people, stood three Nestorian churches; the place was famous for its manufacture of camels'-hair camlets—the finest in the world—which were exported to Cathay and the whole world[1].

In *Tenduc* or Inshan, as we have seen, Messer Marco places the old capital[2] of Prester John and the seat of his descendants,—while at the same time identifying the Priest-King with 'Unecan'[3]—Unc or Wang Khan—the last independent chief of the Keraits, the early friend and ally, afterwards the rival and enemy, of Chingiz.

Thus far we are still on the lines of the old Nestorian tradition, so weirdly confused by Rubruquis[4]; but how the seat of Prester John has been transferred across the Gobi, from the Baikal to the Hoangho, is not easy to explain. It is, however, in all probability the result of a confusion between Wang Khan and Wangku, between the Tartar chieftain ruling on the east shore of the great Siberian lake and the famous Inshan family which, under the Kin dynasty, guarded the northern frontiers of China on this side, and controlled the Tukiu tribes of the Sandy Desert, to which they themselves belonged[5]. In any case, this Inshan region, though abounding with idolaters and Saracens, seems to have been really under the rule of a Christian dynasty, both at this time and a generation later, when John de Monte Corvino was at Peking. For all that Messer Marco says of George, King of Tenduc, sixth in descent from Prester John[6], is

[1] 'Les jens . . . ydres . . . trois yglise de cristienz nestorin . . . Giambellot de poil de gamiaus les plus biaus . . . au monde . . . et d'iluech les aportent . . . au Catai, en autres leu por mi le monde,' G., 74.

[2] G., 75. The Polo 'mestre cite' of Tenduc is probably the Kweihwacheng of the modern Chinese, the Kuku-khotan (or Kuku-hoton) of the Mongols, whose greatest commercial centre it is, on the southern side of the Gobi; cf. Y.-C., i. 286–7, and Appendix to this volume.

[3] G., 61.

[4] Rub., 260–1; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 349, and Appendix to this volume.

[5] So the Archimandrite Palladius explains in his *Elucidations of Polo*; see Appendix.

[6] 'Giorgie . . . Jor . . . dou lingnages dou Prestre Johan . . . le soime seingnor depuis le Prestre,' G., 74, 75.

strikingly confirmed by what the great missionary tells us of his convert George, of the family of Prester John, who ruled in a country twenty days' journey from Peking, and who brought over with him so many of his people, from Nestorian schism to the unity of Rome[1].

Now this part (of *Tenduc*), adds Polo, was the country of *Gog* and *Magog*, which the people of the land called *Ung* and *Mungul*, the race of *Gog* dwelling in *Ung*, and the Tartars in *Mungul*[2]. In this oracular deliverance it is difficult to recognize any sense at all; but by the country of Gog and Magog it may be that Marco really alludes to the Great Wall of China, the Rampart of Gog and Magog[3], which he must have seen in this neighbourhood (as in all likelihood both before and after), but which, apart from this possible allusion, is never mentioned in his Book. By his *Ung* and *Mungul*, he is apparently struggling, like Vincent of Beauvais, in a celebrated passage[4], after a generic division of the Tartar race, such as we have in 'Turks and Mongols,' or in the 'White and Black Tartars' of Rashiduddin. The Turkish tribe of the Ung-kut, vassals of the Kin Emperors of China, who entrusted them with the defence of a portion of the Great Wall, may be specially referred to[5]; but, in any event, we suspect that Marco is still haunted by a reminiscence of *Ung* Khan, and that the native name of Prester John, as he conceived it, is partly responsible for the Ung or Gog of his ethnology. The earlier Middle Ages had usually fixed in the Caucasus that barrier whereby Alexander shut out the foul

[1] Cf. ch. ii, part ii, § 1 of this volume. This realm of King George is probably the same as the Prester John country visited by Odoric, with its capital of *Tozan*; see ch. ii, part ii, § 5; on the probable confusion made by Polo and Corvino between Wang Khan and the Inshan Wangku, cf. above, p. 88, and see Appendix.

[2] Immediately after speaking of King George, his realm, and his descent from the Prester, the text proceeds 'et ce est le leu qe nos apellon *Gogo* et *Magogo*, mes il l'apellent *Ung* et *Mungul*... en *Ung* estoit les *Gog*, et en *Mungul* demoroit les Tartars,' G., 75.

[3] For the references of Abulfeda, Ibn Batuta, Ricold of Monte Croce, and others to the races, lands, and ramparts of Gog-Magog, see ch. ii, part ii, § 2, and ch. vii, of this volume.

[4] *Speculum Historiale*, xxxi. 32–4; see also xxix. 73.

[5] See Appendix to this volume.

Gog-Magogs of the north from the civilized world of the south; but, as knowledge spread, the giant rampart of the Far East seemed to go better with the legend than the broken fragments of ancient work near Derbent[1].

Within this bulwark of Cathay the Polos may finally have passed at the historic Kalgan gateway, where the modern Peking-Moscow caravan route leaves China proper, and near[2] which stands Marco's *Sindacui* or *Sindachu*, the modern Siuenhwa. All along the way from *Tenduc*—seven days' riding 'ver le Catai'—there was good store of towns and villages, inhabited by Moslems, 'Idolaters,' and Nestorian Christians, renowned for the weaving of cloth of gold, which here was just as common as woollen stuffs in Europe[3].

But here the wanderers were not only approaching regions of high culture, great luxury, and ancient fame; they were nearing the central provinces of the World-Empire.

At a place called *Ciagan Nor*[4] or 'White Lake,' lying just outside the Wall, and about thirty miles north of Kalgan, Kublai had a hunting-lodge. For the adjoining lakes, rivers, and plains, then as now, abounded with cranes, partridges, and pheasants; and the Khan found here all the hawking that he could desire.

A far grander palace stood further to the north, some 200 miles from Peking, in the Upper Valley of the Lan-ho, at the very entrance of the Desert. This was *Ciandu* or Shangtu[5],

[1] See ch. ii, part ii, § 2 of this volume, and Appendix.

[2] Twenty-five miles distant.

[3] On these stuffs ('nascisi fin et nach et dras de soie,' G., 75) see also Appendix to this volume. The 'argentiere' or silver mine at *Ydifu*, mentioned by Marco (G., 75) as in a mountain of this province [*Sindacui*], is perhaps that at Yuchau, worked by the Mongol-Chinese Government till 1323.

[4] 'Une *cite* que s'apelle Ciagannor,' G., 75. See also Appendix, on the 'white city' of Chaghan Balghasun on lake Chaghan Nor, and on the palace built hereabouts by Kublai, c. A.D. 1280.

[5] G., 77; see Appendix, on *Shangtu-Keibung*, *Kaipingfu*, and its other names. It is, of course, the *Clemeinfu* of Marco's Prefatory Narrative (G., 10).

the 'Xanadu' of Coleridge, where Kublai now received the travellers, of whose approach he had been duly warned, and for whose comfort he had dispatched an escort on a journey of full forty days to meet and guide them to his presence[1]. Here marble halls glowed with paintings; here men and beasts, birds, trees, and flowers, were depicted with consummate art; here an extensive hunting-park, sixteen miles in circuit, afforded sport for the idle hours of Imperial Majesty[2].

'Here thrice[3] five miles of fertile ground,
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And here were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.'

It was probably in the early summer of 1275[4] that the three Venetians came into the presence of the Lord of Asia in that 'Upper Court,' founded by Mangu in 1256, where from 1264 Kublai had raised and embellished those stately pleasure-domes of which the English poet sang so well.

And now the Polos have fairly passed out of Upper or Inner Asia and entered that true China, to which Marco devotes the longest section of his book, on which he fixes the chief interest of his narrative, in which he passes the best years of his life, and for whose charms he displays so passionate

[1] 'Il envoie sez mesajes contr' aus bien quarante jornee,' G., 10. On the date of the Polos' arrival at Kublai's court, see also Appendix.

[2] In the same park Kublai had also built a bamboo hunting-lodge ('palais . . . tout de channes') for the three months ('Jung et Jungnee et Aost') of his summer residence—'endores tout dedens et orverait as bestes et a osiaus . . . sotilmant evres. La coveraire . . . toute de cannes enverniges . . . groses pluis de trois paumes et . . . lonc de dix pas iusqe a quinze. L'en le trence parmi de un nod as autre, et adonc est fait un coup . . . de ceste channes . . . en puet covrir maison et fer toute de chief.' The whole was movable ('le fasoit lever quant . . . il voloit; car il le sostenoit plus de deus cent cordes de soie'), G., 77. Other details are added in later texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 299; Ramusio, ii. 17 (A, B).

[3] I venture to alter the 'twice' of *Kubla Khan* to suit Marco's text.

[4] The Polos' second outward journey had taken them 'bien trois ans et dimi,' G., 10.

an affection. His first reception was auspicious. When his elders prostrated themselves before the Imperial Majesty, they were welcomed as old friends, raised from the dust, eagerly questioned, and loaded with honours. Faithful to their commission, they presented the letter of the Roman Pontiff and the oil from the Holy Sepulchre. But the keen eye of the Emperor soon perceived that they had brought him something else; he demanded to know who was the *young bachelor*[1] in their company. 'Sire,' replied Nicolo, 'it is my son and your subject.' 'And he too,' said the Khan, 'is right welcome[2].'

For seventeen years[3] our Venetians lived under the immediate rule of Kublai—Marco and his seniors constantly rising in favour, winning their way in the imperial service, and apparently receiving more or less regular employment on missions and affairs of state. The 'young bachelor' showed unusual quickness in learning the customs, languages, and history of the Mongol Empire; in a short time, it is said, he was well acquainted with[4] four of the scripts in use among the Tartars. But beyond this, Kublai evidently discerned in him a useful diplomatic agent and intelligence officer, the very man needed to execute distant and dangerous journeys in the imperial interest. Thus, as Marco proudly records, he was soon called upon to travel to a region[5] six months' distance from the court, and this was but the first of many such commissions[6].

[1] 'Adonc li prezentent les breviles et les letres qe l'Apostoille le envoie ... puis li bailent le saint oleo ... Le Kaan ... voit March qi estoit jeune bachaler,' G., 10.

[2] G., 11, 'Sire ... il est mon filz et vostre *home*.' 'Bien soit il venu,' &c.

[3] 'Bien dix et sept anz,' G., 12.

[4] 'Il soit de langajes et de quatre letres et scriture,' G., 11; 'iiii lettres de leur escriptures,' P., 23; these four were probably the *Bashpah* character, established as official by Kublai in 1269, Uigur, Arabic or Persian, and perhaps Chinese; Yule (wrongly?) disputes the Chinese, and suggests Tibetan or Tangutan instead; see Y.-C., i. 28-30, and Appendix to this volume.

[5] 'Il le envoie mesajes en une tere que bien hi poine aler six mois,' G., 11; see p. 94, and Appendix.

[6] 'Et en tut cest terme ne fint d'aler en mesajerie ... le Kaan ... toutes les bones mesajerie et le longaines ... donnoit a ... Marc,' G., 12.

Apart from the six months' journey of which he tells us, the famous series of chapters which deals with the provinces of Western China, from Pechili to Yunnan, is apparently a record of his experience on a four months' expedition from Peking, *ver ponent*, on imperial business[1]; with the same purpose he seems to have made at least one voyage to India[2] (probably Indo-China and the Archipelago are to be understood) before his final return to Western Asia and to Italy.

Kublai had a special fancy for the strange customs of distant regions[3], and his taste was abundantly gratified by Marco, a born collector of *mirabilia*. The reward was speedy, if Pauthier has rightly assigned to our 'young gallant[4]' an honourable mention in the Chinese annals. For, under a year answering to A. D. 1277, these records tell us that one Polo was nominated a second-class commissioner, attached to the Privy Council of the Emperor[5]; and this notice has generally been referred to Marco, though it is possible that his father or his uncle, whose services (equally with his own) in the capture of Siangyang[6] must have demanded recognition, and who certainly shared in the favour of the Khan, which they were the first to win for the *Ca' Polo*, may be intended here.

At any rate, it would seem that Marco's labours, which apparently secured him the remarkable honour of governing a great Chinese city for some years[7], also made him in time the leading personage, although the youngest, among the three explorers.

Two chief routes seem indicated by Marco for his travels in China proper. Both apparently start from Peking or its neighbourhood, but their course is widely divergent. The

[1] 'Mesier March meisme le grant sire le mande por mesajes ver ponent et se parti de Canbalu et ala bien quatre mois ver ponent,' G., 117. On this and the six months' journey mentioned above, see pp. 103–11, and Appendix.

[2] 'Meser Marc torne de Ynde por mout deverses mer,' G., 13.

[3] G., 11.

[4] 'Li jeune bazaler,' G., 11; 'le jeune mesere Marc Pol,' G., 12.

[5] P., ix. 361.

[6] G., 161–2; this reference is unfortunately confused by serious discrepancies of chronology; cf. p. 114.

[7] On Marco Polo's governorship of Yangchau, see p. 113.

first runs in a general south-westerly direction to Yunnan and the countries of Indo-China, passing through Singanfu, traversing the Hôangho at or near the southernmost bend of 'China's Sorrow,' crossing and re-crossing the Yangtse above Chungking, and even penetrating into Burma. The second itinerary has a steady south-south-east direction through the great plain of China, and roughly follows the line of the Imperial Canal to *Chesai*, *Quinsai* [1], or Hangchau, south of the Yangtse estuary. Thence the road appears to drop south-south-west to *Caiton*, *Zaitem* [2], or Amoy Harbour, on the Formosa Channel, where the Polos embark for Persia and for Europe.

It is possible that these two great lines of travel, as they appear in our *Book of Diversities*, are really obtained by piecing together many separate journeys [3]; but this is of little importance to us here. The central fact remains that they, and they alone, give us a connected view of Marco's wanderings in the *Middle Kingdom*.

To the author of the Polo narrative, as we have said, China, the most valuable part of the Great Khan's immediate dominion, is also the most interesting region of the earth; and in that narrative, beyond question, is to be found the best mediaeval picture of Chinese civilization from a European source. Beginning with a sketch of the court and person of Kublai, the 'most potent man that is in this world, or ever has been [4],' Marco goes on to describe the Khan's diversions, his economic system, his method of daily work, and his army. After this he guides us through Peking or *Canbaluc* [5], gives a brilliant

[1] G., 167, 168, &c.

[2] G., 178, 179.

[3] This applies e. g. to the question of the special Kanchau visit (put forward as a separate diplomatic journey by Pauthier's MSS.), which may have branched off from the great south-west line of travel indicated; and to the Burmese visit, which may not have been a continuation of the aforesaid south-west explorations. See pp. 109–10, and Appendix.

[4] G., 81, 'le pius poisant homes que unque fust au monde, ne qe orendroit soit, da Adam . . . ,' &c.

[5] Otherwise *Canbaluc*, *Cabalut*, *Ganbalu*, *Canbalu*, &c. (G., 86, 89, 92, 116–17), the last form occurring most frequently, the first being the most accurate.

sketch of the imperial post and courier-service, and details many instances of the wisdom and all-embracing charity of a paternal monarchy. He then refers to various peculiarities of the Chinese social, industrial, moral, and religious life: and he concludes with an elaborate account of the districts and cities along the two main routes to which we have referred [1].

From this immense body of material, it will be enough to select certain examples—the most important and illustrative—of Marco's treatment of Chinese characteristics, while closely following every step of his East Asian wanderings and researches.

And for our purpose we may fairly begin with his picture of Kublai's capital.

Canbaluc, properly *Khanbalik*, 'the city of the Khan [2],' that 'Northern Metropolis' or 'Peking' which appears under so many names in the history of East Asia for at least 1,500 years before the Polos' visit, was then, as it is to-day, a double town. The older quarter lay on one side of a river—on the south of the Tathungho; the new settlement, called *Taidu* [3], or 'Great Court,' was on the other or northern side of the same stream. The Khan had learnt from his astrologers that the former would prove rebellious; he therefore built the latter close to it, and forced most of the inhabitants to move from the old into the new city. This mighty creation of Kublai's will had a circuit of four and twenty miles; it lay four-square; and it was enclosed by earthen walls, more than fifty feet high [4], and battlemented [5] throughout, with a thickness gradually diminishing (from fifty to

[1] The Ramusian text, ii. 25 (c)–26 (B), also inserts an account of 'Achmac's' oppressions and overthrow; the part played by 'Polo, assessor of the Privy Council' (see above, p. 93) in opening Kublai's eyes to Ahmad's wickedness is referred to in the Chinese annals; see Y.-C., i. 422.

[2] So Marco, 'en nostre lengaje la cite dou Seingnor,' G., 92. On the history and names of Peking, see Appendix.

[3] See Odoric, ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[4] This is from P., 274, 'dix (pas)'; G., 92, has 'vingt,' i. e. 100 feet. See Appendix.

[5] 'Merles,' G., 92, which furnishes the rest of the wall-description.

fifteen feet) as one ascended. These walls were pierced by twelve gates, and over each gate (and at each of the four corners[1] of the city) was a 'palace,' wherein the garrison kept their arms. The streets were wide and straight, and crossed the entire city[2] at right angles, the whole inhabited space being cut up in squares like a chess-board. In the midst of the town was a great bell, on which the curfew was sounded every night[3]; after this had struck no one might go about the streets, save for the needs of birth, sickness, or death.

The population was incredibly great: and the city proper was enclosed by immense suburbs[4], which contained more people than *Canbalu* itself. Here lodged the foreign merchants and all travellers visiting Peking; here, too, all the public women[5] (some 20,000 strong) were compelled to live; the cemeteries of the capital lay still further out, beyond the suburbs[6].

Into *Canbalu*, moreover, there flowed a greater import trade, and one of costlier and rarer substance, than into any other of the world's markets[7]. For hither people of every description and from every region brought the useful or precious merchandise of India[8], of Cathay, and of other countries, in endless quantities—some for the sovereign, some for the court, some for the citizens, some for the nobles, and some for the imperial hosts quartered round the metropolis. No day passed in the year, declares Marco, on which there did not enter the gates fully 1,000 cartloads of silk[9], this being used in Cathay instead of the flax of other lands; for though the Chinese had cotton and hemp, the supply was here unequal to the demand[10].

For the lodgement of the merchants who thronged to *Canbalu*

[1] 'Par chascun cant,' G., 92.

[2] G., 93. The chess-board comparison ('com' è un tavoliero de scacchi') is from Ramusio, ii. 24 (F).

[3] 'Une grant cloque, ce est canpane qe sone la noit,' G., 93.

[4] 'Tant burs come portes,' G., 106.

[5] 'Feme pecherise . . . femes dou monde,' G., 106.

[6] G., 106, 'dehors tous les burs.'

[7] G., 107. But see pp. 117–19, 121–2, 125–6.

[8] 'Ydie,' G., 107.

[9] 'Plus de mille charrete chargies de soie,' G., 107.

[10] Not in G.; added from later texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 415; Ramusio, ii. 29, A.

there were many fine hostelries[1] in the suburbs; and one of these caravanserais was assigned to the traders of each race, description, or country; 'as if we should say, there is one for the Lombards, another for the Germans, and a third for the Frenchmen.'

In Peking, also, was the mint[2] where the Emperor coined his money out of bark, thus proving that he had the secret of alchemy in perfection[3]. In other words, the paper currency of the Great Khan was here prepared from the inner rind of the mulberry tree[4]. This was made into great sheets like paper[5], and these sheets were cut into pieces of different size and value[6], and issued with as much solemnity as if it had all been pure gold or silver—every piece being signed and sealed by various officials, and finally stamped with vermilion by the Khan himself[7]. With these banknotes, Kublai made all payments on his own account, and his subjects were required to accept them, by whomsoever tendered[8]: when merchants arrived from India or other foreign countries, bringing with them gold, silver, gems, or pearls, they were forbidden to sell except to the Emperor, who paid a liberal price in paper-money for the valuables[9]. If any of the paper were spoilt, the owner could exchange the old for new by a payment of 3 per cent.[10]

Several times a year, moreover, by open proclamation through Peking, Kublai invited all possessors of precious

[1] *Fonducos*, *Fondachi*, Arabic *Fanduk*; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 263, and Appendix to this volume. This passage is not in G., but added from later texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 412; Ramusio, ii. 25 (A).

[2] 'Secqe,' 'Secque,' G., 107–9.

[3] 'Ait l'aqueimie parfetement,' G., 107.

[4] 'Des morieres que les vermes que font la soie menuient lor frondes, et les bouces soutil . . . entre l'escorses et les fust,' G., 108.

[5] 'Chartre come celle de papir . . . toutes noires,' G., 108.

[6] From half a tornesel ('merule de tornesel petit') up to ten bezants, G., 108.

[7] These formalities are not mentioned in G., but come in later texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 424; Ramusio, ii. 29 (B).

[8] G., 108.

[9] G., 108–9, with some additions from Ramusio, ii. 29; Y.-C., i. 424–5. 'Plusors fois l'an,' Marco adds, these merchants brought goods worth 400,000 bezants to Kublai, and disposed of them all for paper-money. G., 109.

[10] 'Trois por cent,' G., 109.

stones or metals to exchange them for a handsome sum in banknotes at the mint[1]. In this way the Khan worked steadily on, amassing to the utmost of his power all the specie and jewels of his empire in a gigantic personal hoard.

Modern economy will hardly endorse all the details of Kublai's paper currency[2]; it was the imitation of an old Chinese experiment (first tried at least five centuries before the Polos); and, as a matter of historic fact, it constantly involved the government in difficulties. But for the Mongol system of roads and posts, in the stage of development it had now reached, there could be little but praise.

From *Canbalu* roads branched out to the various provinces of the empire, and at the end of each stage of twenty-two, twenty-five, or thirty miles was a *yam*, *yanb*, or post-house[3], well furnished and providing lodgement fit for a king, where horses and sleeping-quarters[4] were kept for travellers, and especially for the imperial messengers. Even when a man had to pass through roadless tracts, one found these post-houses just the same, only at longer intervals[5]: thus the total number of *yams*, as Marco estimated, exceeded 10,000; and they were served by over 200,000 horses[6], all kept in constant readiness for the envoys, couriers, officers, and others travelling in the Great Khan's service.

Between the main stations just described, and at spaces of three miles, were intermediate posts[7], in which lived the imperial foot-runners, furnished with bells to their girdles, so

[1] G., 109, with additions from Ramusio, ii. 29; Y.-C., i. 425.

[2] Besides Polo, Rubruquis, Roger Bacon, King Hayton of Armenia, Friar Odoric of Pordenone, John de Cora, and Josafat Barbaro, among other mediaeval western writers, allude to the Chinese paper-money. See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 2, 5 of this volume, and Appendix; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 351.

[3] P., 336; G., 111, reads *Yanb*, and allows 'vingt deus,' 'vingt cinq,' or 'trente miles' for these stages. See ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume, and Appendix; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 288.

[4] 'Mout riches lit, fornis des riches dras de soie,' G., 111; 'plaines de riches liz moult beaus... avec riches draps de soie,' P., 336.

[5] 'A trente cinc miles... et a plus de quarante,' G., 112.

[6] G., 112.

[7] 'Un chasaus, qe hi poit avoir entor quarante maison,' G., 112.

as to give early notice of their approach. Thus all the delay of preparation was avoided; each messenger ran over one three-mile stretch, and no more, being instantly relieved by a fresh man, ready to take his place at the next halting-place; in this way the Emperor conveyed his messages over a distance of ten days' journey in the space of one [1].

At every post-station was a clerk, whose duties were to note the time of each courier's arrival and departure; other officials made monthly visitations both of the *yams* and the intermediate posts, saw to the proper supply of horses, and punished the negligent [2].

For extreme dispatch, riders were employed, who, like the runners, wore jingling bells at their waists; reliefs of horses and men were kept at each post-house; and the first comer on reaching a station had merely to hand over his missive to the next courier, mounted and ready to receive it. Thus an 'express' could be taken 250 miles in the day and nearly as much in the night [3].

By the side of the great highways traversed by the imperial posts, rows of lofty trees were planted at short intervals, even in uninhabited tracts [4],—wherever trees would grow at all: in absolutely barren and desert regions, pillars or stones were set up to show the way [5]. By this the greatest possible solace was given to travellers, and indeed to all the subjects of the Khan—who for this and other noble acts was universally esteemed a public benefactor, and promised long life by the astrologers as his reward [6]. For by his charity more than 30,000 poor were fed and clothed from day to day in *Canbalu* alone; by his foresight stores of seed-corn, grain, and cattle

[1] G., 112, 'ausi en dix jors et ... nuit ... de cent jornee.'

[2] Partly in G., 113, partly from other texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 435; Ramusio, ii. 30 (B–C).

[3] Partly in G., 113, partly from other texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 435–6; Ramusio, ii. 30 (C–E). On these Mongol posts, see also Odoric and Clavijo, ch. ii, part ii, § 5, and part iii, § 4 of this volume, our best parallels to Polo here.

[4] G., 114.

[5] From later texts; cf. Y.-C., i. 440; Ramusio, ii. 31 (A).

[6] Mostly from G., 114, with the astrologer-prophecies from Ramusio, ii. 31 (A); cf. Y.-C., i. 440.

were kept for distribution in famine-time; and by his mercy taxes were remitted and fresh supplies were given to those ruined by dearth, murrain, locusts, or pestilence[1].

Not that such gentleness of heart was natural to a Mongol. It was due, as Marco admits, with the candour of a citizen of the world, to the softening influence of Buddhism; for ere the Tartars were converted (as in China) to the 'religion of the idolaters,' they never dreamt of regarding the poor as anything but outcasts branded by Heaven's displeasure; and to any beggar soliciting alms, their reply was only, 'Go, with God's curse, for if He loved you as He loves me, He would have provided for you[2].'

But the superstition of the court was as remarkable as the Emperor's generosity. Astrology and astronomy were rampant in Peking: the astrolabe, inscribed with the planetary signs, was in constant use by those who wished to ascertain the course and character of the year, the nature of the weather, the possibilities of disease or war, and the chances of success or failure[3].

After this, and his ambitious, though inaccurate, account of the Tartar cycles[4], roughly answering to the Western *Indictions*, it is at least curious that Polo says nothing of the publication of almanacks by Government in China: still more curious is his silence in the matter of Chinese printing. The former, then as now, was considered a matter of the

[1] G., 114, 116, 117.

[2] From Ramusio, ii. 31 (C), not in G.; cf. Y.-C., i. 445–6, and Appendix to this volume.

[3] From Ramusio, ii. 31 (D–E), not in G.; cf. Y.-C., i. 446–7.

[4] From Ramusio, ii. 31 (E), not in G.; cf. Y.-C., i. 447-8. These cycles were of twelve years, says Marco, the years being denoted by various animal signs, of which the first four were: i. lion, ii. ox, iii. dragon, iv. dog. In reality, the symbols of these years were: i. rat, ii. ox, iii. tiger or 'lion,' and iv. hare; followed by v. dragon, vi. serpent, vii. horse, viii. sheep, ix. ape, x. cock, xi. dog, xii. swine. As to the astronomical instruments used at Peking in Kublai's time, cf. Y.-C., i. 449-56; Kublai seems to have built an observatory on an elevated stage of the city wall in the south-east corner of the [Tartar] City in A.D. 1279: it contained an armillary sphere, brass globe, transit instrument, sector, &c. See also Appendix.

highest national usefulness, a pre-eminent duty of the ruler; the latter, one of the ancient and outstanding glories of Chinese civilization, was so far connected with the astrology of which Marco speaks, that a little later over 3,000,000[1] copies of an official calendar were printed in different sizes and at different prices.

But against these omissions, we have to place one noteworthy observation. All over Cathay, Marco notices with surprise, were black stones existing in veins, hidden in the mountains, which the Chinese dug out and burnt like firewood. They had a wonderful power of retaining heat, and being better and cheaper fuel than wood, they largely replaced the latter in this favoured land[2]. No earlier Christian writer notices the coal of China, now recognized as among the finest assets of the Middle Kingdom; yet it had been used by the Celestials before the Christian era; and in the fourteenth century several visitors[3] confirm the observation of our Venetian.

On the other hand, the rice-wine remarked by the *Liber Diversorum*[4] had been mentioned by William of Rubrouck; and both Rubrouck and Carpini had to some extent anticipated the Polo narrative in a description of the changes of costume at the Mongol court, associated in the *Livre des Diversités* with the festival of the great Khan's birthday and with that of the new year[5].

As to the other details of these festivals, of Kublai's palaces and *green mount* in Peking[6], of the court itinerary (from

[1] See Appendix to this volume.

[2] G., 115, 'Por toutes la provence de Catai ... une maniere de pieres noires qe se cavent des montaingnes come voines, qe ardent come buces. Il mantienent les feu miaus que ne funt les leingnes. ... Por toute la provence dou Catai s'ardent celes pieres ... il ont leingnes asez, mes il ardent de cestes pieres asez por ce qe gostent main.'

[3] Especially Ibn Batuta; see ch. vii of this volume.

[4] G., 115: On this 'poison de ris ... co maintes boines espices ... mout cler ... mout chaut' which 'fait devenir le home evre plus tost qe autre vin,' cf. Rubruquis, 299, speaking of *Tartar* customs; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 354.

[5] G., 95–9; Rubruquis, 368; Carpini, 755; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 309, 368.

[6] G., 89–91; see ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume, and Appendix.

Canbalu to the seaside, from the seaside to Shangtu and the steppes, according to the variations of season, from winter to spring, from spring to summer[1]), or of the ceremonial and official hierarchy which surrounded the Khan in his daily life, and especially at state dinners and receptions[2]; as to the Emperor's hunting and hawking[3]; as to his personal appearance[4]; and as to the Tartar customs still prevailing in the Chinese capital under its Mongol lords—the offering of white horses to the Emperor[5], the donning of white garments at the commencement of the year[6], the *Bulgarian* or *Camu* boots worn by Kublai's barons[7], the tablets of authority bestowed, not only upon ambassadors and special messengers, viceroys and other great lords, but even upon subordinate officers such as centurions[8]—it will be enough for our purpose here to note the fact that all these matters are elaborately dealt with in the Polo narrative[9].

After this picture of Cathay's sovereign, the lord of all the Mongol world, and of his court, life, residences, and recreations —after giving us this sketch of the governmental, monetary, and postal system in Tartarised China, of the imperial capital, and of various features in Chinese manners and beliefs—Marco Polo returns to his *account of regions*, unfolding before us a Far Eastern panorama which long held the attention of Christian Europe, which to a great extent prompted the

[1] Kublai usually spent December, January and February in Peking ('Cabalut,' 'Canbalu,' 'la cite dou Catai,' &c., G., 89, 99–100, 102); March, April and part of May by the ocean 'ver midi' (G., 102, 105); June, July and August at Shangtu (G., 77); and September, October and November, according to P.'s text, p. 312, in Peking again; see Appendix to this volume.

[2] G., 93–5, 97–8.

[3] G., 99–105.

[4] G., 88.

[5] G., 97; cf. ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[6] G., 97.

[7] G., 99. See Appendix.

[8] G., 87.

[9] See also Appendix on the Khan's brides from the old Mongol home-land (G., 88), on his stud of white horses kept among the *Horiat* or *Oirat* tribe, Carpini's *Voyrat* (G., 78; Carp, 651), on his 'doze grandisme baronz' or Viceroys, called *Scieng* (G., 110; see Odoric, ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume), and on the enchantments of his *Bacsi* from *Tebet* and *Quesmur* (G., 78–80), and their alleged cannibalism (G., 78).

explorations of succeeding centuries. And the first part of this panorama is given to that south-western journey of which we have already spoken, when 'the Great Lord' bade Marco be his messenger 'in the west,' and he made his four months' journey from *Canbalu, ver ponent.* The initial stage of this journey is marked by the narrative at 'the river of the stone bridge,' the *Pulisangin*[1] or Hunho, which flowed within ten miles of Çambaluc, and whose famous Lukou bridge, for which alone it was remarkable, was constructed just over a century before this time (A. D. 1189–94). This noble work was all of marble; it measured 300 paces in length, and eight paces in width; ten mounted men could ride over it abreast; the whole was borne on four-and-twenty arches; and along the top ran a parapet of marble slabs and columns, each column being reared upon a lion-figure and crowned with another lion, while the space between the lion-columns was closed in with slabs of grey granite.

Thence proceeding by the 'imperial highway' from Peking to Singanfu, Marco passes through *Giogui* or Chochau, where (at about forty miles south-west of the capital) the two great Chinese itineraries of our Venetian separate, the one running towards Yunnan, the other towards the coastal plain. His next station of *Taianfu,* our Taiyuanfu—then, as now, the capital of Shansi, and once (under the Thang) the chief city of all China—is celebrated by Polo as the only wine-making place in Cathay, as a centre of silk cultivation, and as an imperial arsenal.

In reality the *Pulisangin* was but a second-rate stream, though spanned by a first-rate bridge; but the *Caramoran*[2], which Marco now reaches by way of *Pianfu*[3] or Pingyang, was a different matter. This *grant flum,* the *Hoangho* or 'Yellow River' of the Chinese, which Polo knows only by its Mongol name of *Karamuren* or 'Black Watercourse,' ranked then, even more than it ranks to-day, among the chief arteries

[1] G., 117, which reads 'Pulisanghinz.' On the bridge, see Appendix.

[2] G., 121; see Appendix.

[3] G., 119.

of Eastern Asia. It was also, above all others, the historical river of China—though of such tradition the *Liber Diversorum* gives no hint. In its valley arose the earliest civilization of Cathay; and the most prominent of the older capitals, Taiyuan and Singan, lay within its basin. Dangerous and destructive, as all its history records, from its incessant shiftings, its shallows, obstructions, and rapid falls of level, and of infinitely less social and commercial importance than the beneficent Yangtse, it was yet, according to Marco, the scene of a large traffic, flowing as it did from the country of Prester John, through a land abounding in silk and ginger, reaching the all-encircling ocean [1], and supporting many a city and many a trader. Its volume was such that no bridge had yet been thrown across it [2], and near its mouth (as Polo tells us later, in the course of his south-eastern journey) it was deep enough for great vessels [3].

Few [4] other descriptions, ancient or modern, attribute to the Hoangho either the commerce or the capacity for navigation which is here asserted; yet at this time the ocean tide probably entered far within the estuary and made a flood by which sea-going craft could ascend the stream up to the junction of the Grand Canal with 'China's Sorrow.'

Our Venetian crossed the Yellow River close to the point where that erratic stream finally turns eastward: here, after passing through *Cacianfu* [5], our Puchaufu, he was close to a city second to none in the annals of the Middle Kingdom.

This was Singanfu, Marco's *Quengianfu*, the imperial capital throughout the long ages of the Han, in all epochs the chief town of Shensi, and famous for its commerce and manufactures, its silk and gold stuffs, its armouries, its walls, and its palaces [6]. It was now, adds Polo, under the rule of

[1] P., 359, adds this on the 'grant mer ocianne' surrounding 'le monde, c'est a dire, la terre toute.'

[2] G., 121.

[3] G., 154.

[4] But see Marignolli, ch. ii, part ii, § 6 of this volume.

[5] On 'Cacianfu' and 'Caicui' and their identification, as on the story of the 'Roi d'Or' and Prester John (G., 119–21), see Appendix.

[6] G., 122. On Singan, see also Appendix.

Mangalai, Kublai's third son; as Mangalai died in 1280, the Italian visitor must have seen Singan before that date. Whether it be or be not identical with the *Thinai* of Ptolemy, it is certainly the *Kumdan* of early Moslem writers and of the great Nestorian inscription, the 'divine *Changngan*' of Fa-Hien, the *Quenzanfu* of the Mongol dynasty: it is probably the *Kansan* of Friar Odoric, the *Seres city* of Rubruquis[1]. Here had been the centre of the earliest Chinese Christianity; here in 781 had been erected the most remarkable monument of the mission-enterprise of any 'Nazarene' church; hence Buddhist pilgrims of the 'Land of Han' had set out for India. Within its vast square of walls, in Polo's time, as in our own, was gathered one of the largest and most turbulent human hives of Asia; but of Singan's people, as of its Christian history and imperial traditions, our guide says practically nothing. Yet even as it is, he tells us more than any other Latin traveller of the mediaeval time[2].

On his way from Singanfu, Marco next traversed the mountainous province of *Cuncun*[3], apparently the Hanchung district of Southern Shensi, all cut up by lofty mountains and deep valleys, and sprinkled with thick woods abounding in wild animals. He thus arrived at *Acbalec Mangi*, the *White City on the confines of Mangi*[4], where the *Cathay* or North China of Polo geography came to an end (upon this road), and the traveller entered the former dominion of the Sung, the *Mangi* or *Manzi* of our text.

Three weeks[5] more through the hilly country of Northern Szechuan brought Messer Marco to the Queen of Rivers, the *Qiansui*[6], *Quian*, or Yangtse Kiang, eighty or a hundred

[1] For these references, cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 215–19, 479; ii. 351; and ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[2] Marco notices no church at 'Quengianfu'; to him it is simply 'grant et biele cite . . . le chief do roiames de Quegianfu que ansienemant fu nobles . . . riches et poisant, et jadis hi ot mant buens rois et vailanz.'

[3] G., 123.

[4] G., 124; the best reading here is given by Ramusio, ii. 33 (E), 'Achbaluch Mangi, che vuol dire citta biancha de' confini di Mangi.' See Appendix.

[5] 'Vingt jornee,' G., 124.

[6] G., 125; see also G., 163, Appendix to this volume, and pp. 113–15.

days'[1] journey (at this point) from the ocean into which it flowed, and described by our Italian in terms of ecstasy such as he applies to scarce any other natural object. It was rather a sea than a river[2], being half a mile wide even in Szechuan[3], and from six to ten miles across as one neared the estuary, and it possessed an incredible amount of traffic—more than could be found (in Polo's judgement) on all the seas and rivers of Christendom[4]. Thus, lower down the stream, close to the point at which the Grand Canal joined the Blue River[5], Marco with his own eyes saw 5,000 vessels at one time lying off a single port town of no great significance.

'Boundless is the ocean, bottomless the Kiang,' said a Chinese proverb; and measureless was the wealth of its basin. For on its banks lay sixteen provinces, and more than two hundred great cities[6]; and (as an officer in the imperial service told our traveller) full 200,000 'ships' passed up the current in the year, without counting those that came down[7]. Most of these craft were decked, had one mast, and were of no mean burthen, for they could carry from 4,000 to 12,000 cantars (150 to 450 tons) apiece[8]. It was a work of no small effort to bring these heavy boats up stream against the flood; but the towlines of bamboo, sometimes three hundred paces long, were stronger than ropes of hemp, and did their work still better[9].

It is no wonder—at a time when the Mississippi, the Amazon, and the Congo were unknown, and when the Nile and the Siberian rivers were wholly or in great part veiled mysteries—if Marco Polo hails in the Yangtse the monarch of all watercourses. Yet even he does not seem to have

[1] G., 125.

[2] 'Ne semble flu, mes mer,' G., 125.

[3] i. e. at *Sindinfu*, 'large bien dimi mil,' G., 125.

[4] G., 163.

[5] i. e. at *Singui* or Sinju, G., 163; Ramusio, ii. 43-4 (E), supplies the number 5,000. See pp. 114-15.

[6] G., 163.

[7] Not in G.; cf. Y.-C., ii. 170-1.

[8] G., 163. Their principal cargo was salt, Ramusio, ii. 43-4 (D); Y.-C., ii. 171.

[9] G., 164, with additions from Ramusio, ii. 43-4 (E); cf. Y.-C., ii. 171.

realized its length. For a little later, in his passage of Yunnan, he speaks of the *Brius* or *Brins* (which was nothing but the Kiang in its southernmost bend towards Indo-China) as if it were a totally different stream [1].

It was at *Sindinfu* or *Sindafu*, our Chengtufu, the capital of Szechuan, that Marco first struck the Upper Yangtse, or (as we regard it now) the Min branch of the Blue River. Here he crossed the great river by a splendid and famous bridge, still extant: here he recounts a triple division of a once powerful city, full twenty miles in compass, which a king of old had partitioned among three sons of his, and so perchance prepared the way for the Mongol Conquest, and the ruin which followed it [2]. A similar ruin, the result of the ravages of Mangu Khan [3], was apparent in the 'very desolate [4] province' of *Tebet*, the next region traversed by Polo, within which he evidently reckons some parts of Szechuan, and whose peculiar and scandalous customs he recounts with sardonic amusement.

No man of that country would marry a maiden on any consideration; but when travellers arrived, these slighted virgins were made over to any stranger who would take them. Every man who had been thus 'married,' was expected to leave the girl behind, when he left the country, and to give her some ring or other lover's token, which she could show when she became the wife of one of her own countrymen. Twenty of these tokens were usually demanded by the Tibetan bridegroom, in evidence of his wife's attractiveness, and she who had the greatest number was expected to make the finest match. Here was indeed a country for young fellows to

[1] 'Grant flun . . . auquel se fenist la provence de Gheindu, et en cest flun se treuve grant quantité d'or et de paliole. Il hi a cannelle asez; il vait en la mer Osiane,' G., 131; cf. P., 386.

[2] G., 124–5; cf. also P., 369, on this 'pont de pierres, large viii pas et lone dimi mil,' with its 'colunne de marbres, lesquelz sostinent la covreures dou pont,' its 'covreure de leingne, tout portrait et pinte,' and its 'coviereqe dou grant sire' (G., 125). See Appendix.

[3] 'Mongut Kaan,' G., 126.

[4] 'Mout gaste,' G., 125.

visit[1]. But they must not expect too much, concludes Marco, for after marriage these Tibetan rascals kept their wives exceeding close, and treated adultery with holy horror.

An evil generation, in all ways, were the men of Tibet—infamous brigands, debased idolaters, and diabolical enchanters; wretchedly clothed in canvas, buckram, and the skins of beasts; cut off from other races by their peculiar language; using salt for money; and living only by the chase, by cattle-rearing, and by husbandry. With their huge mastiff dogs, as big as donkeys, they hunted the musk-deer and wild oxen of their hills; falcons, cinnamon, and gold dust were among the other treasures of their vast country, which embraced no fewer than eight 'kingdoms[2].'

Polo's *Tebet* seems to begin in the highlands of Mount Omei; the desolated Tibetan tract through which he passes, after leaving Chengtu, is probably the western part of the Lower Min basin; while the rich country of *Gaindu* which he now enters, with its cassia, its spiced wine, its turquoises, and its cloves[3], is the vale of Kienchang, the modern Chinese prefecture of Ningyuan. Here, in the extreme south of Szechuan, the same peculiar morality prevailed as in Tibet; like the Tibetans, again, the people of *Gaindu* used salt for small money, and were rich in musk and spices. But Polo tells us nothing very definite of any town[4] until he has passed the *Brius* or Upper Yangtse, entered *Caraian*[5] or Yunnan, and arrived at its 'mistress-cities' of *Juci*[6] and *Caraian*, the Yunnanfu and Talifu of modern maps.

[1] 'Et en celle contree auront bien aler les jeune de seize anz en vingt quatre,' G., 127.

[2] G., 126-9. For the wild oxen or yaks, hunted by the 'chenz mastin, grant come asnes' (G., 129), cf. Ramusio, ii. 34 (D-E).

[3] G., 129-31; cf. Y.-C., ii. 67-72.

[4] G., 129, says only 'Gaindu . . . il hi a cites asez,' but on 131 'noz lairon de ceste cite,' not having singled out any, though Ningyuan is doubtless meant here. Ramusio, ii. 34 (E), adds that the 'maestra citta called 'Caindu' was 'edificata nel cominciamento della provincia.' See Appendix.

[5] G., 131-5.

[6] G., 131, *Chiaci* on G., 132. On 'Caraian' and its cities, as well as its governor or 'roi,' 'Esentemur,' Kublai's 'fil, riche et poisant' (G., 131), cf. Y.-C., ii. 67, 72-4, 79-81, and Appendix to this volume.

In the former Marco notices the presence both of Moslems and Nestorian Christians[1]; the latter, the capital of an ancient Shan state, had been taken by Kublai in 1253[2].

To the *serpents* or crocodiles of this Talifu region, and its excellent breed of horses, with which an export trade to India was maintained; to the natives' habit of riding with long stirrups 'like the French,' to their armour of boiled leather, their coinage both of gold and porcelain shells, and their cynical abuse of hospitality (through the belief that the wealth or virtues of the murdered man clung to the dwelling where he was robbed of life), our guide devotes one of his most amusing chapters[3],—before he takes us with him into the still remoter district of *Ardandan* or *Zardandan*, where men cased their teeth in gold and nursed the new-born infants of their wives[4].

Here, five days west of *Caraian*, Messer Marco had reached or even passed the extreme limits of China once more; but even *Zardandan*, the region north and north-east of Bhamo, extending perhaps from the Upper Mekong to the Irawadi, was not the final stage of this great journey. For the narrative distinctly suggests a personal visit not only to *Nocian*, *Vocian*, or Yangchang, the capital of the Gold-Teeth land[5], between Mekong and Salwen, but also to *Mien*[6], the court-town of Burma, with its marvellous towers of precious metal; both built of stone to a height of fifty feet[7]; covered, the one with gold, the other with silver, plating; and hung round with gilded and silvered bells that tinkled in the wind[8].

To reach this city of *Mien*, which may be fixed, with almost equal probability, either at Old Pagan above Mandalay, or at Great Pagan below the present Burmese capital, the traveller,

[1] G., 131–2.

[2] In recent times Talifu became famous as the centre of the Mohammedan rebellion of 1855.

[3] G., 133–5.

[4] G., 135–6. On 'Zardandan,' see Appendix.

[5] G., 135–9.

[6] G., 143; the 'provence' or 'regne' had the same name; also given as *Amien* and *Menien*. See Appendix.

[7] 'Dix pas,' G., 143.

[8] G., 143, 'Desore estoit reonde, et tut environ le reondemant estoit ploine de campanelle endores,' &c.

coming from *Zardandan*, was compelled to make a long descent, riding for two days and a half continually down hill [1].

The whole of this southern land, 'on the confines of India [1],' had been lately conquered [2] by the Mongols; *Mien* itself, Marco would fain persuade us, had fallen prostrate before an army of the Great Khan's jugglers and gleemen [3]; yet, however we may suspect such semi-official reports of Commissioner Polo [4], we may perhaps believe that his visit to Burma was a direct consequence of Kublai's victories in 1282–4, and that he came, as an imperial official, on an errand of settlement and organization.

In *Mien*, at all events, we have to fix the terminus of this itinerary, which has brought us not 'westward,' as the text asseverates [5], but rather 'between south-west and south' from Peking to the middle basin of the Irawadi.

What Marco adds upon *Bangala* or Bengal [6] is certainly hearsay. And his notes upon the Laos country of th. Central Mekong basin [7], upon the region of *Amu*, *Aniu* [8], or Tongking, upon the *Toloman* or *Coloman* [9] tribes of Kweichau, between the Upper Yangtse and the West River, and upon the province of *Cuigui* or Kweichau proper [10], carry us no further towards 'Great India' and the Ganges. They do, however, seem to indicate the track of Polo's return from Burma to Chengtu; after this, as he tells us himself, the way back to North China was identical with that already followed [11].

It must remain very doubtful how far *Cangigu* or *Aniu* lay within the personal experience of the Venetian; but the

[1] G., 142.
[2] In 1282–4. See Appendix.
[3] G., 143–4.
[4] His account of the Mongol victory in *1272* over the king of *Mien and Bangala* (G., 138–42) is, however, well confirmed from Chinese sources, except as to date—and jugglers.
[5] G., 117.
[6] G., 144–5. Here, however, Polo adds a personal detail: 'Bangala,' a province 'vers midi,' had not been conquered by Kublai up to 1290, 'quant je March estoie a la cort dou grant Kan' (G., 144).
[7] 'Cangigu,' 'Gangigu,' G., 145–6. See Appendix.
[8] G., 146.
[9] G., 146–7.
[10] G., 147–8.
[11] G., 148.

tattoo customs noticed in the former[1] are still true of Burma, and prevailed in Annam till the fifteenth century; the bracelets and anklets described in *Aniu* are to be found in parts of Upper Tongking, as in other regions of less suitable position; and it would surely be rash to deny that Marco, going steadily east from *Mien* (as the text appears to require), may have passed through or near Kiang Hung on the Mekong, may have crossed the Papienho and the Red River, and may have worked his way on into Kweichau by the Linngan country[2] and the upper waters of the West River.

After leaving the *Toloman* region (whose hill-fastnesses[3] are a striking characteristic of Western Kweichau to-day), the chief indication which the narrative affords us is the twenty-four days' journey[4] along a river, passing the noble city of *Sinugul*[5], and finally bringing us to *Sindinfu* on the Min, the head of Szechuan. We may conjecture that in this section of the route Marco worked down into the valley of the Kinsha Kiang, Upper Yangtse, or *Brius*; that his *Sinugul* is Siuchau at the confluence of the Min and the Kiang; and that he passed into the basin of the latter river in the neighbourhood of Tungchwan[6]

From Indo-China, Kweichau, and Szechuan Marco now returns abruptly to the great road-junction at *Gingui*[7], *Giugui*, or Chochau, forty miles distant from Peking, where he has already noticed the starting-point of the south-eastern track he was now to follow through the great coast plain of China.

In the first stages of this new advance, the traveller must have crossed the Grand Canal, and the three ancient northern beds of the Yellow River; but of these shiftings of the Hoangho he tells us nothing; on the other hand, he gives an admirable sketch of the mighty artificial watercourse of the Chinese lowland[8]; while, of the towns along his route (a route

[1] G., 145.

[2] In which Cordier, Y.-C., ii. 131, sees Polo's 'Toloman' region.

[3] 'Chastiaus en grandismes montagnes et fortres,' G., 146.

[4] G., 147, 148.

[5] G., 147.

[6] See Appendix to this volume; Y.-C., ii. 128–31.

[7] G., 148; see p. 103 of this volume.

[8] See especially G., 164.

apparently coincident with that of the Canal, to the south of the thirty-sixth parallel) he attempts an elaborate descriptive catalogue of high interest and value.

Among these towns *Cacianfu*, our Hokien[1], notable for its silk-weaving industry, and standing on a river by which merchandise went up to Peking itself[2]; *Condinfu* or Tsinanfu, once the capital of a kingdom (as of Shantung province in our day), and still famous, under Kublai's rule, for its silk-trade, its millionaire merchants, its fruits, and its gardens[3]; *Singuimatu* or Tsiningchau, the *Suzumato* of Friar Odoric[4]; and *Ligui* or Linching, Odoric's *Lenzin*, a great fluvial port close to the frontier of Kiangsu[5], are the principal figures. But they are only the first in a long procession. For as he pushes on to the south—*por midi*—Marco tells us of many another city, of *Pingui* or Peichau[6], of *Cingui* or Sutsien[7], and of *Coigangui* or Hwainganfu[8] close to the junction of the Hoangho with the canal, and no great distance from the point at which the Yellow River entered the sea between 1200 and 1853 of the Christian era.

This point of junction (where our guide speaks of Kublai's 15,000 ocean-going craft which plied on the *Caramoran*[9]) also marked the transition from northern to southern China—from *Cathay* to *Mangi*, in Polo language[10]; and here, as one approached the 'richest country in the world,' the roads them-

[1] G., 149; Y.-C., ii. 133.

[2] Not in G.; added from Ramusio,' ii. 40 (D), which has the form 'Pazanfu.'

[3] G., 150–1; Y.-C., ii. 137. Polo here seems to have confused Tsinanfu, which, in position and name, best answers to his *Ciangli*, and *Taitingfu*, which, though it may be 'literally' identified with *Condinfu* or *Cundinfu*, has no claim to the wealth, position, and historical importance here assigned it, all obviously belonging to the local capital, Tsinanfu.

[4] G., 152; Y.-C., ii. 139.

[5] G., 153; Y.-C., ii. 141.

[6] G., 153; Y.-C., ii. 141.

[7] G., 154; Y.-C., ii. 142.

[8] G., 157–8, which also spells *Cougangui*; Y.-C., ii. 152. Apropos of *Coigangui* Marco discourses of the conquest of Manzi and the overthrow of King 'Facfur' (whose charity had often counteracted the Mangi custom of exposing new-born infants) by Baian Hundred-Eyes ('cent oilz'), Kublai's great general, G., 155–7.

[9] G., 154; see Appendix, and p. 104 of this volume.

[10] G., 157, 'a l'entree dou Mangi, ver Yseloc.'

selves heralded the coming splendour: for a whole day the traveller rode along a causeway laid with fine stone, with a lake on either hand, a very Thermopylae of the East [1].

And so we are brought at last to *Yangui* or Yangchau, one of the oldest and most famous cities of all China, close to the meeting of the Imperial Canal with the Yangtse Kiang, a few miles below Nanking. Yangchau was then famous for its armouries, and was moreover a place of high political importance as the seat of a Governor-General, one of Kublai's twelve great 'Barons' or Provincial Viceroys [2]: to us, it is still more memorable as the town where 'Messer Marco Polo, of whom this book speaks,' held rule during the space of three years [3]. For, though the exact meaning of this statement has been disputed, and though we cannot follow those texts and glosses which make Marco into a Governor-General, holding the place of one of the 'douze baronz dou grant Kaan,' yet we may fairly believe that our Venetian did really, for a time, administer the *lu* or *circuit* of Yangchau, under the authority of the local Viceroy [4].

At Yangchau, about forty years after the Polos had left China, Friar Odoric found [5] a Franciscan house and three Nestorian churches [6]; here in modern times, the Chinese salt-trade has fixed its central market; but of all this Marco says nothing. With provoking brevity he turns aside from the

[1] This road was doubtless part of the great 'chaucie' described later (G., 164, see p. 115). The narrow passage of the text was as one approached *Pauchin* or Paoying, on the Canal, between the Hoangho and Yangtse estuaries, and near the Kaoyu Lake, certainly one of the basins here indicated by Polo (G., 158). The neighbouring city of *Caiu* (G., 158–9) is Kaoyuchau; *Tigui* (G., 159) is apparently Taichau, some twenty-five miles east of the Canal; and *Cingui*, famous for its salt, may be Tungchau, near the north side of the Yangtse estuary (G., 159; cf. Y.-C., ii. 153–4).

[2] On these *Scieng*, see above, p. 102.

[3] G., 160, 'Meser Marc Pol meisme, celui de cui trate ceste livre, seingneurie ceste cite por trois anz.'

[4] Cf. Y.-C., ii. 154–7; P., 467–9. The date of Marco's governorship of Yangchau is reasonably conjectured by Yule to lie between 1282 and 1287 (Y.-C., ii. 157).

[5] See ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

Yangui he knew so well, and discourses of *Nanghin*[1], our Nganking on the Yangtse, the present capital of Nganhwei province, and of *Sianfu* or Siangyang in Hupei, both lying (the latter a great distance) to the west of his present route. In reference to Siangyang he gives us, moreover, a valuable piece of personal history, unhappily embarrassed by serious difficulties of chronology. For he describes, in a word, how his father, his uncle, and himself, with the aid of two of their followers, a German and a Nestorian Christian, past-masters in the art of military engineering, had enabled the Great Khan to capture the city by the construction of three fine *mangonels*[2]. All this sounds very well, but whereas Siangyang was first besieged in the autumn of 1268, and surrendered in March, 1273, the three Polos did not arrive at the court of the Tartar Emperor till about May, 1275, if we are to trust Marco's own estimate of the time consumed by the great overland journey. With the best will in the world we cannot suppose that any of the Venetians were in China when *Saianfu* submitted. The best explanation yet found (and that far from conclusive) is supplied by M. Pauthier, who relies on the Cépoy manuscripts, innocent of Marco's name in this connexion, and construes the text as meaning only that the two elder Polos gave the advice and assistance in question at the end of their former visit to the Khan, when the siege of Siangyang was originally considered (perhaps in 1266 ?). But even so, the language of our narrative is full of difficulty, for the Cépoy text itself implies that the blockade had lasted *three full years*[3] before the Italian visitors came forward and saved the situation.

From this digression Marco now returns to pursue his southward route along the line of the Grand Canal through the coastal regions adjoining the Yangtse estuary. At

[1] G., 160–1; Y.-C., ii. 158; P., 469–70. Pauthier was the first to show clearly that this was not *Nanking*.

[2] G., 161–2, which ascribes the mangonel suggestion to 'Nicolau, Mafeu, *et Marc* . . . qe avoient en lor masnee un Alamamz et un Cristien Nestorin, qe bon mestre estoient de ce faire.' P., 471–5, has only 'Nicolas Pol et Maffe' without mention of Marco, the German, or the Nestorian.

[3] P., 471. See Appendix.

Singui[1] and *Caigui*[2], the modern Iching and Kwachau, he crosses the Kiang, and at the latter he notes the meeting of the great river with that 'wide and deep channel from stream to stream, and from lake to lake,' which formed a waterway, fit for large vessels with their lading, throughout the whole distance from *Canbalu* to *Mangi*, from Peking to the Yangtse[3]. This excellent description of a work which, in its finished stage, he rightly ascribes to Kublai, though in parts dating from a remote antiquity, and which was in truth completed, as he suggests, for the purpose of supplying the northern capital with a regular stock of grain, is one of the features of the Polo narrative, and forms a striking contrast to Odoric's naïve misapprehension of the 'man-made' river of China[4].

On the southern side of the Lower Yangtse Marco continues to follow the present line of the Canal to its terminus near Hangchau. But, before reaching this terminus[5] and the 'city of Heaven,' he stops to notice three other celebrated towns[6], *Cinghianfu*, *Cinghingui*, and *Sugui*[7], the Chinkiang, Changchau, and Suchau of the modern world. In the first of these (from which one looked over the Kiang to the exquisite 'Golden Island' with its Buddhist 'abbey,' on the bosom of the Blue River[8]), a Nestorian Christian,

[1] G., 163. Here Polo gives his famous description of the lower *Quian*, 163–4. Cf. Y.-C., ii. 173, and pp. 105–7 of this volume.

[2] G., 164; Y.-C., ii. 175.

[3] G., 164, 'grandisme fosee et large et porfund de le un flum a l'autre et de le un lac autre [*sic*] et fait aler l'eive si qe senblent grant flun, &c.; cf. Y.-C., 175–6, pp. 111–12 of this volume, and Appendix. Marco also notices 'la chaucie por tere,' 'jouste celles voies de l'eive' (G., 164), a road which Rashiduddin declares was paved throughout and lined almost continuously with dwellings for forty days' journey (Y.-C., ii. 176).

[4] See ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[5] *Caigui* or Kwachau, Polo implies (G., 164), was one terminus of the Canal in his day, while Peking was the other.

[6] Besides the lesser ones of 'Vughui,' 'Vughin,' and 'Ciangan' (G., 167), perhaps answering to Huchau, Wukiang, and Kiahing; cf. Y.-C., ii. 184–5; P., 490–1.

[7] G., 165–7, which also gives the forms 'Cinghinanfu,' 'Singui,' and 'Tingui.'

[8] This 'yseles de roches,' 'en milieu de ceste flun,' and its 'mostier de idres,' G., 164, is located by

one *Mar Sarchis*[1], had lately governed (as Marco Polo himself in Yangchau) for a three years' term; and here, under his auspices, two Nestorian churches had been built in 1282, the first that had ever stood in that place.

As to *Cinghingui*, however 'great and noble' it had once been, it had now fallen on evil times, for Baian, infuriated at the massacre of some Christian *Alans* in his service, during his conquest of South China, had put the entire population to the sword[2]. We shall meet again with this redoubtable race of Caucasian warriors, whose fidelity to the Mongol arms and to the Christian faith are equally remarkable, and who play so great a rôle in the Catholic mission history of the fourteenth century[3].

No such calamity had befallen *Sugui*. For, then as now, Suchau[4], the Paris of the Celestials, lying on the east side of the Canal, north-west of our Shanghai, in one of the gardens of China, was an earthly Paradise whose charms no bald recital of the facts could paint.

It was difficult, indeed, to speak tamely of so glorious a city; of its circuit of sixty miles; of its incalculable multitudes; of its rich merchants; of its skilful craftsmen; of its physicians and 'philosophers'; of its 6,000 bridges of stone; of its store of silk, ginger, and rhubarb[5]:—all things here filled the traveller with amazement. 'And, in good sooth, if the men of Mangi were but soldiers, they could subdue the world[6].'

Nor does Marco exaggerate the attractions of Suchau. For along with Hangchau it was reckoned by the Chinese themselves as the fairest pearl of the Celestial realms. Like its

Polo opposite *Caigui*, which is the same thing, for Kwachau and Chinkiang face each other.

[1] G., 165. The same name, i. e. 'Dominus Sergius,' occurs in the Nestorian inscription of Singanfu, A.D. 781, and in a fourteenth-century Chinese description of Chinkiang; cf. P., 484; Y.-C., ii. 178; and Appendix to this volume.

[2] G., 166.

[3] See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 1, 6 of this volume.

[4] G., 166–7.

[5] For a Venice groat one could purchase forty pounds of good ginger, G., 167. No ginger or rhubarb is recorded among the exports of Suchau now; cf. Y.-C., ii. 183.

[6] G., 166–7.

greater sister to the south, it stood in the heart of the tea and silk regions, and possessed easy access to the sea and to every part of the interior[1]; a current proverb defied Heaven itself to produce its superior:—

'There's Paradise above, 'tis true,
But here below we've *Hang* and *Su*.'

And in truth they were a matchless pair. No invasions, no sieges, no devastations, no follies of local or imperial administration could long depress 'eternal' cities such as these: with their 'bridges of ten thousand years,' their 'pagodas of the six harmonies,' their 'altars of the spirits of earth and grain,' their 'gardens of many prospects[2],' their gates of the 'clear wave' or the 'golden fountain,' they seemed to offer to struggling humanity a land of light, of peace, and of refreshment almost divine.

But it is at *Hang, Su's* greater rival, that Marco lingers most lovingly, most reverentially; it is in describing *Quinsai*[3], the 'town of Heaven,' that he exhausts his powers of admiration and delineation.

For beyond dispute, declares the traveller (and here his verdict is that of every observer of the Central and Later Middle Age[4]), this was the noblest city of the world. Lying close to the sea, on the north side of the Tsientang estuary, and facing the Chusan islands, the 'key of the Yangtse mouth,' it was also close to the southern terminus of the Grand Canal, and just beside an ancient, but now disused, branch of the Kiang. For more than a century before Polo's day it had been the capital of the Sung Emperors, who ruled South China between 1127 and 1276. Its conquest by the arms of Baian, the Mongol Condé, had been the crowning mercy of Kublai's reign. Here, perhaps, the early Arab

[1] Cf. Y.-C., ii. 182–4.

[2] On these bridges, &c., see the Chinese plans in Y.-C., ii, facing p. 182 (for Suchau), and pp. 193, 212 (for Hangchau), also the plans on pp. 183, 195, 197 of the same volume.

[3] On this name and its real meaning of 'capital,' see Appendix to this volume.

[4] See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 2, 5, 6; part iii, § 3; and ch. vii of this volume, on the confirmatory evidence of Odoric, Marignolli, John de Cora, Pegolotti, Ibn Batuta, &c.

merchants traded and prospered in the ninth century, and Moslem writers of the fourteenth have as deep an admiration for the splendours of *Khanzai*[1] or *Khinzai*[2]—'stretching like Paradise through the breadth of Heaven[1]'—as their predecessors had for the wealth of *Khânfu*[3].

The great city, according to an official statement furnished by the native rulers on their submission to the Mongols[4], was 100 miles in circuit; it possessed 12,000 bridges of stone, crossing the innumerable canals and watercourses that intersected the town; and it boasted of twelve craft-guilds[5], each of which owned 12,000 houses, while each house contained at least twelve workmen, and some as many as forty. The number and wealth of the merchants and the value of their goods was so vast that it passed all reckoning.

The houses, largely wooden, were furnished with lofty towers of stone, in which the valuables were stored, as a precaution against fire. For the general use a watch-tower stood upon an eminence within the city walls: whenever a fire was sighted from this tower, the alarm was given by the heavy blows of a mallet upon a wooden board which hung upon the summit[6]. No light was permitted, even in a private house, 'after lawful hours[7].'

All the streets were paved with stone or brick, like the highways throughout *Mangi*[8], one side only being left unpaved for horses: vaulted drains underneath the middle of the main street carried off the water into the canals[9]. If the good order of the city was marvellous, no less mar-

[1] Wassaf, writing c. A.D. 1300, in Hammer's trans., pp. 42–3; cf. Y.-C., ii. 213.

[2] Cf. Ibn Batuta, ch. vii of this volume.

[3] The Arabic name, from c. A.D. 851, for the principal centre of their Chinese trade (cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 398-9, 415, 417, 477, &c.), which most scholars identify with Hangchau and its port, Polo's *Ganfu* (G., 170), twenty-five miles distant. On the Canton identification of *Khanfu*, certainly co-existent with the other in some Arabic authors, see Appendix to this volume.

[4] G., 168.

[5] 'Arz,' G., 168.

[6] G., 170.

[7] Not in G.; added from Ramusio, ii. 47 (B).

[8] G., 170.

[9] Not in G.; added from Ramusio, ii. 46 (E–F).

vellous was the cleanliness of the people, whose 4,000 bath-houses were the largest known[1].

The port of Hangchau, called *Ganfu*, lay five-and-twenty miles from the capital, and here was an excellent harbour and a vast amount of shipping devoted to the Indian and other foreign trade[2]. But by means of the river that flowed past *Quinsai* to that port, the great city itself could be reached by ocean vessels[3].

Under the immediate jurisdiction of Hangchau were 140 large and wealthy towns (out of 1,200 which Polo reckons in all *Mangi*)[4]; within its area were 1,600,000 houses or *fires*[5], and a people of number past belief,—yet not past count in that well-ordered empire of Kublai Khan; for all of them were known to the Government and accurately entered on the Census Register. Even private houses kept on their doors a full list of the inmates, while innkeepers were bound to note down all their visitors and lodgers, their names, and the times of their arrival and departure[6].

On one side of the city and partly outside it was a delightful lake, some thirty miles[7] round, encircled with the houses of the noblest and richest classes, with Buddhist and other 'abbeys and churches,' and with places of public entertainment[8]. On two of the islands in the middle of this lake were palace-like pavilions for the festivals of the citizens—pavilions answering to the 'lake prospect' or 'bamboo chambers,' the 'house of the eight genii,' the 'pearl,' or the 'pure delight,' described by other records; and here everything was provided for the most luxurious, even to silver plate[9]. Nor was this all. Upon the waters of the lake were boats and barges of all sizes for pleasure-parties, furnished with chairs, tables, and everything needful for a feast, for

[1] G., 170. [2] G., 170.
[3] G. 170: the river is the Tsien Tang.
[4] G., 171. [5] G., 172.
[6] G., 173.
[7] These miles, like the circumference of the walls, should perhaps be *li* or furlongs, it has been suggested. But if so here, then the same must be done elsewhere, as at Singanfu, where the distance computations are very moderate.
[8] G., 169.
[9] Ibid.

repose, or for enjoyment of the scenery[1]. And this last was alone worth a journey. For on one side lay the whole length of the city, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens full of lofty trees sloping to the shore[2]; on the other side lay the country side, and the whole expanse of the great freshwater basin, dotted with pleasure-boats, islands, and kiosks.

When the business of the day was done, the favourite relaxation of the citizens was a water-party on the lake or a carriage-party on the land[3]; for their drives of pleasure they used long covered vehicles, built for six persons, fitted with curtains and cushions; and in these the men and women of this *Heavenly City* would hasten off to the gardens and pavilions kept for their relaxation, and divert themselves the livelong day.

On the opposite side of the city the ancient rulers of *Quinsai* had dug a channel, some forty miles in length, to serve as an off-let to the river; with the earth thus thrown up a mound[4] had been formed, enclosing the city; and into this channel, into the main river, and into the lake (communicating with the ocean) all the canals and lesser watercourses drained[5]. Near the mound-rampart, moreover, were the principal markets. Each of these covered a square of half a mile; each was encompassed with lofty houses, which, on the ground floor, were utilized as provision-shops, open to trade three days in every week. Here every necessary of life could be had with incredible cheapness; for a Venice groat of silver one might buy two geese and four ducks; among other wonders of these markets were giant pears, weighing ten pounds apiece; and such was the luxury of the citizens that one often ate fish and flesh at the same meal. For grape-wine, however, they cared little, preferring the native liquor made from rice and spices[6].

[1] Not in G.; added from Ramusio, ii. 46 (D).
[2] Ramusio, ii. 46 (E).
[3] Ramusio, ii. 46 (E).
[4] Ramusio, ii. 45 (D).
[5] Ramusio, ii. 45 (C).
[6] Ramusio, ii. 45 (D–F).

The main street of *Quinsai*, 200 feet[1] in width, ran straight from end to end of the city, passing along the front of the markets, crossing many a bridge, and broken every four miles by a great square, two miles in circuit[2]. Throughout its length it was lined by the houses, gardens, and palaces of the great, alternating with the humbler dwellings of 'artificers[3]'; while, parallel to it but running along the back side of the markets, was the chief canal, flanked by huge stone houses, wherein the foreign merchants (and especially those of India) stored their wares[4].

Some of the streets were wholly or partly given up to the courtesans, whose number was as incredible as their charms. Their attire was magnificent, their perfumes were abundant, their dwellings well-furnished, their servants numerous. In every art of allurement they were skilled; and they could frame their conversation to every kind of visitor, so that strangers who had once tasted their fascinations became absolutely bewitched, and when they returned home could only murmur that they had been in Heaven's City, and would fain return thither as speedily as might be[5]. Yet in their married life the people of Hangchau were pure; and any man who dared make loose proposals to a wedded woman would be regarded as a ruffian[6].

The goods imported yearly into *Quinsai* were past all count: as an example by which to judge the rest, Marco quotes the single article of pepper, of which some three-and-forty loads[7] or nearly 10,000 pounds made their way into the city daily.

The metropolis and territory of Hangchau formed a ninth part of *Mangi* or South China[8], and from salt alone the Heavenly Town and its dependencies paid a customs revenue of more than 5,600,000 gold ducats; from sugar, spice, rice-

[1] 'Larga quaranta passi,' Ramusio, ii. 45 (D).
[2] Ramusio, ii. 45 (D).
[3] 'Artefici,' Ramusio, ii. 46 (A).
[4] Ramusio, ii. 45 (D).
[5] Ramusio, ii. 45 (F)–46 (A).
[6] Ramusio, ii. 46 (C).
[7] 'Quaranta tre some,' i.e. 9,589 pounds; cf. Ramusio, ii. 46 (A–B).
[8] G., 170–1.

wine, silk, and coal [1] the return was equal to more than twice that sum; so that the whole amounted to over 15,700,000 golden ducats [2].

One thing only was wanting—valour, the spirit of men. Traders were welcomed and honoured, but soldiers were hated [3] and ranked with butchers in the lowest social class. Of arms and their handling the men of *Quinsai* and of *Mangi* knew nothing and cared less [4]; no weapons were kept in their houses. The last king, before the Mongol conquest, passed all his time in dalliance with women, without so much as knowing what arms meant [5]; and, though he had a palace of unparalleled magnificence, and possessed the most delectable gardens upon earth, the fairest fruits, the rarest animals, the brightest fountains, the gayest pavilions, the choicest concubines [6], none of these could save him when the day of trial came. It was sweet meat, perhaps, while it lasted, but it had a sour sauce at the end.

For, ere his troubles came, this Sardanapalus of China would have his dinner carried into the dense groves of his park, and there would be waited on by the thousand ladies of his court and service; or he would set the girls a-coursing after the game with dogs: when they were tired, they would hie them to the groves that overhung the lakes, and strip and bathe and swim, to the delight of their lord and master as he watched them [7]. But when the Tartar host had swept over the realm, and Baian, 'of the Hundred Eyes,' was thundering at the gates, then this fine ruler of men could devise nought better than to fly to the islands of the ocean sea, and leave his queen to stay behind and struggle to the last [8]. And now only the pavilions of the palace-park were standing; for the lodgings of the ladies were in ruins and scarce any longer to be traced; the enclosing wall had fallen; the animals had

[1] 'Charbonz,' G., 174.

[2] G., 173-4. This valuation of Marco's ('quinze millemiaia et sept cens mille,' and the rest) is probably based on paper-money value, and in coin does not surpass half of the sums here named.

[3] Ramusio, ii. 46 (C).

[4] G., 155; Ramusio, ii. 46 (C).

[5] Ramusio, ii. 47 (F).

[6] G., 172; Ramusio, ii. 47 (E-F).

[7] Ramusio, ii. 47 (F).

[8] G., 156.

fled; the trees had gone wild[1]; and, worst of all, the Pride of the World, the City of Heaven, was no more a mistress but a subject, her empire undone by cowardice and effeminacy.

Now in all the vast city of *Quinsai*, with its countless fanes of every sort, there was only one Christian temple, and that belonged to the Nestorians[2]. For the great Eastern heresy (whose communities Marco has already noticed as far west as Mosul and Tabriz) still, as in the seventh century, upheld the faith of the Cross in the lands of the Sun-rising; and still maintained its churches, though with diminished vigour, over the length and breadth of Asia—from Persia to the Yangtse, and from Travancore to the Gobi. Repudiated by the orthodox of East and West, severed from the main streams of Christian civilization, corrupted by pagan influence, degraded by barbaric manners, it was still the chief witness to the religion and morality of the Gospel among the heathen of the Chinese and Tartar and Indian worlds in the last days of the Crusading Age.

The final stage of Marco's Chinese journeyings, from *Quinsai* to *Zaiton*, from Hangchau to the Formosa Channel or Strait of Fokien, lay at first through a charming country (the southern part of Chekiang), dotted with pleasant dwellings and gardens, and often so thickly sprinkled with prosperous towns and villages that it looked like one continuous city[3]. Here the route may have ascended the valley of the Tsien Tang, the 'River of Hangchau' or 'Green River' of the modern world[4]: for though Polo continues to indicate a south-*eastern* direction far into Fokien[5], such a course would have brought him to the ocean long before reaching the end of Chekiang. On this assumption we may identify his *Tanpigui*, one day's journey from *Quinsai*[6], with Fuyang;

[1] Ramusio, ii. 48 (A). [2] G., 172.
[3] G., 174, 175.
[4] On the whole of this section of the journey, cf. Y.-C., ii. 220-2, and Appendix to this volume.
[5] 'En roiaume de Fugui . . . ala six jornee por Yseloc,' G., 176. The same direction ('ver Yseloc,' 'por Ysceloc') is given us once on G., 174, and thrice on 175.
[6] G., 174.

his *Vuigui*, three days further, with Kinhwa[1]; his *Ghingui* or *Ghengui*, two days beyond the last stage, with Kiuchau[2]; and his *Cianscian*, four days ahead of *Ghingui* (upon a hill which divided 'the river[3]'), with Changshan, at the head of navigation on the 'Green Stream,' and close to the sources of one of the Yangtse tributaries[4].

Thence, continues Marco, journeying three days through a fine country one reached *Cugui*, perhaps our Hokeu in Eastern Kiangsi[5], the last city of *Quinsai* government in this direction: from this point one entered the 'kingdom' of *Fugui* (our Fokien), and travelled three more days south-eastward to *Qenlifu* or Kienningfu, through a land of mountains and valleys, abounding in towns, villages, and 'lions[6],' and producing vast store of ginger and galangal, but disgraced by the cannibalism, blood-drinking, and offal-eating of its inhabitants, the 'most cruel people in the world[7].'

But for the barbarism of the country districts there was some compensation in the splendid cities and curious products of this region. Thus at *Qenlifu*, on the upper reaches of the Min of Fokien, Polo celebrates not only the beauty of the women, the local abundance of silk and ginger, and the noble bridges[8] with their marble columns, but also the featherless 'velvet-hair' fowls noticed by Odoric in this very province[9]. Three days more, through the same rich mountainous country,

[1] Then called *Wuchau*, i. e. *Vuigui*, P., 519-20.

[2] G., 175.

[3] 'Que parte le flum, que le une moitie ala en sus e l'autre moitie en jus,' G., 176. Cf. Polo's description of the division of the Grand Canal at *Singuimatu*, G., 152, p. 112 of this volume.

[4] The Kinkiang, perhaps 'the other half that goes down'; this expression may, however, refer to the Green River only, in its navigable course, while the unnavigable reaches above Changshan may be 'the part that goes up.' See previous note and Appendix to this volume.

[5] Eastern Kiangsi was then included in the jurisdiction of Hangchau, Y.-C., ii. 224.

[6] i. e. tigers, here as elsewhere in China.

[7] G., 177.

[8] 'Trois pont des meior dou monde lonc bien un milier . . . tuit de pieres e de colonnes de marbre,' G., 177.

[9] 'Ne ont pennes, mes ont peaus come gate,' G., 177; see ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

brought one to *Unqen*[1], perhaps lying at or near the present Mintsing (on the lower Min, fifteen miles from *Fugui* or Fuchau, the capital of Fokien[2]), and famous for supplying the Great Khan's court with sugar[3], having learnt from Cairo the secrets of refining with ashes[4].

At Fuchau, Messer Marco had practically reached the ocean, but one more step was needed to bring him to his ship. For it was at the port of *Zaiton* or *Zaitem* (under which term may be recognized, in rough and general sense, the haven of Amoy, and for whose more precise identification the harbour town of Changchau may be dubiously accepted[5]) that the Chinese wanderings of our Venetians terminate, and it is with a brilliant picture of this port and its commerce that Polo concludes the *celestial* portion of his work[6].

For though *Fugui*, Odoric's *Fuzo*[7], was the key and capital of all the great province of *Choncha* (answering to our Fokien), and though a vast trade in shipbuilding, pearls, and gems flourished here, bringing to its harbour ships of India and many a merchant from the Indian Isles[8], yet its commercial importance was quite secondary to, and dependent on, that of its neighbour—the favourite haven of all South China merchants and of all Indian ships, and the chief port of entry for spices, gems, pearls, and all goods imported into *Mangi*. To *Zaitem*[9], indeed, there came, in Polo's time, and to the best of his judgement, a hundred times the pepper which made its way to Christendom through Alexandria and other ports[10]. Even the Khan's enormous dues—10 per cent. on all imports, 30 on small wares[11], 40 on aloes, sandal-wood, and

[1] G., 177-8. On the identifications of 'Unqen' and the other places named in Fokien, especially 'Zaitem,' see Appendix.

[2] *Fugui*, in Polo, G., 178, is 'le chief dou reigne qe est apellé *Choncha*,' one of the nine *Mangi* provinces; see Appendix.

[3] G., 177-8.

[4] Ramusio, ii. 49 (A), where the name-form is *Unguem*. Cairo, of course, is *Babilonia*; cf. Y.-C., ii. 230.

[5] As to this, and the case for the rival site, Tswanchau or 'Chinchew,' see Appendix.

[6] G., 179-80.

[7] See ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[8] G., 178.

[9] A name from which our *satin* may be derived, cf. Y.-C., ii. 241-2.

[10] G., 179.

[11] 'Les nes tolent por lor loier, ce est le nol de mercandies soptil trente por cent,' G., 179-80.

various bulky articles, and 44 on pepper—did not stop the flow of foreign commerce to a place which had become one of the two leading trade-ports of the earth [1].

And so our Marco closes his Chinese narratives [2]. But his work was not yet over. For he still had to tell of the Indies, continental and insular; of Japan; of the islands of the China sea; of various regions of East Africa and Southern Arabia; and of the Russia and Siberia which he had never visited, but of which his father and his uncle had gained no little knowledge on their first expedition. His task was, in a word, to trace the course of the return, describing with all the detail his recollection afforded, not only the lands by which his vessel passed, from Fokien to Ormuz, but also those other regions, even to far distant Madagascar, that bordered on the southern ocean he was now to traverse.

He commences his Book of the Indies with a graphic sketch of the ocean-going ships which Chinese merchants used for their longer southern voyages [3].

They were single-decked, made of fir, and provided with fifty or sixty cabins apiece, one rudder, and four or even six

[1] 'Le un des deus port au monde qe plus mercandies vient,' G., 179.

[2] Polo adds a note on *Tinugui* (G., 180) where alone fine 'escuelle de porcellaine grant e pitet' were made, 'et d'iluec se portent por mi le monde.' The Ramusian text, ii. 49 (c), places *Tingui* at a point where the 'river of *Quinsai*' branched off from that which flowed by *Zaitum*, an allusion to the notion of one Great River of China, with innumerable branches, found elsewhere in Polo, as at *Cianscian*, G., 176, and at *Singuimatu*, G., 152, as well as in Ibn Batuta and the Catalan Atlas; see chs. vi and vii of this volume. For *Tinugui*, Jauchaufu on the Poyang Lake, the chief seat of Chinese porcelain-making, has been conjectured, though G. places it 'en ceste provence,' i.e. *Chonchá* or Fokien; cf. Y.-C., ii. 243. Once more, 'cele de ceste cite ont langajes por eles,' adds Marco, G., 180 (speaking of *Tinugui* ?), while Ramusio, ii. 49 (c-d), makes him say that in all *Mangi* there was but one speech and one script, though local differences of dialect existed ('una sola maniera di lettere, nondimeno vi è diversità nel parlare per le contrade'). This would show that Polo knew about the unity of the written character in China and at least some of the differences in the (spoken) dialects.

[3] 'Nes esqueles les mercaant qe vont et vient en Endie,' G., 181.

masts[1]. The larger vessels had water-tight compartments[2] (then unknown in most European seas, and still preserved by the Chinese in their first-class junks); they were all double-planked, and their planks were fastened with good iron nails. Pitch, however, was replaced by a native wood-oil[3].

The crews varied from 200 to 300 in number[4], for these great barks would often carry as much as 6,000 baskets[5] of pepper in a single cargo.

Both sails and oars were used, the latter being usually reserved for calms, and of such size that four men were needed to pull one of them. Assistance might also be had, in time of need, from two or three big boats, or tenders, attached to each 'liner'; one of these tenders held forty sailors, sometimes even a hundred; and together, if required, they could tow the mighty hulk, which in the ordinary way towed them[6]. And yet again, distinct from these, the great ship carried some ten small boats to lay out anchors, catch fish, or bring supplies aboard.

When repairs were necessary the common procedure was to nail a third plank over the two former and caulk it well, and so on up to the thickness of six planks; after this the vessel was sent no longer on distant voyages, but kept for coasting[7].

Finally, these ships were well protected against bad weather and perilous shores, for there was scarcely any time or place at which their great wooden anchors would not hold; even off the most inhospitable coasts of India they were comparatively safe[8].

It was, then, in a vessel of this kind that the Polos started

[1] G., 181.

[2] 'Tredici colti cioè divisioni,' Ramusio, ii. 49 (E).

[3] G., 181.

[4] 'Deus cens,' G., 182; 'trecento,' Ramusio, ii. 49 (F).

[5] 'Esportes,' G., 182.

[6] Mainly in G., 182, with additions from Ramusio, ii. 49 (F)–50 (A).

[7] G., 182, with additions from Ramusio, ii. 50 (A).

[8] G., 223. Most of this description is in striking agreement with the accounts of the chief fourteenth-century travellers, e.g. Odoric, Ibn Batuta, Jordanus; cf. ch. ii, part ii, §§ 3, 5; ch. vii; and Appendix to this volume.

from *Zaiton*[1] at or near the beginning of 1292, in the company of a whole fleet of such craft. For the three home-sick Franks had only won this leave of absence from their reluctant master through special circumstances, and on the plea of very special qualifications. Kublai's great-nephew and faithful vassal, Arghun[2], the *Ilkhan* or Tartar lord of Persia, had lost, in 1286, his favourite wife Bulughan, the *Balgana* of Polo's narrative; and to fill her place, according to her dying wish, the widower required no less than a maiden from her own kin[3], the Mongol tribe of Bayaut. Arriving at the Great Khan's court, the Ilkhan's envoys[4] proffered their request; Kublai chose them a queen, the lady Kukachin, Polo's *Cocacin*[5]; and the three Persian 'barons,' with a large escort, set out to return, as they had come, by land. But after travelling eight months along the same way that they had followed on their outward journey, they found the roads impassable. Wars had broken out between various Tartar princes; the activity of the arch-rebel Kaidu doubtless endangered the passage of Turkestan; and they fell back to the Imperial Court[6]. In face of these events it was determined that the bride must go by sea.

From their skill in maritime affairs, from their Venetian origin, from their knowledge of the world—unequalled even at Kublai's court—from their journeys in Persia, and above all from Marco's more recent visit to 'the Indies,' the Polos were marked out by nature as companions of the expedition; and in obedience to the voice of reason, to their own entreaties, to their reiterated promises of return, and to the urgent requests of Arghun's ambassadors, the aged Emperor at length permitted the departure of his favourite Italians[7].

[1] G., 188.

[2] *Argon* in Polo, e. g., G., 13.

[3] G., 13, which also has the form *Bolgara*.

[4] 'Trois baronz . . . Oulatai . . . Apusca . . . Coja,' G., 13. On Ulatai, Apushka, and Koja, cf. Appendix.

[5] G., 13 and 15, has *Cogatra* and *Cocacin*; P. reads *Cocachin*; see Appendix.

[6] Ramusio, ii. 3 (E–F).

[7] G., 13, 'a grant envie fait elz celle grace et done congi as trois latin qu'il alaisent auvech celz trois baronz avec cele dame.'

This once decided, the mission started[1], abundantly supplied with evidence of the Grand Khan's favour and protection. On the Polos he bestowed two 'tablets of authority' to secure them liberty of passage and the full and speedy execution of their requirements in all lands under his sway[2]. To serve as convoy, a squadron of thirteen four-masted ships was furnished, with two years' provision[3]. And lastly, as evidence of goodwill towards the Christendom he had striven so hard to know, Kublai charged his Venetian friends with messages to the Apostolic See, to the kings of France, of England[4], and of Spain, and to the other sovereigns of Christian states[5]. With Kukachin went another princess, a daughter of the late King of *Mangi*; both the ladies were specially committed by the Emperor[6] to the Polos' care; and this trust was well deserved. For though out of 600 persons who composed the expedition (not counting the mariners) only eighteen survived the voyage[7], and though of Arghun's three 'barons' but one returned[8], the fair *Cocacin* and her companion were brought in safety to the Persian court. Both the princesses learnt to love their Frankish guardians like daughters; Kukachin wept at parting; and there was nothing, declares Marco, that she and her grateful husband would not have done for their Christian benefactors[9].

All is clear now for the description of the Indies—so perchance the sanguine reader thinks—but ere he quits the China seas Marco has something of no small value to add about the 'islands in that ocean where now we are,' islands lying to the east, among which the first (and by far the most notable) was *Zipungu* or Japan[10].

We need not fancy that any one of the Polos ever visited

[1] Early in 1292.
[2] G., 14.
[3] G., 14.
[4] The 'Roy d'Engleterre' is only in P.'s text, p. 29.
[5] G., 14.
[6] G., 15.
[7] G., 14.
[8] Ramusio, ii. 4 (B).
[9] G., 15.
[10] G., 182, 'Ysles . . . en cest mer Osiane, la ou nos sumes ore . . . a levant . . . primermant d'une isle que est apelle *Zipungu*': P.'s text, pp. 536–7, reads as if *Sypangu* were reckoned among the 'merveilles d' Ynde.'

Zipungu [1], but the picture here given of this 'land of gold' (the earliest revelation of Japan to the Christian world) exercised a peculiar fascination on posterity, and among the objects of Columbus's westward enterprise there was none more treasured than the discovery of that Far Eastern island, the realization of that glittering vision which he had caught from the Book of the old Venetian.

This *Zipungu*, then, appears in Marco as an isle, very great, lying on the *levant* side of China, 1,500 miles distant from the continent. The people were white in colour, good in manners, fair in person; they worshipped idols, and were wholly independent of all foreign powers [2]. They were, however, very rich in gold, whose export was forbidden [3]. Their king's palace, as men said, had golden windows, and was wholly paved and roofed with the precious metal (just as Christian houses and churches with lead) in the form of plates, like slabs of stone, two fingers in thickness [4]. Nor was this the only wealth of the islanders. For they also possessed rose-tinted pearls of great value, and abundance of other gems [4]—treasures which excited the cupidity of the Tartar Emperor.

Kublai Khan, according to Marco, made an attempt to conquer *Zipungu* in 1279 [5]; according to the Eastern Records, both Chinese and Japanese, his former and lesser enterprise (following upon a large number of fruitless tribute-begging embassies) was in 1274; his greater attack and final repulse in 1281 [6]. Polo's version of the Mongol overthrow agrees in the main with the native annalists, and his general picture of Japanese civilization, despite its repetition

[1] See G., 183, 'nulz merchant ne autre home hi ala de la terre ferme,' and G., 187, speaking of the sea of *Cin*, in which apparently *Zipungu* is reckoned, 'nos ne i somes estes.'

[2] G., 182.

[3] G., 182-3, the prohibition from Ramusio, ii. 50 (B).

[4] G., 183.

[5] G., 185, has 1269; P.'s text (after one of the Cépoy MSS.), 1279; the other Cépoy MSS., 1268; Ramusio, 1264. See Appendix to this volume.

[6] Cf. the extracts from the Chinese (and Japanese) Annals in P., 540-4, Y.-C., ii. 256-7. See also Appendix to this volume.

of the cyclic stories of gold-roofed palaces[1] and steel-proof charms[2], is of great merit, in its time and place. For he who first draws the veil may not see every lineament of the face that is revealed.

A few words upon the idols of China and Japan[3], and the pleasant cannibal customs of the Japanese[4]—who would cook and eat their prisoners, if no ransom was forthcoming—leads Marco to add yet another postscript to his Chinese sketches. For in that sea 'over against *Mangi*,' which was called the 'Sea of *Cin*' (and, in the language of those isles, when they said *Cin*, it was *Mangi* that they meant), there were no less than 7,448 islands, according to the report of experienced fishermen and mariners[5]. All these islands (in which, notwithstanding the comical exactitude of Polo's numbering, we may recognize the Philippines, and perhaps the Moluccas) were independent of the Great Khan; they abounded in spices, pepper, gold, and precious woods[6]; and though far from the mainland, they were visited by the ships of the great South China ports—*Quinsai* and *Zaiton*. Immense profit could be made, when a man had once accomplished the long journey to these Spice Islands; but for this journey a year was needed; there were two, and only two, prevalent winds; and so vessels were forced to go in winter and return in summer, but could not make their way thither in summer nor struggle back to the mainland in winter[7].

Not that Messer Marco himself had ever visited these islands,

[1] A Chinese original of this story (as applied to Japan) is given by P., 539–40 (from the Supplement to Ma Tuanlin); see also Y.-C., ii. 257, and Appendix to this volume.

[2] On the story of amulets inserted under the skin, rendering the wearer secure against all steel-wounds (G., 185), see Odoric's reference, ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] G., 186, 'ydres dou *Catai* e dou *Mangi* e celz de ceste ysles,' i. e. *Zipungu*, 'sunt tuit d'une mainere.'

[4] G., 186, 'cesti ydres de cestes ysles,' i. e. the idolaters of *Zipungu*.

[5] G., 187, '. . . qe est a levant et a selonc' (to east and south-east) 'que les sajes pedot dit e le sajes mariner,' &c.

[6] 'In tutes celles ysles ne naist nul arbres que ne en veingne grant odor e buen . . . encore maintes chieres espices . . . et . . . le pevre blance et . . . noir, . . . le or,' &c., G., 187.

[7] G., 187.

even on his voyage along the Indian coasts; for from India, as from *Mangi*, they were a vast way off; but, as to that Eastern Sea of *Cin*, of which he spoke, he satisfied himself that it formed part of the ocean, just like the Sea of England, the Sea of Rochelle, or the Sea of India[1].

Only in this maritime application, it is curious to notice, does our Venetian ever employ the name of *China*, which he restricts to *Mangi* or the Southern Provinces of the Middle Kingdom, and which was still some three centuries removed from the day of its final triumph in Western usage[2].

The return journey of the Polos, through the seas and along the coasts of south-eastern and southern Asia, had been preceded (as we have seen) by at least one separate naval mission[3] of Marco's towards the same regions; on this journey[4] (which is variously fixed by various manuscripts to 1280, 1285, and even to 1288[5]) he certainly reached *Cianba*, *Ciampa*, or Cochin China, and perhaps visited certain other regions both of insular and continental India. But what was accomplished on this expedition, as on that to Kanchau[6], is nowhere properly distinguished in the narrative.

This same land of *Ciampa*, Odoric's *Campa*[7], in any case marked the first stage of Marco's final Indian voyage. The route, which must have lain outside the mouth of the Gulf of *Cheinan* or Tongking[8], described with so much enthu-

[1] G., 187: the 'mer d'Engletere' is the English Channel, the 'mer de Rocelle' is the Bay of Biscay.

[2] On the names of China, Cathay, &c., and their history, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 193–4, 470, ii. 287–8, 312, 351, &c., and Appendix to this volume.

[3] If not by more than one. See pp. 93, 128.

[4] Perhaps we should say 'on one of these journeys.'

[5] G., 189, 'a les 1285 hi fui je Marc Pol'; P., 556, reads 'Mil. ii. cens. iiii. xx (1280); Ramusio, ii. 51 (c), has '1280'; G., 441 (Latin version), renders 'ego Marcus Paulus in anno Dni. MCCLXXXVIII.'

[6] See p. 78.

[7] See ch. ii, part ii, § 5.

[8] Ramusio, ii. 51 (A), adds the account of this Gulf, lying south-west of *Zaiton*; having a length of two months' sail 'towards the north'; containing countless isles, mostly well peopled, abounding in gold-dust, copper, and corn; and altogether so great that it seemed a 'world by itself' ('quasi un' altro mondo'). On the south-east it was bordered by *Mangi*, on the 'other side' by *Aniu*, *Toloman*, and other lands already described; see pp. 110–11.

siasm in the Ramusian text, is merely defined in the earliest form of the Polo narrative[1] as lying west-south-west from *Zaiton*, and probably the traveller shaped a fairly direct course from Fokien to the Annam coast-lands. Here he celebrates in rather extravagant terms the Mongol victory of 1278; praises the abundance of elephants, lign-aloes, and ebony; and notes the extensive family circle of the local monarch, who boasted of 326 children, including 150 grown-up sons[2].

Again, 1,500 miles to the south-east, and our Venetians were at the 'immense and very wealthy' isle of *Java*[3], the pearl of the Archipelago, whose trade (especially with South China) was then so flourishing, whose conquest was vainly coveted by the Great Khan, and whose size and riches are wildly magnified by Polo. For though he was told it 'by experienced mariners who knew the matter well,' we are hardly prepared to believe that Java, even then, had a compass of more than 3,000 miles[4], nor that among its products were ever truly reckoned nutmegs, cloves, or gold[5].

Marco, in fact, shows but a slight acquaintance with the island to which he attributes so vast a treasure, so great a commerce, and so pre-eminent a magnitude. Of its most striking characteristics, its marvellous fertility, dense population, and giant monuments, he says nothing; and his estimates of its size are founded (at best) upon a glimpse of its northern coast and a total ignorance of its southern shore, then commonly supposed to stretch far into the ocean, thus forming 'the greatest isle on earth[6].'

But in striking contrast with his inaccurate and inflated

[1] G., 188.

[2] G., 188–9. For parallel passages in Odoric, see ch. ii, part ii, § 5. On Kublai's wars with Ciampa, and the Mongol 'baron' *Sogatu* (G., 188), the *Sotu* of Chinese Annals, cf. also P., 552–4; Y.-C., ii. 270–1.

[3] G., 189–90.

[4] G., 189.

[5] G., 189–90, 'noces moscee . . . garofali . . . trezor.' The last appears as 'oro' in Ramusio, ii. 51 (c).

[6] 'La greingnor isle qe soit au monde,' G., 189.

language about Java Proper or 'Greater[1],' Polo is almost modern in his sober and careful estimate of Sumatra or *Java the Less*[2], and in his clear and accurate conception of its place in the Archipelago, its main divisions, and its chief products and peculiarities.

Here, despite its modest name, one found an isle 'not so small but that' it had a compass of more than 2,000 miles (the modern reckoning comes pretty near this figure[3]); here one was so far south that the North Star became invisible; here Saracen merchants had converted many of the townsfolk; here, on the other hand, were hill tribes (the *Battas* or *Bataks* of modern travellers), who lived like beasts, ate human flesh, and worshipped the first thing they saw on rising in the morning[4].

Marco's relatively high knowledge of Sumatra was doubtless owing to his detention for five months, by contrary weather, off the north and north-west coasts, where he and his company, entrenched behind ditches and stockades[5], lived in doubtful security, 'fearing greatly' lest one day they should furnish a meal to the brutish, idolatrous cannibals of this inhospitable shore[6]: when Ibn Batuta visits this region, half a century later, all is changed, and the local 'king' appears as a zealous Moslem, surrounded by Mullahs, and eternally ready for theological discussion[7].

Six Sumatran 'kingdoms' were visited by Polo, all on the

[1] In Marco simply 'grandisime isle qe est apelle Java,' G., 189.

[2] 'Java la menor,' G., 191. On leaving Great Java, the text literally requires us to go (1) south-south-west 700 miles to the isles of *Sondur* and *Condur*, apparently the Pulo Condore group, the *Sundar Fulat* of the early Moslem seamen; thence (2) 500 miles south-east to *Lochac* or *Locac*, perhaps Siam (G., 190); once more (3) 500 miles south to *Pentam*, probably our Bintang island, at the east end of Malacca Straits; and lastly (4) 90 miles further south-east to *Malanir* or *Malaiur* (Palembang? G., 191). To make a better sense, most editors have read *Ciampa* for *Java* as the starting-point of these descriptions, in which others, holding by the text, have seen a hint of Australian lands. No part of Polo is more difficult and corrupt than this (G., 190–1). See Appendix.

[3] 2,300 English miles; cf. G., 191.

[4] G., 192; on Polo's talk about Sumatra to Pietro d'Abano, see pp. 28–9.

[5] Ramusio, ii. 52 (B). [6] G., 193.

[7] See ch. vii of this volume.

Indian and Malaccan shores of the island. In that of *Samara* he locates his five months' enforced delay, and gives us the earliest European mention of the present *Sumatran* name[1]; in *Lambri* (possessing a race of men with hairless tails about the thickness of a dog's) he records, in one of his rare moments of confidential talk, how he gathered *berzi* or brazil seed and brought it home to Venice, and tried in vain to grow it[2]; in *Dagroian* he relates a pleasing native habit of killing, cooking, and devouring the incurably afflicted[3]; in *Fansur* he places the world's best camphor, and describes the manufacture of sago, just as he details the extraction of palm-toddy in *Samara*[4]; in *Ferlec* he puts the centre of Mohammedan activity[5]; while in *Basma* (where the people called themselves subjects of the Great Khan, though they paid him no tribute) he claims to have learnt about the unicorn—its inoffensive horn, its terrible tongue—from life[6]. Of the rest of *Little Java*, comprising the whole of its more southerly regions, he knew nothing first-hand, and is content to divide it into two realms, and to dismiss it in a few words, though it certainly included by far the larger portion of the whole.

It is typical of the mixture of good sense and credulity in our Venetian, that while he denounces the 'pygmies' of Sumatra as an impudent fraud, and declares they were but monkeys artfully prepared for the market; and while he

[1] G., 193–4. *Samara* probably included the Gulf of Pasei in the extreme north of the island, east of Achin; cf. Y.-C., ii. 294–6. This is Odoric's *Sumoltra* or *Sumolchra*, see ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[2] G., 195. *Lanbri*, *Labri*, or *Lambri* was in the north-west of Sumatra immediately south of Achin Head, and perhaps including the latter; cf. Y.-C., ii. 300, 307. This is Odoric's *Lamori*, the *Ramni* of Edrisi; see ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume.

[3] G., 194–5; *Dagroian* (*Angrinan*, P., 574) was perhaps in the extreme north, east of Achin Head, between *Samara* and *Lanbri*; cf. Y.-C., ii. 297. Odoric's *Dondin* (see ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume) seems to answer to *Dagroian*.

[4] G., 196, 193–4; *Fansur* was probably on the north-west coast, south-east of *Lanbri*; cf. Y.-C., ii. 302–4.

[5] G., 192. *Ferlec* perhaps lay on the north-east coast, below *Samara*, with *Basma* between; cf. Y.-C., ii. 287–9.

[6] G., 192–3. See previous note and Appendix to this volume; on all these Sumatran regions, cf. P., 565–79. In P.'s text, 569, we have *Basmam* and *Basman*.

protests that such dwarfs were never really seen either in India or anywhere else[1]; yet in other parts of *Lesser Java*, as we have seen, he finds no difficulty in the stories of tailed men.

The same trustful spirit follows Messer Marco—past *Necuveran* or the Nicobars[2], where both sexes lived like beasts, without king or social order, or even the garments of ordinary modesty—to *Angaman* (our Andaman) that 'very large island' where all the men had the heads and teeth and eyes of mastiff dogs, appropriate to such a cruel race of cannibals[3].

And now Marco begins to re-enter a nearer East not so entirely outside the ken of the European world, though lying upon the furthest edge of its Oriental knowledge. For a mere trifle of a thousand miles west-south-west of *Angaman* lay *Seilan* or Ceylon[4], so famous for its rubies, for the mountain of Adam's Peak, and for the reputed sepulchre of *Sergamon Borcam*[5], of 'Sakya Muni the Divine.'

Not only were the finest rubies[6] *peculiar* to Ceylon, but

[1] G., 192-3.

[2] G., 196. Going towards the Nicobars, Marco indicates *Lanbri* as the extreme point of Little Java (to the north) and mentions *Gavenispola*, evidently the island near Achin Head, known as *Gomespola*, *Jamisfulah*, *Pulo Gomus* or *Gomuis*, &c. ('vos conteron d'une ysle . . . Gavenispola. Quant l'en se part de Java et de Lanbri, et il vait por tramontana entor cent cinquanté miles . . . trere l'en . . . Necuveran,' G., 196). Cf. Y.-C., ii. 307, and Appendix to this volume.

[3] G., 197. The forms in P.'s text, 579-80, are *Necouran* and *Angamanain*. For Odoric's account of *Nicuveran* see ch. ii, part ii, § 5; cf. also Y.-C., ii. 307-12.

[4] 'De Angaman . . . entor mille miles por Ponent, aucune couse moin ver Garbin . . . treuve l'en l'isle de *Seilan*,' G., 197. G., 198, has *Silan*; P., 582, *Seilan*. For Odoric, Marignolli, Jordanus, Ibn Batuta, and other fourteenth-century travellers on Ceylon, see ch. ii, part ii, §§ 3, 5, 6, and ch. vii of this volume.

[5] G., 215-16; P., 588, has *Sagamoni borcam*; the last word is the Mongol *Burkhan*, 'Divinity' (translated as 'saint' by Polo, G., 218), used 'as the synonym of Buddha' (Y.-C., ii. 320).

[6] 'Les nobles et buen robin' of Ceylon (G., 198) were apparently regarded by Marco as different from the *balasci* of Badakhshan (G., 44-5), of which we have already heard so much.

among these unique treasures was the prince of jewels—a flawless stone, red as fire, a palm in length, and as thick as a man's arm, the most resplendent object upon earth. Its price was beyond estimate. The Great Khan had in vain offered the ransom of a city for it, and would even have paid more. He might easily have got it by force; for the people of Ceylon were poor cowardly creatures, whose only soldiers were Saracen mercenaries from abroad[1].

As to Adam's Peak, it was exceedingly high and steep, and in part could only be ascended with the help of iron chains[2]; upon this mountain Saracens placed the grave of Adam[3]; while 'idolaters' here venerated the sepulchre, the eating-dish, and the relics of their hero *Sergamon Borcam* aforesaid[4],—'before whose time there were no idols[5],' but who was himself so good a man that 'had he been a Christian, he would have been a great saint with our Lord Jesus Christ[6].' In 1284 some of these relics had been purchased for the Great Khan, and carried off to China[7]; Marco speaks as if the Tartar Emperor valued them as Adam's; but the Mongol records, knowing better what faith Kublai had really chosen, tell how the Khaghan, procuring from India images and souvenirs of the Buddha, 'caused the sun of true religion to rise upon the dark land of his people[8].'

From Ceylon it was only a step westward—about sixty miles—to the best of all the Indies on the mainland, otherwise *Maabar* or India the Greater[9], our Coromandel; off this

[1] G., 198.

[2] G., 215. For later notices of this mountain, its chains, &c., by Odoric, Marignolli, and others, see ch. ii, part ii, §§ 5, 6 of this volume.

[3] G., 215. [4] G., 215–16.

[5] G., 216. The life of Buddha is well sketched by Marco, G., 216–17, and the Buddhist Ceylon pilgrimages are compared to those of Compostella in Christian Galicia, G., 218, 'ausi come les Cristiens vont a Meser Saint Jaque.'

[6] G., 217.

[7] G., 218–19.

[8] Sanang Setzen (Schmidt), 119. On Ceylon see also Appendix to this volume.

[9] G., 198–9. 'Ceste province est la plus noble et la plus riches qe soit au monde,' adds Marco, G., 199, forgetting his earlier superlatives in China. Cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes (337, Montfaucon) on Μαραλλώ and Καβέρ, and see Appendix to this volume.

shore men fished for pearls, while fish-charmers guarded the divers from all harm[1]; but the best pearls of the sea and the fairest damsels of the land were all reserved for the king[2]. Yet in all his Majesty's dominions, slyly adds Marco, there was never a tailor to cut or stitch a coat—no, not for the monarch himself, for every one went naked. True, the sovereign was well dressed in gold and rubies, sapphires and emeralds; true, he wore around his neck a rosary[3], whose 104 pearls and gems reminded him to pray so often daily to his idols[4]; but otherwise his clothing was of the lightest[5].

But Marco does not merely notice the habits of a Hindu king[6]. To the suttee and other forms of religious suicide prevalent among the people; to their execution of criminal justice and abstinence from wine; to their distrust of topers and mariners; to their dramatic method of recovering debts; to their ox-worship, sacred dancing-girls, and ritual observances; to their sorcery, magic, geomancy, and science of 'physiognomy'; to their respect for life and horror of butchers; to their importation of Persian and Arabian horses; and to the peculiarities of the local animal and bird life, he devotes a good share of his attention[7], and his picture of South Indian manners and modes of life is an admirable one.

To the Christians of St. Thomas, to the native Church of India, on the other hand, he does but scant justice; it is

[1] G., 199. The shark-charmers were called *Abraiamain* ('Brahmans'), an assertion peculiar to Marco. His *Bettalar*, centre of the Maabar pearl fishery, is probably Patlam, on the west coast of Ceylon. His account of the pearl-fishery is accurate and full, but for his April and early May we should now give March and April as the season. See Ibn Batuta in ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix.

[2] G., 201.

[3] G., 200, 'Corde de soie sotil.' See Appendix to this volume.

[4] Ramusio, ii. 53 (D), adds the supposed *ipsissima verba*, 'Pacauca, Pacauca,' i.e. 'Pagava' or 'Bagava,' 'Lord'; cf. Y.-C., ii. 346–7.

[5] G., 200.

[6] On this sovereign, *Senderbandi Davar*, i. e. Sundar Pandi, the 'Devar' or 'lord of empire,' reigning from near Cape Comorin to the Pennar river, north of Madras, see Y.-C., ii. 333–5, and Appendix to this volume.

[7] G., 202–6; with additions from Ramusio, ii. 53 (E)–54 (F). See ch. ii, part ii, §§ 1, 3, 5 of this volume, and Appendix.

something that he gives us the first hint (save one)[1] in Catholic literature of the true position of the Thomas shrine, near Madras—at a little town in Maabar, 'where few traders go, but many pilgrims[2]'—but of the name of *Mailapur*, or of the history of the Nazarene community here, there is no elucidation. Instead of this, we have merely the ordinary legends and miracles—Messer Saint Thomas preaching first in Nubia, then in India; the Saint killed by a huntsman in mistake for a peacock; the vision of the wrathful Apostle seen by a wicked native 'baron' in 1288[3], and so forth; of anything more valuable, not a trace.

From Maabar the track of Marco's journey becomes hopelessly confused; and his enumeration of Indian states no longer answers to the probable course of his route. Thus in one digression he now flies up to *Mutfili*[4] (1,000 miles north of Coromandel, as he believes), where the Polo nomenclature is still preserved by *Mutapali* harbour, south-west of the Krishna estuary[5], and where our Venetian tells the story (best known from the *Arabian Nights*) of the Valley of Diamonds, of the meat thrown down to tempt the eagles, of the flesh and gems brought up together by the birds of prey, and of the jewels thus secured[6].

A still more distant flight succeeds. For Polo's next Indian kingdom, that of *Lar*[7], whence all the Brahmans[8] came, though described by him as west of the sepulchre of St. Thomas[9], is probably the *Lat-desa* of the Hindus, the Gujerat of our maps, far to the north-west of the Thomas

[1] Monte Corvino's; see ch. ii, part ii, § 1 of this volume.

[2] G., 208, including Saracens, adds Marco, the latter holding Thomas in great honour and calling him '*Anairan*, qe vaut a dire saint home.' P., 623, gives the best reading, *Avarian* (from Arabic *Hawariy*). See Appendix.

[3] G., 209-10.

[4] G., 206-8.

[5] 'De Menebar (i. e. Maabar) . . . por tramontaine entor de mille miles,' G., 206. The recklessness of the number is proof of the want of personal knowledge—less than 200 miles really intervene between the northern limits of *Maabar* and *Mutapali*.

[6] G., 207-8.

[7] G., 211.

[8] 'Abraiaman,' 'Abraiamain,' 'Abraiemant,' G., 211.

[9] G., 211.

shrine, on the other side of the Deccan, and in no sense a province of *Maabar* or Coromandel. It is curious that in the sketch of the Brahmans which follows, so much stress is laid upon their activity and excellence as merchants [1], for only in the Bombay region (closely adjoining, if not included in, Marco's *Lar*) have Brahmans, as a class, ever devoted their main energies to trade. On the other hand, Gujerat was the head centre of the Banyan traders, and Polo's reference may well be to them. In any case, his account of the Brahmans as a commercial body is largely based on misconception, though certain details of his picture are true enough. If a modern observer would hardly declare, with the *Milioni*, that the *Abraiamain* would never lie or steal for anything on earth, it yet remains true that the sacred caste profess the same principles, observe the same ceremonies, and are distinguished by the same marks; that they still eat no flesh and drink no wine; that they still claim, at least, to abhor fornication and adultery, still wear a cotton thread over shoulder, breast, and back, and still regulate much of daily life by omens—the length of shadows, the flight of swallows, or the movement of spiders [2].

By the *Cuigui* [3], Fakirs, or Hindu ascetics, so famous in all ages, Polo understands a variety of Brahmans still more outrageous in their superstitions, 'cruel and perfidious idolaters [4],' but endowed with extreme longevity, 'every man of them living to 150 or 200 years.' Twice a month, to prolong life, they drank a potion of sulphur and quicksilver; some practised a marvellous asceticism, going stark naked,

[1] 'Des meilor merchaant dou monde e des plus verables,' G., 211. Cf. Jordanus, ch. ii, part ii, § 3 of this volume, on the 'justice' and 'truthfulness' of Indians.

[2] G., 211–13. The kingdom of *Soli*, in Maabar, where the Brahman merchants traded ('la meior provence e la plus jentilz qe soite en Yndie, e la ou le meior perles hi se trovent,' G., 211), is *Chola* or *Soladesam*, in the Southern Carnatic, including the Tanjore region, Y.-C., ii. 368.

[3] G., 213. *Cuigui* is for *Yogui* or *Jogi*. For other forms of this name and other allusions to Fakirs and their practices, see ch. ii, part ii, § 5, and Appendix to this volume.

[4] G., 215, 'si crueus et si parfais,' reads P.'s text, p. 640, 'que c'est une deablerie.'

eating no living thing or green herb, drinking nothing but water, avoiding all commerce with women, professing especial devotion to the ox, anointing themselves with cow-dung, and wearing on their foreheads small images (in gold, brass, or pewter) of the sacred beast[1].

And now, resuming his erratic course towards the West, Marco takes us past Cape Comorin to Malabar, Scinde, and Baluchistan, stopping on the way to describe in detail various harbours, coast-regions, and maritime races. But before touching the extremest south of the Indian Peninsula, the narrative has a word to say of *Cail* or Kayal in Tinnevelly, at a point marked by an ancient port, mentioned in Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, but now utterly decayed, and preserving not even a memory of the trade from the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and 'all Arabia,' which Polo celebrates[2].

The country of *Comari*, only noticed by Messer Marco *after* leaving Quilon[3], is undoubtedly the region of Cape Comorin; and off this shore, a little out to sea, the wanderers once more had sight of that Pole-star which they had lost in *Java la menor*[4].

Equally certain is the realm of *Coilum*, with its colonies of Jews and Christians, though here treated out of its proper order, and placed *five* hundred miles south-west of *Maabar*[5]. For this is the region of Quilon or Kulam[6], at the

[1] G., 213–15. As to cremation, Polo adds the same defence that was given for cannibalism in Sumatran *Dagroian*, and which was furnished for both customs in the fourteenth, as in the sixteenth century, and later. If the dead were not burnt (or eaten) worms would breed; and when no more remained to devour, those worms would die, and the sin of their death would lie upon the dead (G., 194, 215).

[2] G., 219-20, 'de Qisci et d'Aden e de tout l'Arabe.' Kayal is the Κόλχοι Ἐμπόριον of the Alexandrian geographer (VII. i. 10; vol. ii, p. 143, in Nobbe's edition) and of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, § 58. The reference to *tembul* or betel for chewing, mixed with camphor and quicklime, is only in the Ramusian text, ii. 56 (B).

[3] G., 221–2. *Comari* is Ptolemy's Κομάρια Ἄκρον. See Appendix.

[4] G., 222. See p. 134, and Appendix.

[5] 'Coilum est un roiames . . . ver Garbi . . . de Mabar . . . cinq cens miles. Il sunt ydres, et encore hi a cristienz et juif,' G., 220.

[6] Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 213; ii. 257-8; and ch. ii, part ii, §§ 3, 5, 6 of this volume; also Appendix.

southern extremity of Malabar, so long one of the chief centres of Indian Christianity (and Judaism); famous in the history of the Nestorian Church as early as the seventh century; visited in the twelfth by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, as in the fourteenth by Odoric, John of Marignolli, and Ibn Batuta; and the scene of the missionary labours of Jordanus of Séverac, Latin Bishop of *Columbum* from 1330. Here and at Kayal were two of the seven traditional foundations of St. Thomas in South India; and throughout the Middle Ages both were especially sacred to the native Christians of the Deccan.

Here also, at Quilon, where Marignolli declares the 'whole world's pepper was produced,' Polo stops to tell us of the cultivation and ingathering of this aromatic, and of the celebrated indigo, ginger, and dyewood of this country—where the tremendous heat produced all kinds of peculiar species, from lions to parrots, from peacocks to poultry; where traders came from South China[1], Arabia, and the Levant ports; where the corn was rice and the wine an extract of palm-sugar; where even women went all but naked; and where no sin of the flesh was looked upon as evil[2].

Thence, passing up the Malabar coast, and finding no proper harbours, but many rivers, with good estuaries, wide and deep—a land abounding in spices and ginger, and peopled by wreckers, who plied their trade under the protection, and in the name, of Law and Religion—Marco brings us to *Eli*, the 'Mount Dely' of modern maps, just north of Cananor, where the Ghâts thrust out a headland into the sea, where Vasco da Gama first sighted the Indian mainland on that ever-memorable August morning, two centuries from Polo's visit, and where the Venetian cheers his readers with the thought of nearing home[3].

[1] 'Mangi,' G., 221.

[2] G., 220-1. Marco places the pepper harvest in May, June, and July, and describes the preparation of indigo ('ynde') with details, fullest in Ramusio, ii. 56 (B-C).

[3] G., 222-3, 'nos venons aprochant a plus domesces leus' (G., 222). Bad as this coast was, the *Mangi* ships dared it, with the protection of their great wooden anchors (G., 223, see p. 127 of this volume).

With a strange confusedness already noticed (and again observable later) in his account of 'Great Indian' regions, Marco treats *Eli*, though in reality a mere district of Malabar or *Melibar*, as a 'kingdom' wholly distinct from the latter — that 'great realm towards the west,' where the north star rose two cubits' length above the water, where pirates led a merry and successful life, where traders from China met with those coming from Egypt [1], and where the silk and stuffs, the gold and spikenard, the cloves and other spices of the Far East were exchanged for the pepper, ginger, cinnamon, buckrams, and nuts of the *Yndes* [2].

But troublesome as were the pirates of Malabar, there were worse in *Gozurat* or *Gujerat*, the next-mentioned province to the north, whose melancholy boast it was to breed the most cunning and ruthless brigands of the sea. Against their *tamarindi* potions it was of no avail to swallow gems or pearls; yet such was here the wealth of pepper, such the store of cotton, so great the plenty of ginger and of indigo, so prosperous the trade in hides and leather, that commerce flourished in spite of bandits, and many were the ships loaded every year in the ports of Gujerat for Arabia and other lands [3].

Polo, as we have noticed, appears to conceive of *Gozurat* as a province adjoining Malabar; nor is this all. For he now proceeds to describe, as separate 'realms,' the three districts of *Tana*, *Canbaet*, and *Semenat* [4], all in reality subdivisions of Gujerat, though Cambay, the great market of the province, is used in many writers as a designation of the whole.

The now forgotten port of Tana—so prominent in Odoric and in Jordanus [5], so infamous in Marco's pages for the guilty

[1] But the ships bound for Aden (carrying to Alexandria) were not one-tenth of those that sailed eastward, adds P.'s text, p. 654 ('ce n'est pas de x nefs une de celle qui va vers le Levant').

[2] G., 223–5.

[3] G., 225–6. Here one was a good bit further north, for the pole-star 'senble estre haute bien six goves,' G., 225.

[4] G., 226–8.

[5] Circa A. D. 1320–35.

compact between local king and local corsairs—still stands (no longer notable for ships and traffic) on the north-east coast of Salsette island, some twenty miles from Bombay. A little after Polo's day it acquired immense notoriety among Roman Christians as the scene of the martyrdom of the four Franciscan brethren in 1321[1].

Canbaet or Cambay, whose wealth and splendour are celebrated by Masudi in the tenth century, by Ibn Batuta and Marino Sanuto in the fourteenth, and by a whole army of travellers and historians in the fifteenth and sixteenth, is rather strangely praised by our Venetian (like *Semenat* or Somnath) as the abode of men who lived by trade and not by plunder, though cruel and damnable idolaters[2]. Whereas it is beyond question that the Gulf of Cambay was then, as in earlier and later times, notorious for its sea-robbers, among whose especial haunts Al Biruni[3] reckons Somnath, whose feats are commemorated upon local tombs, and whose activity off the coast of Kattiawar lasted well into the memory of men yet living.

The last region in Marco's catalogue of India the Greater, as he moves on homeward to the Persian Gulf by the north-west, is *Kesmacoran* or Kij-Mekran, the ancient Gedrosia, our Baluchistan and Western Scinde, so often reckoned in *Hind* from the times of Pliny and Aelian.

But it is unnecessary to suppose that Polo had any personal acquaintance with this unattractive country (save perhaps from the deck of his ship), for not only does he reckon the people among 'idolatrous' nations[4], ignoring the transition at this point from Hindu to Moslem Asia, but he gives us no hint of the mighty river which here entered the sea, and in his language about the local trade and industry and rice

[1] G., 226-7. On Tana, see ch. ii, part ii, §§ 3, 5 of this volume, and Appendix.

[2] G., 227-8. On Cambay, see ch. ii, part iii, § 1, ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] Writing circa A.D. 1000. See ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix.

[4] 'Il sunt ydres,' G., 228, altered in Ramusio, ii. 57 (c) to 'alcune . . . adorano gl' idoli, ma la maggior parte . . . Saraceni.'

he seems unconscious of the desert character of Western Mekran[1].

Here, then, does our guide end his survey of the *gregnor* and *meneur Ynde*, including in the former our Deccan and Western Hindustan, and in the latter both Indo-China and the vast regions of the Ganges basin, and fixing in Northern *Maabar* (or the Madras region) the dividing-line between the thirteen kingdoms of the one and the eight realms of the other[2].

But he is not yet done with the Indies. For he has still to tell us of certain islands of the Southern Ocean, in two of which are clearly to be recognized our Madagascar and Socotra, before he bids farewell to this immeasurable 'Inde' of his in the *Middle India* of Abyssinia and south-west Arabia.

Not that his own route, in any reasonable likelihood, led him so far afield. The course of the Polos, after passing Mekran, was probably straight up the Gulf of Oman to Ormuz; and even if we press the language of Pietro d'Abano, already quoted, in which Marco Polo appears to speak of the Zanj coast as if from his own experience, we may say with confidence that any possible visit of his to East Africa, the Red Sea, or the Aden region, must have been at an earlier date, during one of his expeditions in Kublai's service.

In the male and female islands, where each sex dwelt apart, meeting only once a year, Polo retails[3] an ancient and cyclic story, repeated by innumerable writers, and doubtless connected with the Amazon tradition, and perhaps also with pseudo-philosophic notions of ideal existence.

Marco declares, indeed, that these isles—five hundred miles *south* of Mekran, and the same distance *north* of Socotra

[1] G., 228-9.

[2] G., 229. In this account, Marco explains, he has only spoken of those 'provences e . . . cite qe sunt sor la mer : car de celz qe sunt en fraterres [in the interior] . . . ce trop seroit longaine matiere a mentovoir.'

[3] G., 229-30.

—were inhabited by Judaizing Christians[1], ruled only by a bishop, who was subject to the Archbishop of *Scoira*—thereby suggesting to some minds a definite and actually existing locality, such as the Kuria Muria group[2]. But it would be truer to say that these distances and directions show the utterly mythical nature of the tradition. For there is no island that even remotely answers to the position assigned.

As to *Scotra, Scoira*, or Socotra, on the other hand, which he places 1,000 miles *south* of Mekran, the Venetian explorer had evidently received fairly good information. The people were all Christians; had an archbishop; wore as little clothing as the other Indians; possessed great stores of ambergris, from the belly of the whale[3]; did a considerable trade in this and other articles, including gold; and supplemented their legitimate gains by the profits of piracy[4]. All ships bound for Aden touched here; if passing vessels attempted to disregard this place of call, the enchanters of the island, who were the best sorcerers in the world, could force them to stop. Such, in truth, were the feats of magic which the Socotrans could perform, that Polo (anxious not to be an instructor in diabolic art) felt it would be better to say nothing about them[5]. The Christianity of these people was independent of Rome; for they were subject to the Archbishop of Baghdad[6] (or Nestorian Patriarch), who ruled over so many other clergy and prelates in divers regions, just like the Apostolic Pope over *his* suffragans.

Thus does Marco confirm a constant tradition of the earlier Christian centuries, from Cosmas of Alexandria[7] in the time of

[1] 'Cristiens batizes, e se mantient a la foy et as costumes dou viel testament,' G., 229.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] Ramusio, ii. 57 (E).

[4] G., 230–1. Their piracy is noticed by Masudi, circa A.D. 950. See Appendix.

[5] G., 231–2.

[6] G., 231. Elsewhere (G., 20) Marco seems to place the Nestorian Patriarch in the *Mosul* region; see pp. 55–6, and cf. also ch. ii, part ii, § 2, ch. iii and ch. vii of this volume.

[7] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 193; Cosmas, pp. 169–70 (Montfaucon).

Justinian to Edrisi of Ceuta [1] in the age of the First Crusades —a tradition whose last echoes do not die away till the era of Louis XIV, when the degraded orthodoxy of the island is wholly replaced by an equally degraded Islam [2].

Third among the Indian isles of Polo's geography comes *Madeigascar*, placed by Marco with fair accuracy 'about a thousand miles' south of *Scotra* [3], and truly estimated as one of the greatest and noblest of islands, but recklessly described as abounding in camels, leopards, bears, lions, elephants, giraffes, and ivory [4], as having a compass of about four thousand miles [5], and as inhabited by an entirely Saracen people, governed by Sheikhs or Elders [6].

The *name* [7] of the great African island, we must admit, is found in no earlier writer of any nation, and although in Messer Marco's sketch there is an evident mixture of genuine and spurious particulars, the latter perhaps referring to the region of Makdashau or Magadoxo and other Arab colonies of the Somali coast; and although by the Madagascar boars'-teeth of Polo's narrative we may probably understand hippopotamus ivory from the mainland, yet there are few chapters in his book of higher interest and suggestiveness [8].

[1] See ch. vii of this volume.

[2] On Socotra, its piracy, trade, and Christianity, see also ch. vii of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] G., 232, 'ver midi et . . . longe de Scotra entor mille miles.' From the south point of Socotra to the extreme north of Madagascar is about 1,450 English miles.

[4] G., 232, 234.

[5] This would make Madagascar even greater than Java and falsify G.'s statement about the latter (p. 189), 'la greingnor isle au monde qe gire environ plus de troi milia miles.'

[6] 'Quatre esceqe, ce vaut a dire quatre vielz homes,' G., 232.

[7] *Madeigascar*, G., 232, &c.; *Madeisgascar*, P., 676; *Magastar*, in Ramusio, ii. 57 (F). The *thing* has been supposed to exist in Masudi's *Kambalu*, one or two days' sail from the Zanj coast, 500 parasangs from Oman, conquered by the Arabs in the first years of Abbasside rule (circa A.D. 750–800); cf. Masudi, i. 205, 232; iii. 31 (Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille); *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 456, 463–4.

[8] G., 232–4, does not place *Madeigascar* 'on this side,' i.e. north, of *Zanchibar*, as Yule makes the text read here (Y.-C., ii. 411), though P., 677, has 'une autre isle aussi ci avant, qui a nom *Zanquibar*.'

Once more, while it is practically certain that never at any time were the Malagasy as a whole 'adorers of Maomet,' yet undeniable evidence has been found of Arab colonization at various points of the coast, and especially in the extreme north-west[1].

But there was something else to notice in *Madeigascar*—a touch of the supernatural, a shadow of the darkness that enclosed the world. For here at least one had arrived at the very limit of the habitable earth, and hence (as from *Zanchibar*) there flowed such overpowering currents to the south that none could ever return against them[2].

Ships from *Maabar* (from Madras as we might say) could reach Madagascar in three weeks[3]; but to retrace their way was a matter of three months; were they to venture further, among the islands which the *ruc* inhabited, there would be an utter end of them[4].

As to these southward currents Marco has a fairly good basis of fact in the Lagullas stream, running with such force from Cape Corrientes towards Natal as to put a stop to Moslem exploration of the East African shore just beyond Sofala; but for the *ruc*, or rukh, that monstrous gryphon-bird, in whom our Venetian has so evident a belief, it is harder to find an explanation.

In reference to this marvel, Polo begins by complaining that the stories and pictures of tradition were wholly different from the descriptions he had himself collected[5]; he then proceeds to repeat, from what he apparently considers the most reliable sources, that the *ruc* was a gigantic eagle and no mere hybrid of lion and bird, that its wings covered thirty paces or 150 feet, that it carried off and devoured elephants[6]; and that the Great Khan, sending to these parts to inquire

[1] As well as on the east coast in south latitude 19° and 21°–23°, cf. Y.-C., ii. 413–14. On Madagascar, see also Appendix.

[2] G., 233; cf. Odoric, ch. ii, part ii, § 5 of this volume, on the resistless currents of the 'Dead Sea' to the south of the Indian Archipelago. On these stories and their basis of fact, see Appendix.

[3] G., 233, 'vingt jors.'

[4] G., 233–4.

[5] G., 233.

[6] G., 233.

about their wonders and peculiarities, and procuring the release of an envoy of his who had been sent before but had been detained [1], had learnt something both of the giant bird and the giant boar of the southern lands. For not only did his envoys bring him the boars' tusks (or hippo ivory) already noticed [2], but they took him a feather of the *ruc*, measuring ninety spans [3].

An Arabic proverb declares that 'good faith,' the 'ghoul,' and the 'gryphon,' are three names of things that exist nowhere; the philosophic, ubiquitous, and inquisitive Masudi finds no basis, in the very golden age of legend, for belief in the *angka* or rukh; and no one has yet been able to adduce a probable original in the realm of nature for the feathered monster of Sindbad the Sailor, of Marco Polo, and of Ibn Batuta [4]. The Moa of New Zealand, the Æpyornis of Madagascar, the fossil bird of harrier species recently discovered in New Zealand [5], are suggestions so feeble as to be quite unworthy of discussion [6]. But the rukh-quill carried to Kublai was probably a frond of the *raphia* palm [7]; and even in the search after monsters and oddities it is an extraordinary thing that the Court of Peking should in the thirteenth century have held intercourse with East Africa and the Island of the Moon [8], beyond the Equatorial line.

Last among these Indian islands of the south, worthy of separate notice, came *Zanchibar* [9], conceived by Polo as about 2,000 miles in circuit, as lying near Madagascar [10], and as

[1] G., 234, 'le grant Kan hi envoia sez mesajes por savor de celz ysles et . . . por faire laiser un sez mesajes qe avoit pris.' Both these brought the Khan 'grant mervoilles de celes estrange ysles.'

[2] G., 234, 'celz mesajes aportent au grant Chan dens de senglier sauvajes.'

[3] Ramusio, ii. 58 (B).

[4] See ch. vii of this volume.

[5] Cf. Y.-C., ii. 418, and Appendix to this volume.

[6] Cf. Y.-C., ii. 415-21.

[7] Cf. Y.-C., ii. 596-8.

[8] Madagascar.

[9] G., 234-6, also referred to on 232-3. Among other forms *Zanghibar*, *Canghibar*, *Zanquibar* occur, G., 233-4, P., 684. See Appendix.

[10] This is evident from the whole tenor of G., 232-4, but its relative position is not stated in the primitive text of Polo's book. See above, p. 148.

inhabited by naked and idolatrous blacks, with thick lips, frizzy hair, and bloodshot eyes—so hideous that in any other country they would have passed for devils [1].

The Italian traveller here apparently converts the vast mainland coastal region of the Zanj, extending from the Jub at least to Cape Delgado, from the Equator to the tenth degree of southern latitude, into an isle; while to its savage inhabitants he attributes the use of camels and elephants in war, the practice of fighting from wooden castles strapped on elephants' backs [2], and other refinements entirely foreign to the negro.

He is happier when he speaks of the ivory trade of this *island* [3]; when he describes the Ethiopian sheep with its white body and its black head [4]; when he details the ugliness of the Zanzibar black, both man and woman; and most of all when he attempts a sketch of the giraffe, that harmless and beautiful beast, with towering neck and forelegs [5], so little known in the Europe of that day.

As to the rest of the Indian isles, although they reached the formidable total of 12,700, according to the writings and compass-reckonings of experienced seamen who navigated that sea [6], they were mostly subject and altogether inferior to those already described, which latter were in truth the flower of the Indies [7].

The bare notion of such a catalogue would indeed appal the boldest, and there can have been few readers of Messer Marco's book who did not with all their hearts excuse him from the task.

Last of all Indian regions, we hear of the *Middle* or Abyssinian province [8]. Of the six kingdoms into which

[1] G., 234-5.
[2] G., 236.
[3] G., 236.
[4] G., 235.
[5] G., 235, 'cort corsajes . . . les janbes dereires . . . petties et les janbes devant e le cuel . . . mot grant, sa teste . . . aute da tere entor de trois pas . . . peitet teste . . . ne fait nul mal . . . de color toute roge e blance a roelles.' Cf. ch. ii, part iii, §§ 4, 5.
[6] 'Selonc qe moister le conpas et la scriture de sajes mariner qe uzent en cel mer de Yndie,' G., 236.
[7] 'Des toutes les meior et de toutes la flor d'Indie,' G., 236.
[8] 'La mezane Yndie qe se dit en Abasie . . . Abasce . . . un grandisme provence qe est la mezaine Indie,' G., 237.

Polo divides *Abasce* or *Abasie*, three were Christian, and had been so from the days of Thomas the Apostle; three were Saracen or Moslem, lying on the Aden side of this India; but the overlord of all, who lived in the middle of the country, professed the faith of Jesus[1].

Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews alike were here branded with hot-iron marks in sign of their religion and as a sort of confirmation of their baptism or circumcision—the first-named having three, the second one, the last two such scars[2]—while among the other wonders of *Abasie* were elephants *not bred in the country but brought from the islands of the other India*[3], ostriches almost as big as asses, monkeys[4] with countenances all but human, and the most beautiful poultry in the world, to say nothing of giraffes and many other rarities of animal life. In all this, as perhaps in his account of the victories of an Abyssinian Great King and champion of the Cross over a sultan of Aden[5], Marco's narrative is pretty impartially divided between fact and un-fact; what he learnt of *Middle India* was probably derived in all particulars from others; as to his inclusion of this region in the Indies (the fundamental peculiarity of this passage), our guide is here repeating, with unusual emphasis, a venerable tradition. For, besides Virgil and Procopius, who bring the Nile into Egypt from India, and Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who locates *Continental India* in Aden, we find an Ethiopian Ind expressly recognized by Servius[6] the Virgilian commentator in the middle of the fourth century, and implied by Epiphanius of Cyprus at the close of the same century, by the Church historians Socrates and Sozomen in the fifth century, and by Roger Bacon the man of science in Marco Polo's own age[7].

[1] G., 237; cf. Y.-C., ii. 432-3.

[2] G., 240. [3] G., 240.

[4] 'Gat paulz et autre gat maimon,' G., 240–1; cf. also G., 222, on the 'gat paul' of Comorin. On this Italianism for 'cati pauli' see Y.-C., ii. 383-5.

[5] G., 237–40; cf. Y.-C., ii. 434-7, and Appendix to this volume.

[6] 'Indiam omnem plagam Aethiopiae accipimus,' says Servius; see Appendix.

[7] Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 292-3; Epiphanius, *De Gemmis*, p. 15; So-

But the unusually clear and definite statement of the *Liber Diversorum*, absolutely identifying *Middle India* with Abyssinia, gave new life to this curious extension of an ill-used name, and in the fourteenth century we shall find the Triple Indies frequently appearing with an African, though sometimes with a Chinese, and sometimes with a Persian, subdivision [1].

And so, with a brief and inaccurate account of Aden, both province and city [2], and a curiously wrong-headed picture of various South-Arabian ports of lesser moment [3], the Polo narrative brings us back to Ormuz. In his notice of the key-port of the Red Sea and its dependencies, Messer Marco has evidently made some confusion between *Aden* and *Adel*, the modern *Erythraea*, at the foot of the Abyssinian highland—a confusion which is also suggested by Benjamin of Tudela in his sketch of this 'Eden in Thelasar [4].' But, on the other hand, in his outline of the trade-route from Aden to the Mediterranean [5], Polo has preserved certain facts of high interest, matters (in all probability) within the scope of his own personal knowledge.

First of all, he tells us, the goods of the Further East were brought to Aden in large ocean-going craft; they were then transhipped into smaller vessels and carried for seven days' journey 'along a river [6]' (in other words, up the Red Sea); finally, at the end of this week's navigation, the cargoes were

crates, *Hist. Eccl.*, Book I, ch. 19; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, Book II, ch. 24; Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, p. 148 (Venice ed. of 1848); Benj. Tud., *Records*, p. 117 of *Early Travels in Palestine* (ed. T. Wright, 1848), vol. i, pp. 144-5 in Asher's edition; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 259-60; ch. ii, part ii, § 3; ch. vi; and Appendix to this volume.

[1] See pp. 229-31, 270, 295; ch. ii, part iii, §§ 4, 5; and Appendix to this volume.

[2] G., 241-3.

[3] G., 244-6.

[4] 'Continental India called Aden, and in Scripture Eden in Thelasar,' Benj. Tud., p. 117 of *Early Travels*; vol. i, pp. 144-5 in Asher's edition; and *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 259-60 (see above, note 7, p 151). The Jews of this country, adds Benjamin, constantly descended from their mountains and fought with the Christians of *Maatum* or Nubia (Asher, i. 145).

[5] G., 241; see also pp. 318-19 of this volume, and Appendix.

[6] 'Por un flum,' G., 241.

landed, placed on camels, carried overland for a month to the 'river of Alexandria,' and thence floated down to Egypt and the Delta[1].

This path of commerce was then in favour; by it, declares Marco, the Saracens of Alexandria obtained all their spice and pepper; it is described in somewhat similar terms by Marino Sanuto at the beginning of the fourteenth century[2]; but within the first quarter of that century the exactions of the local rulers had already begun to drive this traffic from *Ahaden*[3].

What Polo has to say of *Escier* or Es-Shehr, of *Dufar* or Dhafar, of *Calatu* or Kalhat, is chiefly remarkable for the geographical distortion, which (as we have noticed[4]) makes the South-Arabian coast, fringed by these cities, run steadily north-*west* from Aden towards Ormuz. But of the white incense of Hadramaut and its ingathering by incision in the small fir-like incense tree, of the local trade with India, especially in horses, of the dates and fish food of the people, and even of their cattle, in this 'driest land of all the world,' and of the strength and importance of the now ruined *Calatu*, then the safest refuge of the King of Ormuz[5], Marco had gained a fairly accurate knowledge; and to suppose that he really believed Kalhat to lie 600 miles north-*west* of Dhafar, as the text declares, or Dhafar 900 miles north-*west* of Aden, as the same text implies[6], is certainly difficult. We can only conjecture that Aden is conceived by him as an extreme south-eastern point of the Arabian peninsula, from which point the coast, sloping towards the Persian Gulf, fell sharply away *ver maistre*, in continuation of the general direction of that same Gulf.

[1] G., 241. [2] See pp. 318–19.

[3] Sanuto's form of the name. As to Aden, see also the accounts of Ibn Batuta and others; pp. 318–19; ch. vii; and Appendix to this volume.

[4] See p. 30. [5] G., 242–6.

[6] '*Escier* . . . est *vers meistre*, et est longe quatre cent miles . . . de Aden; . . . *Dufar* est longe . . . de Escer cinq cens miles *ver maistre*; . . . *Calatu* est . . . loingne de *Dufar* miles six cens *ver maistre*,' G., 242, 244.

And now, having worked round to Ormuz once more, we may pick up the few additional scraps of information which Messer Marco lets fall, to complete our knowledge of the Polos' return. Their journey from China to *Java* [1] took three months [2], the remainder of their navigation, from Java to the land of *Argon*, occupied eighteen months [2], their stay in Java the Less (already noticed) was a matter of five months [3]. In all, therefore, two years and two months seem required for this passage from *Zaiton* to Ormuz—while time and tide were playing roughly with their company and their hopes, reducing the 600 personages of the expedition to eighteen [4], and robbing Kukachin of her bridegroom. For, ere she reached the Court of Persia, Arghun was dead [2].

But among Mongol princes there was a perfectly regular solution of such difficulties. To the eldest son belonged all the father's wives, his own mother alone excepted; to *Cazan* or Ghazan Khan, accordingly, as to Arghun's son and heir, the Mongol princess, Arghun's destined bride, was given [5].

It was Arghun's brother, however, the *Chiato*, *Cocatu*, or *Acatu* of Polo [6], the Kaikhatu of Eastern historians, who now held sovereignty (though 'not the rightful lord,' in Marco's eyes), and it was from him that our Venetians received the escort, the fresh 'tablets of authority,' and the supplies needful for the prosecution of their journey. The unsettled state of the Persian khanate under this 'usurper' was doubtless a reason for quickening the pace of the remaining stages; from Kaikhatu's presence the Polos seem to have pushed on rapidly to

[1] Probably the Lesser Java, our Sumatra, is here intended.

[2] G., 14, 'Bien trois mois, tant qu'il vindrent a une isle qui est ver midi, ki a nom *Java*, en laquel . . . a maintes mervelies couses, lesquelz voz conteroi en ceste livre. Puis se partirent de cel isle et . . . najerent por mer de Indie bien dix huit mois avant qe il fuissent venus la ou il voloient aler . . . Et quant el furent la venu, il trovent qe Argon estoit mors.'

[3] G., 193; see pp. 134-5 of this volume.

[4] See p. 129.

[5] G., 14.

[6] G., 14-16, 'la seingnorie d'Argon tenoie Chiato . . . Acatu n'estoit lige seingnor . . . quant furent parti de Cocatu.'

Trebizond[1]; we have already suggested[2] that their homeward, like their outward, route lay through *Toris*, and that, as they had advanced into Asia by the Lajazzo-Tabriz road, so they quitted the continent by the other great highway, which connected the commercial metropolis of Western Asia with the 'Table City' of the Euxine.

And here we might finish with the *Book of Diversities*, but that Marco, on his way, as it were, from Trebizond to Constantinople, Negropont, and Venice[3], casts another glance at those Far Northern lands, of which he has already told us something[4], and especially at that Russia where his father and his uncle had wandered, though it lay outside his own experience. By way of a farewell, therefore, to his Picture-Gallery of Nations he fills in one more canvas, not painted from the life, but composed with such excellent advice from one who knew, that it is not unworthy of a place in the second rank of his collection.

But this canvas, this admirable little piece of *genre* painting, is surrounded by tiresome battle-pieces of no merit. To complete his work, to put a finishing touch to its popularity, Messer Marco appears to have believed that something like a romance of chivalry was needed. He therefore closes the *Liber Diversorum* with a lengthy and artificial recital of the Tartar civil wars, wherein princes exchange verbose challenges and defiances, and vast armies (nearly always of equal numbers, and always divided into bodies of 10,000 men) contend with a wearisome prolixity—always halting to make ready for battle when ten miles distant from their foe, and always fighting with the same valour, the same beating of drums or *naccaras*, the same slaughter, the same exhaustion[5].

[1] Leaving *Cocatu* 'il cavachent tant por lor jornee ke il furent venu a Trepisonde,' &c., G., 16. Y.-C. (i. 58, and map facing i. 1) apparently suggests that Marco may have visited Lake Gokcha on this part of the return journey by a digression from the main route. I do not see that the story in G., 19, of St. Leonard's convent and its supply of fish from the neighbouring lake, *during Lent only*, though a refreshing 'mervaie,' is any evidence of this.

[2] See p. 53.

[3] G., 16.

[4] See pp. 40-1, 84-5.

[5] e. g. G., 254-69, 274-88.

Out of this wearisome, and for the most part thoroughly unhistorical scene-painting, there emerges, in the earlier style of our narrator, the sketch of *Rosie*[1],—famous for its matchless cold, lying towards the north, and reaching to the Ocean and the Islands of the Falcons. It was now tributary, Polo notes, to the Lord of the Ponent Tartars or Khan of Kipchak[2], but its inhabitants were Greek Christians, ruled by several princes, and possessing a peculiar language,—a race of simple manners and handsome person, white and tall, with long fair hair.

It was not a land of trade, but it possessed rich furs —ermine and vaire, 'ercolin' and fox—to say nothing of strong defiles and passes, and profitable silver-mines[3]; in this last particular we may perhaps detect a reference to the old workings of the Mius basin, north-west of Tana or Azov. Of the commerce and independence of Novgorod, its penetration of the Arctic, and its vigorous city life—the nearest analogue in Northern Europe to his own Venice—Marco says nothing, apparently knows nothing. For seldom is his outlook hazier than in the regions of Scandinavian and Germanic Europe, and in those parts where Western Christendom touched the Slav[4].

Thus from Russia it is by a journey of moderate length, but of wellnigh insurmountable cold, that he brings one to *Oroech* or Norway[5]; thus in the land of *Lac*, bordering upon *Rosie*, 'between *north* and *north-west*,' he tells us of a people partly Saracen and partly Christian[6], who though in name they may be conjecturally identified with a branch of the Vlachs or Wallachians, cannot in fact be made to suit at all. No partly Moslem people, no race called *Lac* or Vlach, can be located to the north-north-west of thirteenth-century Russia.

[1] G., 272-3.

[2] 'Tactactai,' G., 273, i.e. Toktai or Toktagu, A.D. 1290-1312. See Appendix.

[3] 'Maintes fors entree e fors pas . . . maintes argemtieres,' G., 273.

[4] See Appendix.

[5] G., 273. See Appendix.

[6] G., 273. 'Il ont pelames assez et buens qe por maintes autres pars s'enportent por les merchanz,' adds Marco. See Appendix.

Our guide is more convincing when he finds time, amid the clang of Tartar armies, to add a little to his earlier sketches of North-Asian lands, and to tell us of the realm of *Caidu*, the realm of *Conci*, the realm of Darkness,—all belonging, in whole or part, to the Siberia of to-day; all described by Polo with vivacity and force.

Of *Caidu*, the prince of rebels, 'Kublai's plague,' we have already heard; but now we get a definition of his empire. We do not gain, however, notions of any great precision; we hear only that he was very powerful in *Great Turkey*; that this *Grant Torquie* began beyond the *Ion* or Oxus; that it stretched northward till it reached the land of the Great Khan; and that it lay north-west of the Polos' route from Ormuz to China [1].

But, if we contrast this with Rashiduddin, who makes a desert of forty days' extent divide the states of Kublai from those of Kaidu *to the north-north-west*, we shall see (as from all the best available data) that the empire of Kublai did not enclose Kaidu's vague but troublesome sovereignty *ver tramontaine* [2], that the latter stretched into the basins of the Ob-Irtish and the Yenisei; and that the Khanate of Sibir was a legitimate successor, not only of *Conci's* realm, but also of Kaidu's.

This *Conci*, according to Marco, was a Tartar prince of the lineage of Chingiz, who kept up the faith and ritual, the manners and customs of his ancestors in all their purity; who worshipped the idols of felt, '*Nacigai* and his wife'; who had neither city, castle, nor cornfield, but lived only on the flesh and milk of cattle, and wandered from camp to camp, from pasture to pasture, from mountain to mountain, from valley to valley, with immense herds of oxen and sheep, camels and horses. On the plains and in the highlands where he fed his flocks, one could hunt white bears, Pharaoh's rats, black foxes, 'vaires,' 'ercolins,' and sables, from whose coats men made such priceless robes [3].

[1] G., 246–7.

[2] As Polo's language would suggest.

[3] G., 269–71. In summer *Conci's* people lived on the 'rat de Fareon';

The land of *Conci* was wild and trackless; over one stretch, thirteen days' journey long, abounding in lakes and springs, in ice and mud and mire, a traveller could only pass in dog-sledge. Seated on a bear-skin thrown upon the sleigh, one went without a driver, trusting only to the instinct of six dogs, and the guidance of the nearest postmaster, who from his post-house would accompany the wanderer upon another sledge, showing the best and safest way[1]. With such a dog-sleigh did Ibn Batuta, in the next generation, project his journey from Bolghar to the northern ocean[2]. With such a tract as Polo here describes, in which no wheeled carriages could go, we may compare those regions of 'trembling earth,' still to be found in many parts of Russia, where a thin crust of soil quivers upon the semi-liquid ooze beneath. Lastly, with Marco's *Conci* two separate Tartar chieftains may be, in part at least, identified. Both were descendants of Juji, the eldest son of Chingiz Khan; both were called Kaunchi or Kuwinji; but one traced his pedigree through Shaibani, Juji's fifth son, who planted his *yurt* in West Siberia; the other drew his line from Ordu, the eldest son of the eldest son of the first Great Khan, who reigned over the White Horde, in the grim prairie-lands on the north-east of the Caspian: an embassy from his court visited North Persia in 1293, and was perhaps encountered by the Polos[3].

So much for *Conci* and his country. As to that Land of Darkness, lying far beyond, wherein the Sheikh of Tangier would fain have seen the midnight sun at midsummer, Marco bestows upon it one of his most vigorous but partial sketches[4]. Unimpeachably true of winter, his picture lacks the knowledge of that long day, of months' duration, which in these climes shared empire with the unbroken night of winter. To his mind it was cursed by an eternal gloom. For never sun or moon or stars appeared, but always it was 'as with us in twilight.'

from the 'gibellines' or sables 'se font les chieres pelles . . . qe vaut mille bezanz une pelle d'ome,' G., 270.

[1] G., 270–1. [2] See ch. vii.
[3] See Appendix.
[4] G., 271–2. See Appendix.

Furs of the richest and the rarest sorts were here, and tall and shapely folk; but for health of body, for strength of mind, for order, or for governance, one looked in vain. Pale and colourless, feeble in brain, without trace of law or lordship, were the men of the *Oscurité*; brutish, like the life of beasts, was their existence. At times they hunted; at times they suffered from the raids of Tartars; at times they sold their furs to merchants of the neighbouring lands of 'Clarity[1]': but of higher things there was no sign among their tribes.

In all this we hear the echo of most ancient folklore; in the records and legends of many peoples we have very similar traditions; but to this picture of Messer Marco's and to nothing else so much, according to tradition, does the Company of Hudson's Bay trace back its history. One would gladly believe that even here the *Devisement des Diversités* was not without good practical result: and that as it guided Columbus to America in search of Cathay and Japan, so by a sketch of old-world *Tundra* and *Taiga* it led English pioneers into the great north-west of Canada[2].

As to our wanderers' reappearance at their Venetian home 'in the year 1295 of the Incarnation of Christ[3]', as to the blank amazement and incredulity that greeted them, the stupefied refusal to admit them to their own house, so long occupied by others, their final triumph, the deference paid to their experience, the still greater deference shown to their wealth, the hoards of jewels brought back by them in the lining of their clothes—as to all this and much more with which Ramusio[4] enlivens the Polo story, it is not necessary to speak here.

Nor is there any need to say more of Marco's merits. His

[1] 'Clarté,' Yule's plausible conjecture for the 'Carte' of G., 272.

[2] 'The reading of this chapter is said to have fired Prince Rupert with the scheme which resulted in the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company,' Y.C., ii. 486.

[3] G., 16. Though most of Marco's dates are corrupt, this appears authentic; see Appendix.

[4] Vol. ii, *Prefatione*, p. 5, &c.

work is the best survey of the world that Mediaeval Christendom has left us; in all the literature of the Middle Ages it is only equalled by that of Ibn Batuta; in spite of its shortcomings, its occasional concessions to legend and romance, the appeal of its *Prologue* is admirably true—*pour savoir la pure vérité des diverses régions du monde, si prenez ce livre et le faites lire*[1].'

Part II. The Polos' Successors: Mission-Travel

Among the distant enterprises of the Christian Church, among the forgotten chapters of past intercourse between remote civilizations, there are few more interesting than the early Latin Missions in Further, Southern, and Middle Asia—in China and India, in Persia and in Turkestan. These missions were commenced before the end of the thirteenth century; they were pressed with all the vigour and suppleness of Roman statesmanship; but after more than fifty years of stubborn effort, dauntless recovery, and brilliant success, they ended at last in unrelieved collapse, more than a century before Europeans explored the complete sea-route to the Indies and resumed the conversion of Asia in a more imperious spirit. Along with religious intercourse there is a surprising facility and abundance of commercial and diplomatic reciprocity; under the Mongol Emperors (as we have seen) there is little hindrance from bigotry, ecclesiastical or mercantile; and the extent of the Mongol sway, unchallenged by any serious rival to the north of the Himalayas, the Hindu Kush, and the Arabian deserts, ensured, in a way hitherto unknown, the peaceful exchange of goods or of ideas from end to end of Asia.

[1] P., 3, a better form of the Prologue's opening than G., 1, with its address to 'seingnors, enperaor et rois, dux et marquois, cuens, chevaliers, et bargions,' &c.

§ 1. *John of Monte Corvino, Andrew of Perugia, and the Chinese Mission.*

We have already seen[1] how, in the prior or 'darker' Middle Ages, Nestorian missionaries carried the Gospel to Cathay and the Indies; how in the seventh and eighth centuries they maintained a flourishing Church in the Celestial Empire; how, at the same time they revived, and apparently transformed, the ancient Christian communities of the Deccan; and how, almost to the close of the Crusading period, their creed was practically the sole representative of the Nazarene Faith in Asia, outside the shrunken limits of the Byzantine Empire and the Crusading principalities.

And we have also seen[2] how, in the thirteenth century, the Church of Rome began to be heard of in the very depths of Tartary, and how the great friar-travellers of the first generation, John de Plano Carpini, William de Rubruquis, Andrew de Longumeau, appeared in the Mongol courts on the Volga and the Orkhon. We have suggested that their work was primarily that of diplomatists, of envoys from the Pope or the King of France, in their capacity as Christian leaders; that the preacher, theologian, or missionary was not prominent in their achievements; that Rubruquis alone, of this famous group, appears to spend any large share of time and energy in doctrinal discussions and proselytizing efforts.

Lastly, it has been made tolerably clear[3] that the Polos cannot well be considered active propagandists of the Latin creed; that Kublai's desire for official Christian instructors remained unfulfilled; and that the Franks who did answer his summons were merchants, adventurers, and men of the world, before all else—good Catholics, perhaps, but no doctors or disputants.

But while the Polos were still in China, Pope Nicolas III dispatched in April, 1278, a strictly religious mission to the

[1] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 211–23, &c.
[2] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 275–381, &c.
[3] See especially pp. 5–6, 15, 45, 48–9, 92, 137 of this volume.

Tartars, with letters to Abagha the Ilkhan[1] and to Kublai Khan himself, and with much premature outpouring of affectionate congratulation on the supposed baptism of the Mongol 'Emperor and Moderator[2].' The Papal envoys were all Franciscans—Gerard of Prato, Antony of Parma, John of St. Agatha, Andrew of Florence, Matthew of Arezzo—but of their journey we know nothing definite. We can only conjecture, from a Pontifical letter of the following October, that they or some other Franciscans now reached the western outskirts of the Tartar empire, and that their journey was rewarded by a measure of success[3]. But from the total silence of all contemporaries as to further progress, we can hardly be wrong in supposing that they never penetrated to the Court of *Quolibey* himself, in remotest Asia.

The next thirteen years seem to have passed without any fresh effort for the conversion of Cathay; at last, in 1291, only a few months before the Polos quitted the Middle Kingdom, the true founder of the Latin Church in China set out upon his way. Friar John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan like Carpini and Rubruquis, and a man of untiring energy, courage, and patience, fitted to win respect, even where he could not induce belief, was born in or about 1247[4], the year of Carpini's return from Tartary. In 1272, when the Polos must have been struggling across Persia on their second and greater journey to the East, Corvino was working for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches[5]; in 1275 he began

[1] A.D. 1265–81.

[2] Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (1733; hereafter quoted as W.), v. 35–42. These letters are addressed (1) 'Abaghae regi Orientalium Tartarorum,' (2) 'Carissimo filio Quolibey Magno Chamo, Imperatori et Moderatori Omnium Tartarorum,' (3) 'Gerardo de Prato, Antonio de Parma,' &c. They are all dated April 1, 1278.

[3] See the letter of Nicolas III, Oct. 7, 1278, addressed to the Papal Legate in Hungary and referring to the absence of many Franciscans among the Tartars, to their successes, and to the Pontiff's wish to create a bishopric 'in confinibus Tartarorum' (W., v. 42). On the same date Nicolas orders Franciscans to be sent to baptize the Kumans (of Hungary).

[4] In his first letter from China, dated Jan. 8, 1305, he speaks of himself as 58 ('quinquaginta octo,' W., vi. 70).

[5] As an agent of Michael Palaeologos, negotiating with Gregory X.

his life-work as a preacher among the Saracens and heathen of the Orient; he stayed in the Levant until 1289; and in that year he returned to Europe, expressing high hopes of the conversion of Western Asia, and especially of Arghun, the Mongol Lord of Persia. The Pope[1] listened with sympathy and satisfaction, and the zealous Minorite was sent back with renewed appeals (more fruitful than those of 1278) to the great men of the Tartar world—to *Argon* or Arghun himself, to *Cobyla* or Kublai, and even to Kaidu, the rebel chief of Turkestan and Siberia, Kublai's irrepressible rival. Epistles were also dispatched, through Monte Corvino, to the Christian sovereigns of Little Armenia (our Cilicia), to the Bishop of Tabriz, and to the Jacobite Patriarch, to say nothing of the 'Emperor of Ethiopia.' In company with Friar John were several colleagues, and among them, if not from the commencement of his Asiatic journey, at all events during his residence in Southern India, we hear of the Dominican Nicolas of Pistoia[2].

Monte Corvino may have reached Tabriz by either of the great trade roads, from Trebizond or from Lajazzo, of which we have already heard so much; by one or other he probably travelled; in any case it is *in Thaurisio* that we first have word of his travels[3]. Here he was joined by 'a great merchant' and 'faithful Christian,' Peter of Lucolongo[4], and with this companion he now moved southward into India, probably by way of Ormuz, and doubtless with the view of following up the sea-route to Cathay.

On this fairly reasonable assumption, Corvino's route was much the same as Marco Polo's, at least as far as Ormuz;

[1] Nicolas IV, 1288–92.

[2] Cf. W., v. 195–8, 199–203, for the letters of Nicolas IV. (1) 'Argoni regi Tartarorum,' (2) 'Cobyla Cham, Magno Principi Tartarorum,' (3) 'Caydono, Principi Tartarorum,' (4) 'Regi Armeniae,' (5) 'Imperatori Aethiopiae,' (6) 'Patriarchae Iacobitarum,' (7) 'Dionysio episcopo' [in Taurisio]; (1) is dated July 15, 1289, (2) and (3) July 13, (4) July 14, (5) July 11, (6) and (7) July 7. On the earlier correspondence of Arghun with Latin Christendom, e.g. in 1285 and 1288, see below, pp. 189–90.

[3] W., vi. 69.

[4] '*Dominus* Petrus de Luco-longo,' &c., W., vi. 71. On the English mission in Tabriz in 1292, see p. 197.

like the *Milioni*, he notes with dismay the frailty of the vessels used for Indian navigation:—'flimsy and uncouth, without nails or iron of any sort, sewn together with twine like clothes, without caulking, having but one mast, one sail of matting, and some ropes of husk[1].' Perilous as they were, it was in one of these that our friar seems to have made (perhaps in several stages) the long and toilsome voyage from Ormuz to Malabar, from Malabar to Coromandel.

In the sacred region of St. Thomas' shrine, in the neighbourhood of our Madras, he remained a year[2], winning about a hundred converts; and here died his comrade Nicolas of Pistoia, while 'on his way to the Court of the Lord of all India[3].' Nicolas was buried in the church of St. Thomas, while Brother John transmitted to Europe (December, 1291 or 1292[4]) a quaint sketch of the Deccan and its people from his own observation.

Here—in 'Upper India' or *Maabar*, in the territory of St. Thomas[5]—there was no winter; here, too, the Pole-star[6] was so low on the horizon that it could scarce be seen. There was never so great an 'elongation' of the sun as to admit of cold; yet the heat was never extravagant. The

[1] From Corvino's Indian Letter, reproduced in whole or part by the Dominican Menentillus, printed by Dr. F. Kunstmann (quoted as K.) in the *Münchner Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1855, no. 22; in Part iii, pp. 171–5 of the volume Jan.–June, see p. 175. It is in Italian, probably translated from Corvino's original Latin. The writer, whose information Menentillus professes to reproduce, is identified with Corvino, not only by internal evidence, especially the references to Nicolas of Pistoia in this and in Corvino's First Chinese Letter, but also by the quotations of Pietro d'Abano, *Conciliator Differentiarum, Diff*[ta] 67 (fol. 98, col. 1, Venice edition of 1496), citing the 'epistola' of 'Io. Cordelarius ex regione Mohabar Indie in oris in quibus corpus iacet Thome apostoli,' &c. 'John the Cordelier' is a fairly definite allusion to the Franciscan Corvino, considering that the clauses of this letter cited by d'Abano agree absolutely in substance with similar parts of the letter here examined. See Appendix to this volume.

[2] 'Mensibus xiii,' W., vi. 69.

[3] W., vi. 69; K., 171. The 'Signore di tutta l'India' was probably the Delhi Sultan.

[4] On this date see p. 167.

[5] 'India superiore che si dice *Maabar* in della contrada (*sic*) di Santo Tomeo,' K., 172. On the identity of *Maabar* with the Coromandel coast, see above, p. 137.

[6] 'Stella ... Tramontana,' K., 172.

author's own observations on the length of day and night showed him a variation in the former from eleven to fifteen hours, and in the latter from nine to thirteen.

Many a time had Corvino looked for a sight of the Southern Pole[1]; several constellations moving round about, and evidently near to it, he had observed; but through the lowness of these stars, and the continual haze on the horizon, he had never made certain of his inquiry[2].

India was a land of great cities and wretched houses; of few hills; of scanty rivers; of many springs; of few beasts; of no horses (save for the stables of princes); of few flies; of no fleas[3]. The common folk, living in wretched huts of sand and mud thatched with the leaves of trees, though they had wells, preferred to drink the rain-water of their tanks[4]. At all seasons one might witness sowing and reaping; at all times there was fruit. Aromatic spices good and cheap (those products so highly prized in the West) were here in plenty; trees producing sugar, honey, and a liquor like wine; pepper-plants, slender and knotty[5]; ginger[6], comparable to the roots of cane; dye-wood[7], with leaves like fern; and 'Indian nuts,' as big as melons and as green as gourds[8], with leaves and branches like dates. Cinnamon, resembling laurel in trunk, bark, and foliage, was exported from an island close to *Maabar*[9]: in this we seem to have the earliest notice of the cinnamon-trade of Ceylon; for Ibn Batuta, whom some have quoted as the first witness to this commerce, is fully a generation later.

Among the Indians, a people without laws, letters, or books, oxen were sacred and idolatry rampant; for their

[1] 'L'altra tramontana . . . posta in contrario,' K., 172.

[2] K., 171–2.

[3] 'Pulci nulla,' K., 173. Did they come, then, with the Europeans of the next few centuries? Here perhaps the sense of the original has been missed by the Italian translator.

[4] 'Piscine ovvero *vallette* quasi come fosse,' K., 172.

[5] 'L'albore che fa pepe, nodoso e sottile siccome vite,' K., 173.

[6] 'Zenzavo.'

[7] 'L'albore del bersi.'

[8] 'Cocosse.'

[9] 'Isola apresso a Maabar,' K., 173.

writing they used no paper, but leaves like those of palm[1]; their dead were not buried but burnt, with music and singing[2]. On the sea-coast they favoured Saracens, and allowed them vast influence (at this very time a Moslem was governor of the Coromandel ports[3]); while Christians, who like the Jews, had neither numbers nor position[4], were annoyed and persecuted: in the upland almost all were heathen[5]. Yet the average Indian peasant evidently attracted Corvino; though of few words, he was civil and friendly; at times he even reminded the Italian traveller of his own peasant folk[6]. His colour was not black, but olive; his body was well formed; although he never shaved, he yet practised scrupulous cleanliness; he fed on milk and rice, using no bread or wine; the pig-like grossness of his appetite was a set-off to his admirable temperance. Bandits and craftsmen alike were few; taxes were many. Perhaps in contrast to those who had spoken or written of India as they might of a small homogeneous province of Italy, the friar warns us that the former was of vast extent, containing diverse realms and tongues[7]; while as to the monstrous races and the terrestrial paradise, so often associated with India, the careful Franciscan, after exhaustive inquiry, had been unable to find any evidence[8]. He had learnt, however, that in the Indian Ocean, towards the south[9], there were more than 12,000 islands, some inhabited and some desert (here the Maldives and Laccadives are probably intended); and he was able to inform his readers, from his own personal knowledge, about the stages and distances of the voyage from Ormuz and the Gulf of Persia to *Maabar* or Coromandel—the two thousand miles to the south-east, the three hundred to the north-east[10]; of the

[1] K., 173–4.
[2] K., 174.
[3] See extracts from Rashiduddin, Wassaf, &c., in Yule, *Cathay*, 219–21.
[4] 'Cristiani et Giudei . . . molto pochi et di poco valore,' K., 174.
[5] K., 173, 174.
[6] 'Uomini di villa,' K., 174.
[7] K., 174.
[8] K., 173.
[9] 'Meriggio,' K., 175.
[10] K., 175. Here the stages appear to be (1) from Al-Ahsa (Corvino's *Issa*) on the west side of the Persian Gulf, below Al-Khatif, to Ormuz (*Ormesse*); (2) from Ormuz to Malabar (*Minabar*) 2000 miles SSE. (*intra scirocco e levante*); (3) from Malabar to Coro-

'rest' which he had not seen (presumably the other customary Indian Ocean 'runs') he prefers to say nothing. The letter closes with a reference to the despotism and long duration of the monsoons, which blew steadily from the west between April and October, and from the east between October and March, so that a man could only make the voyage once a year[1].

In this report, written from the *town of Maabar* in the province of *Siziq*[2] in *Upper India* (perhaps near the Ramisseram 'causeway' in Palk strait), and dated December 20, of a year which is probably to be read as 1291 or 1292[3]—a report which we only possess in an Italian transcript or version made by the Dominican Menentillus of Spoleto for his 'brother in all things,' the famous Bartholomew of San Concordio[4], we have, practically beyond question, the work of Monte Corvino, that 'John the Cordelier' from whom Pietro d'Abano quotes in exact agreement with the present narrative[5]. It is a document worthy of some consideration, for in it we have the first good picture of India drawn by a Latin Christian[6], the first sign of Roman mission-energy in the Deccan, and the earliest Western indication of the Thomas shrine; the precious paper was brought to Europe by the very person in whose arms died Nicolas of Pistoia[7]; its reception

mandel (*Maabar*), 300 miles ENE. (*contra a tramontana intra levante e greco*); to which the text, here perhaps very corrupt, adds an unintelligible (4) from *Menabar*, presumably Malabar, to *Giugimencote*, 300 miles NNE. (*intra greco et tramontana*). As to 'lo residuo . . . non è veduto, però non ne dico.'

[1] K., 175. On the writer's curious astronomy in this letter, K., 171–2, noticed by d'Abano, *Conciliator, Diff.* 67, see Appendix.

[2] See Yule, *Cathay*, i. 218, and Appendix to this volume.

[3] In the original, at the Laurentian Library in Florence, only MCCX is legible ('Iscritta . . . in Mabar, cittade della provincia di Sizia dell' India, di sopra die XX Dicembre anno Domini MCCX'). As we know that Friar John left Tabriz in 1291, passed thirteen months in Southern India, and reached China more than twelve years before Jan., 1305, the year can hardly be other than 1291 or 1292. By Dec., 1293, it would seem he was already in Cathay.

[4] On this celebrated lawyer and man of letters, who died 1347, see pp. 28–9, and Appendix.

[5] See above, p. 164.

[6] Even earlier than M. Polo's. See p. 139.

[7] K., 171.

seems to have awakened Rome to the possibilities of Hindu conversion. Meantime, while Friar John was writing, the Polos were passing through the Indian seas, on their return to Venice, probably crossing the future path of the very man who would represent Christendom in China during the next thirty years, as they had done for the last thirty.

We next meet with Corvino in the Flowery Land itself—at the Imperial City. His second letter (of January 8, 1305) is dated from *Cambaliech*, or Peking, and tells how for eleven years, from 1292 or 1293, he had laboured alone and unsupported in Cathay[1]; how he had struggled against prejudice and calumny; how brilliant successes had followed dismal failures; and how, in 1303 or 1304, he had at last been joined by a colleague, Friar Arnold of Cologne[2].

Wherever he landed, whether at Canton (like Odoric), at *Zayton* in Fokien, or elsewhere, he probably made his way immediately to Peking. For the first thing he tells us of Cathay is his audience of the Emperor, his presentation of the Papal letters, and his failure to convert the Khan, either old Kublai himself (who died in 1294, at the age of 80)[3] or Timur Oljaitu, son and successor of the Polos' patron, an equally great favourer of the Buddhist lamas, and altogether 'too inveterate an idolater,' as Corvino puts it[4].

But he was not long without a triumph. In his first year at *Cambaliech* he won the Nestorian Prince George, 'of the family of the great King Prester John of India[5].' George died in 1299, but before his death he found time to build a fine church[6] for his new allegiance, 'called the Roman

[1] W., vi. 69, 'solus in hac peregrinatione sine socio annis undecim.' China is called *Katag* on p. 69, *Catan* on p. 70.

[2] W., vi. 69, 'donec venit ad me frater Arnoldus Alemannus de provincia Coloniae, nunc est annus secundus.'

[3] Kublai was born Sept. 28, 1214.

[4] W., vi. 69, 'nimis inveteratus in idololatria.' This phrase, as Yule admits, *Cathay*, i. 197, rather points to Kublai.

[5] W., vi. 69, 'de genere illustri magni regis, qui dictus fuit Presbyter Ioannes de India.'

[6] W., vi. 70, 'Ecclesia pulchra, secundum regiam magnificentiam.'

church,' at a place twenty days' journey from Peking [1]—perhaps at Tathung in Shansi, just east of the great Hoangho elbow, where Friar Odoric seems also to fix 'the capital of Prester John [2].' Nor was this all. George's heir was named after the missionary [3]; a translation of all the Roman service-books was ordered and begun [4]; many Nestorians embraced Corvino's faith [5]. A fair prospect indeed it seemed as the thirteenth century drew to its end. But with the death of King George the sky was again overcast; apostasy succeeded conversion [6]; there was no more translation of the Latin ritual; and Corvino was left alone to endure the slanders of the Nestorians—a community 'professing the Christian name but deviating greatly from the Christian faith [7],' and now so powerful in Cathay that they would tolerate no Christian rivals [8].

One consolation remained to him. In the year of King George's death he had built a church [9] in *Cambaliech* with a trained choir, a campanile, and three bells; in his loneliness the patient friar, with the length of the world between himself and home, proudly remembered that his was a pioneer work—'to these regions never came Apostle or disciple of Apostles [10]'; as to the early Nestorian evangelists, Corvino is silent. Perhaps he could not forgive those Nestorians of the present who denounced him as a murderer, a spy, and an impostor [11].

[1] W., vi. 70, 'quae distat ad xx dietas,' i. e. from *Cambaliech*, where John is writing.

[2] See ch. ii, part ii, § 5.

[3] W., vi. 70, 'vocatur Ioannes propter nomen meum.'

[4] W., vi. 70. What was already 'in littera et lingua illa' was the Preface and Canon of the Mass.

[5] W., vi. 69.

[6] This was through the efforts of George's brothers, 'perfidi in erroribus Nestorii,' who brought back all the king's Romeward followers 'ad schisma pristinum,' W., vi. 70.

[7] 'Christianitatis titulum praeferentes, sed a Christiana religione plurimum deviantes,' W., vi. 69. On the Nestorian opposition to Corvino see also John de Cora, p. 209 of this volume.

[8] W., vi. 69.

[9] 'Ecclesiam . . . in civitate Cambaliech . . . ante sex annos complevi,' . . . 'Georgius ante sex annos migravit ad Dominum,' W., vi. 69, 70.

[10] W., vi. 69.

[11] W., vi. 69, '. . . magnus explorator et dementator hominum.'

But at last the heavens brightened; a leading enemy confessed; for the past two years[1] the friar had been permitted to reside at Court; it was nearly as long since Brother Arnold had joined him; with a little more aid the Emperor himself[2] might be gained. The writer was now old and grey, more with toil than with years, for he was but fifty-eight[3]; yet he was now building a second church in Peking; New Testament and Psalms he had just done into the 'language most used among the Tartars[4].' For one thing he still yearned—news of Europe, of the Church, of his Order. Twelve years had passed in silence; and now a farrago of incredible blasphemies about the Court of Rome, the Order of St. Francis, and other matters of the Western world had been spread abroad by a Lombard surgeon who had come to Cathay (seemingly a little before Arnold) 'two years since[5].' Brother John, therefore, on every account was anxious for fresh help; but, doubtless warned by his own experience, he lays down the best route for subsequent travellers—a route through the land of the Goths and the realm of the Northern Tartars, in other words, by the Crimea and the Kipchak or 'Russian' Khanate, over the Don, the Volga, and the steppes[6]. For the moment this way was closed by local wars; but in a normal time of peace it was incomparably preferable to the 'other,' the South-Asian track. For the latter took two years, and involved two stupendous voyages, as long as those from Acre to Provence and from Acre to England respectively[7]; but by the former, the overland path, travelling along with the

[1] 'Ante duos annos,' W., vi. 69, that is, two years before Jan., 1305.

[2] W., vi. 70. 'Imperator Cham,' also called 'Imperator Tartarorum,' 'Magnus Cham,' 'Dominus Cham,' W., 69-70.

[3] W., vi. 70.

[4] W., vi. 70, 'lingua usualis Tartarorum.'

[5] W., vi. 70, 'sunt duodecim anni, quod de . . . statu occidentis non suscepi nova. Iam sunt duo anni quod venit quidam medicus chirurgicus Lombardus qui . . . istas partes incredibilibus blasphemiis infecit.'

[6] W., vi. 70, 'per terram Gothorum Imperatoris Aquilonarium Tartarorum.' On the Goths of the Crimea see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 324, p. 241 and ch. v of this volume, and Appendix.

[7] W., vi. 70, 'inter Achon et Angeliam (*sic*).'

Imperial messengers, a man might get through to Peking in six months, or even in five[1].

As to these long and perilous navigations[2], whose accomplishment lay in God's guidance rather than man's skill[3], we may fairly suppose that the passage from Ormuz to the Coromandel coast answers to the Acre-Provence voyage, while that from *Maabar* to China corresponds to the Acre-England journey. It is true that Corvino nowhere indicates his own course[4]; but between the three points definitely laid down in this letter—Tabriz, the Indian 'Thomas country,' and Cathay—we can almost say that he must have followed that southern way of whose dangers he speaks so feelingly. How Friar Arnold and the Lombard doctor reached China is absolutely matter of conjecture; but their arrival is an interesting witness to the parallel activities of religious and secular intercourse, at this epoch, between the two extremities of the civilized world.

In this, his first communication from Peking, Brother John seems to have addressed himself to the Vicar and friars of the province of *Gazaria*[5], to the Franciscan missionaries working in those North-Euxine lands, now parts of the Kipchak Khanate, where the Khazars had once ruled. The process of transmitting the report illustrates the reach of Mongol power and the opportunities of distant intercourse produced by the growth of a genuine world-empire. For the postman of the Roman Legate in Peking, on this occasion, was a person attached to the Court of *Kathan Khan* who had been on a visit to the Court of the Tartar suzerain, and was now returning to the West; on his way he left Corvino's epistle with the Minorite fathers in 'Khazar-land'; finally, going on from Sarai to Tabriz, he carried a copy of the same letter to

[1] W., vi. 70.

[2] W., vi. 70.

[3] K., 175.

[4] Saying only 'recessi de Thaurisio . . . intravi in Indiam . . . fui in contrada Indiae ad ecclesiam Sancti Thomae . . . perveni in Katag,' W., vi. 69.

[5] This is stated in Corvino's second Chinese letter, 'anno praeterito, in mense Ianuarii, per quemdam amicum nostrum, qui fuit ex sociis Domini Kathan Chamis, qui venerat ad . . . Dominum Chamem, ego misi litteras Patri Vicario et Fratribus provinciae Gazariae,' W., vi. 71.

the Franciscans and Dominicans in Persia[1]. Under the name of *Kaṭhan* we may probably recognize Ghazan[2], the fifth of the Persian Ilkhans, to whom we have seen the Polos delivering the royal bride they had escorted from China; from Corvino's language it seems probable that the Franciscans already had a settlement in Sarai[3], and that both Franciscans and Dominicans now possessed establishments in Tabriz[4]; however this may be, we see that Catholic pioneers at the opening of the fourteenth century correspond, from end to end of Asia, by means of Mongol officials.

To the aforesaid friars of Persia, both Jacobins and Cordeliers[5], the head of the Chinese mission addresses his next epistle, perhaps written, like the fragment relating to Ethiopia which we shall examine presently, on Quinquagesima Sunday, February 13, 1306[6], and in any case appearing to belong to this year, and to issue from the same place as the previous letter and the fragment aforesaid—the Imperial capital at Peking.

Its tone is hopeful; its record is one of steady progress. In 1305 a new church and mission buildings had been commenced, only a stone's throw from the gate of the Grand Khan and with only the width of the street between his

[1] From letters which apparently reached *Kathan's* envoys in Peking shortly before Feb. 13, 1306, Friar John, moreover, learnt of the safe arrival of his missive at its destination. 'In quibus litteris rogavi eundem Vicarium (i. e. Gazariae) quod exempla illarum vobis transmitteret et iam intellexi per aliquas quae nunc pervenerant cum nunciis praedictis Domini de Kathan ad Dominum Chamem, quod meae litterae ad vos pervenerint,' W., vi. 71. 'Vos' and 'vobis' are explained by the address of this second letter. See below, note 5.

[2] On a chronological difficulty here, Ghazan having died in 1304, see Appendix.

[3] On this town, the capital of the Kipchak Khanate, see pp. 39, 40.

[4] 'Idem nuntius qui portavit litteras meas, postmodum de Sara civitate venerit Thaurisium.'

[5] 'Patri . . . Vicario Generali . . . Fratrum Minorum et Vicario Fratrum et Magistro . . . Praedicatorum et Fratribus Ordinis utriusque in provincia Persarum manentibus,' W., vi. 71.

[6] That is assuming the Ethiopian fragment to be only a postscript to this second Chinese letter, as Yule suggests, *Cathay*, i. 168, following F. Kunstmann.

palace and the Roman compound; Peter of Lucolongo, that wealthy and loyal Christian trader who had accompanied Friar John from Tabriz, had bought the site and presented it 'for the love of God'; in August building was begun, and by the Feast of St. Francis (October 4) the houses, offices, courts, oratory, and enclosure-wall were finished [1]. Only a part of the church remained to complete; the timber for this was lying ready at the mission-house; and even now the sights and sounds of Western church-life—the red cross planted aloft, and the Latin Christians [2] in their chapel chanting their service,—produced a great effect. The Roman chants were perfectly audible to the Khan himself in his chamber [3]; the Roman missionaries basked in the sunshine of Imperial favour. Though lord of an empire unsurpassed in all the world, though dwelling in a city so vast that two miles and a half separated the two Frank settlements [4], the Cham yet honoured Corvino above all other prelates at his Court, and earnestly desired to see envoys from that Roman Court and those Latin regions of which he had already heard so much [5].

Not that too easy a conversion was to be expected. These regions abounded in idolatrous sects holding different beliefs, and in religious orders wearing different habits; and the austerity practised by these heathen monks was greater, Corvino sadly admits, than that of the Latin brotherhoods [6]. None but men of the most solid character should be sent to India—for the seductions of this world, from gems to spices, were there so powerful. Most of this land John had seen for himself; as to the rest he had made inquiries; he was satisfied that Indian mission-work might be most profit-

[1] W., vi. 71.

[2] On the 150 boys, aged between seven and eleven, whom he had bought and baptized, taught Greek and Latin, and trained to sing, in whose chanting the emperor took such delight, see Corvino's words, W., vi. 69. On his Bible-pictures, with explanations in Latin, Persian, and *Tarsic* (i. e. Uigur) letters, see W., vi. 71.

[3] W., vi. 71.

[4] W., vi. 72. The first Latin church in Peking was completed in 1299, W., vi. 69: 'ante sex annos complevi,' says Corvino, writing Jan. 8, 1305.

[5] W., vi. 72. [6] W., vi. 72.

able if the brethren would but come; but far more conspicuous success had rewarded him in China. By the side of the hundred converts who alone formed his Indian harvest, the worthy legate is able to record over 5,000[1] baptisms in 'Tartary': but for Nestorian calumnies he would, he thinks, have won full 30,000 souls[2] in *Cambaliech* alone—the head of that realm to which, for extent, wealth, and population, no other upon earth could be compared[3]. Yet down to this year (1306) he had never received a single letter or greeting from any friar or friend; even rumours of his death, he found, had got abroad; but now he had both heard from the West and ascertained that his last year's communication had been received in Khazaria and Persia. With fresh hope, therefore, he sends this fresh report to the same correspondents, fulfilling the 'order of charity[4].'

In what may be a postscript to his second Chinese letter, or a fragment of another, Brother John, writing from *Cambaliech*, on Quinquagesima, 1306[5], announces fresh triumphs. Since the preceding All Saints Day (November 1), he had baptized four hundred persons; he had also received a solemn deputation from Ethiopia, which begged him either to go himself and preach in their country, or to send 'other good preachers' to a land where, since the days of St. Matthew and his disciples, they had had no Christian instructors[6]. With such opportunities Corvino joyfully anticipates the harvest that might reward those friars of whose arrival in Persia and *Gazaria* he had lately heard[7].

It is with Nubian Christianity that tradition especially

[1] W., vi. 71; in the former letter, W., vi. 69, Corvino claims 'baptizavi usque hodie circa sex millia personarum.'

[2] W., vi. 69.

[3] W., vi. 70.

[4] W., vi. 71.

[5] Feb. 13.

[6] W., vi. 91–2: the 'solemnes Nuncii de quadam parte Aethiopiae,' like the rest of this fragment, come from a chronicle wrongly ascribed to Odoric, which here professes to reproduce the substance (not necessarily the exact words) of Monte Corvino.

[7] W., vi. 92, 'plures fratres utriusque Ordinis ad Persas et Gazariam accesserunt.'

associates St. Matthew; here the local Church, though slowly dying, was not yet extinct; and the language of the deputation suggests that it was from this part of Africa rather than from Abyssinia or Socotra (both far more in touch with outside Christendom) that Monte Corvino received the appeal of these new Macedonians to 'come over and help.'

Can we believe that the Ethiopian embassy pursued Brother John to Eastern Asia and waited on him in Peking? Some have thought this incredible, and have suggested that it was in the 'Thomas country' near Madras that the zealous nuncio met with these African envoys. But after what we have seen in Marco Polo of the intercourse between Kublai Khan and East Africa, we shall not be inclined to put such a forced construction on the text. Corvino's words imply that the Ethiops came to *Cambaliech*, not very long before February, 1306, and we prefer the obvious implication of the words to any substitute, however ingenious.

It is probable that Corvino's later Chinese report followed much the same road as the earlier—from Peking to Sarai, from Sarai to Tabriz—but it produced far more result. Certain portions of it at least were brought from 'Tartary' to the Papal Court by Thomas of Tolentino[1], already an Asiatic missionary of some note, who had travelled in Armenia[2], and who afterwards figured as the most prominent among the four Franciscan martyrs of Tana (1322)[3]. What 'Tartary' means here it is difficult to say; on the face of it one might suppose that China was intended, but there is no explicit authority for assuming that Brother Thomas ever wandered as far as Cathay. It was perhaps only at some point in the Western Khanates, such as Sarai or Tabriz, that he took charge of the Far Eastern news-letter or letters; at all events he seems to

[1] 'Frater Thomas de Tolentino a Tartaria rediens cum istis epistolis,' W., vi. 92, quoting 'Beatus Odoricus de Foro-Iulio in Chronicis quae a principio mundi usque ad initium Pontificatus Benedicti XII . . . concinnavit' (see also W., vi. 91). The antecedent of 'istis epistolis' is simply the fragment of Corvino's relative to the Ethiopian embassy, already noticed, written from *Cambaliech* on Quinquagesima, 1306.

[2] W., vi. 11, under A.D. 1302.

[3] See pp. 215–17.

have been thoroughly informed about Corvino's work, and to have been able to present a striking picture of the same at home. How much of the impression thus produced was due to Brother John's own words, how much to Brother Thomas' version of affairs[1], does not matter. In any case the triumphs of the Peking mission now arrested attention, much as the triumphs of the English mission had done eight centuries before. A new world, ripe for conquest, seemed to open before the Church; and even Clement the Fifth, in presence of so great an opportunity, could for once emulate Gregory the First. Monte Corvino was created Archbishop of *Cambaliech* (with quasi-patriarchal powers) in the spring of 1307, and seven bishops were nominated as his suffragans[2], and dispatched to consecrate the new primate and help him in the winning of the Orient. Of these seven, only three, Andrew of Perugia, Gerard, and Peregrine, reached China and carried out their commission (in 1308); three others, Peter of Castello, Nicolas of Apulia, and Andrutius of Assisi, perished at their first entrance into 'Lower India'[3]; while the last, William of Villeneuve, either did not start at all or soon returned[4]. Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew appear successively as bishops of *Zayton*, where a powerful Latin mission seems to have been formed, and where some Genoese traders appear also to have settled; it is from this Andrew that we derive our best and fullest information of the Chinese mission after 1308[5].

A Franciscan tradition, preserved by Wadding, maintains that about 1310 the Grand Khan himself was converted by

[1] See details in W., vi. 92, still quoting the pseudo-Odoric's Chronicle. Cardinal John de Muro, formerly Minister-General of the Franciscans, took up the matter and reported officially to the pontiff and cardinals.

[2] The bulls of this creation are lost, except for a fragment of Corvino's and that of William of Villeneuve, the latter dated from Poitiers, May 1, 1307. See W., vi. 92–3, 147–8.

[3] 'In ipso ingressu Indiae inferioris ob aeris adversam vicissitudinem,' W., vi. 94. What is meant by 'Lower India' here can only be conjectured; the same location is assigned by Andrew (see p. 179) to the same event. It perhaps means that these three bishops tried to reach China by the southern route, stopping in or calling at some of the Deccan ports.

[4] W., vi. 92, 94.

[5] See pp. 178–81.

Monte Corvino[1], and it may have been the rumour, however baseless, of this crowning mercy that led Pope Clement in 1312 to send out three fresh suffragans—Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence[2]—to the aid of Archbishop John. We hear of Peter, a little later, as head of one of the Franciscan houses in *Zayton*[3].

But of trustworthy information as to Corvino's episcopal life and work we possess only a few fragments. For one thing, he appears to have founded a third mission-station in Peking[4]. For another, he seems to have established and maintained the new work in *Zayton*, appointing first Gerard, then Peregrine, and finally Andrew as bishop[5]. In 1326 the same Andrew, writing home to Italy, implies that his metropolitan, whom he had helped to consecrate eighteen years before, was still living and active[6]. In Friar Odoric's Recollections of Travel and Mission Life, compiled in 1330, and referring to a time between 1322 and 1328, in other words, to the last years of Corvino's life, a bishop (perhaps Corvino himself) is spoken of as present at the charming scene where Odoric, for want of better offering, presents a dish of apples to the Grand Khan on his journey from Shangtu to Peking[7]. Once more, we find in the Franciscan annalist, John of Winterthur[8], writing about

[1] W., vi. 176, A. D. 1310, 'Magnus Cham cum matre sua.' W. adds that he was baptized, taking the name of John in gratitude to Corvino (see above, p. 169, as to the son of King George), and dying soon after 'in conventu Fratrum more imperiali est tumulatus.' When the friars, *thirty* (sixty?) years afterwards, had to fly to Sarai, right across Asia, they found the body uncorrupted, took it with them, and buried it afresh in the capital of Kipchak. The Grand Khan reigning in 1310 was Khaishan Kuluk (1307–11), third of the *Yuen* or Mongol Dynasty in China, and grandson of Kublai. His conversion is quite unconfirmed.

[2] W., vi. 467–9, gives the bull creating Peter a suffragan bishop to aid Monte Corvino; this is dated xiii Kal. Jan. 1311 (Dec. 20, 1310), and gives a warm eulogy of Corvino's work. See also W., vi. 184.

[3] W., vi. 184: Jerome appears in 1318 as bishop of Kaffa in the Crimea (see p. 239); either he never went to China, or he returned very speedily.

[4] See John de Cora, p. 209 of this volume.

[5] See pp. 179–80. [6] See p. 178.

[7] See pp. 281–2.

[8] In J. G. Eccard, *Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi*, i. 1895–7 (*Io. Vitodurani Chronicon*), speaking of 'quidam frater Ordinis S. Francisci, oriundus de

1348, a detailed reference to and summary of what is evidently Brother John's first Peking letter, supposed by the chronicler to be the work of an (un-named) Franciscan of 'Lower Germany,' possibly the very Arnold of Cologne who joined the mission in 1303 or 1304. Lastly, in 1328[1] we may place the death[2] of that aged pioneer who first preached Roman Christianity in China and the Deccan, who was believed to have converted the 'Emperor of Emperors,' who was not only the first but also seemingly the last effective European bishop in the Peking of the Middle Ages.

After 1308, as we have noticed, the best account of the Chinese mission comes from Andrew of Perugia, Bishop of *Zayton*, who in January, 1326, as last survivor of the prelates sent out in 1307, writes to the warden of his old home, the Franciscan house in Perugia. The letter is dated from the great port-town of Fokien; it repeatedly refers to the writer's metropolitan, 'the archbishop,' who can hardly have been other than Monte Corvino; and it furnishes an interesting sketch of Latin missions in the Far East, as they existed at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War.

Andrew was now growing old; his hair was already grey; but his health was good, and he looked forward to years of work. He opens with an expression of doubt as to whether his letter would ever reach Perugia, across the immeasurable distances of land and sea that intervened. He next refers to his outward journey with Peregrine[3], that 'brother bishop of blessed memory'; their sufferings and perils on land and water; the robberies endured by them, even to the stealing of their clothes; and their final arrival in *Cambaliech*, the 'seat of the Great Khan'—as matters already known in Europe. He

partibus inferioris Alemaniae . . . profectus ad partes infidelium, ad evangelizandum . . . cuius epistolam . . . suo generali vicario de vicaria aquilonari legi, latam et diffusam,' &c.

[1] See the letter of the Alan princes, pp. 183–4 of this volume.

[2] At over eighty years of age.

[3] W., vii. 53, 'cum bonae memoriae fratre Peregrino co-episcopo et meae peregrinationis individuo comite.' From Andrew's language one would infer that Bishop Gerard travelled separately.

relates in another tone, as if giving fresh news, how Nicolas of Banthera (or Bantra)[1], Andrutius of Assisi, and another bishop had died on first entering *Lower* India[2], and how of all the bishops sent to Peking by Pope Clement, save only himself, not one survived. He even proceeds to tell the story of his life in the Flowery Land. After reaching the Imperial City—in 1308, as near as one could reckon[3]—and helping in the consecration of Corvino, he seems to have remained in Peking, working with his primate and his brother suffragans, and enjoying the *alafa* or stated grant for food and clothing from the Imperial Court. As to the wealth and splendour of this Court and its emperor, the size of his dominions, the multitude of his subjects, the number of his cities, the peace and order of his realm, Andrew protests he will attempt no description, for it would seem incredible[4].

About 1313, if not earlier, the staff of the mission seems to have been divided. A rich Armenian lady[5] had built a fine church for the Latin rite in 'a great city by the shore of the ocean sea, called *Cayton* in the Persian tongue'[6]; this church the archbishop raised to cathedral rank; and herein Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew appear to have fixed the seat of the new South China diocese. On Gerard's death the *Zayton* bishopric, declined by Andrew, was bestowed on Peregrine; our correspondent, it may be, regretted his refusal; for in 1318, not finding himself as comfortable in Peking as he desired[7], he made a *three weeks'*[8] journey from the capital and followed

[1] Otherwise Nicolas of Apulia. See above, p. 176.

[2] 'Terra crudelissima,' W., vii. 53. I presume some part of the South Asiatic shore-land is meant, preferably the Deccan, and that this throws some light on the route followed by the bishops.

[3] 'Ut credo pervenisse,' W., vii. 53.

[4] W., vii. 53.

[5] W., vii. 53; this 'dives domina Armena' recalls the Alan and other Christians who lived so contentedly under Mongol rule. See pp. 183-4, 294.

[6] 'Quae vocatur lingua Persica *Cayton*,' W., vii. 53.

[7] 'Ego qui in Cambaliech non eram consolatus ex aliquibus causis,' W., vii. 54. The punctuation in W., copied by Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica* (1741), part ii, p. 121—'eram, consolatus'—seems opposed to the obvious sense here.

[8] 'Hebdomadarum fere trium,' a rather short allowance, W., vii. 54. The number has been supposed corrupt, but it is not impossible. Andrew perhaps travelled post; he

Peregrine to *Zayton*. Here his first care was to erect a church and mission-station, splendid and commodious enough for his taste, with lodging for twenty-two friars, to say nothing of four special apartments fit for any prelate[1], in a grove a quarter-mile outside the city. Whatever he may have suffered while journeying from Europe to China, Andrew had surely made up his mind not to kill himself in the Far East, once he had got there. To complete his new buildings he devoted most of the imperial dole allowed him—no starveling pittance, but a matter of 100 golden florins a year (worth nearly £1,000 sterling in modern money), 'according to the estimate of the Genoese merchants[2].'

When John Marignolli left China at *Zayton* on his return to Europe, about 1346, the Fokien port contained a merchants' factory which had been established and was maintained by the Franciscan mission[3]. This factory, we may reasonably guess, belonged to the Genoese merchants of whom Andrew speaks in 1326: there are few things more remarkable in the history of commerce than to find an Italian trading-colony in a haven of the Formosa channel, only thirty years after the departure of the Polos, and two good centuries before the modern European discovery of China by the southern ocean routes.

It was in July, 1322, that Peregrine had died, on the day following the Octave of Peter and Paul[4]; again the archbishop nominated Andrew to the vacant see, and this time he did not refuse,—for good reasons, as he says. To his convent in the grove, replete with every elegance and comfort, and quite beyond any other in the province[5], he could now add the city residence; between these two he passed his time, and

tells us eight horsemen were allowed him by the emperor for his journey, W., vii. 54.

[1] 'Pro quocumque Praelato sufficiens,' W., vii. 54.

[2] 'Iuxta mercatorum Ianuensium aestimationem,' W., vii. 54.

[3] See p. 295 of this volume.

[4] July 7, 'in crastino Octavae Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,' W., vii. 54.

[5] 'Cui similem in eremitoriis in tota nostra provincia nullum scio quoad pulchritudinem et omnem amoenitatem,' W., vii. 54.

with such consolations the obstinate indifferentism of the surrounding heathen did not perhaps afflict him overmuch, For then, as now, the Chinese mind clung firmly to the view, 'or rather error,' that any man could be saved in his own sect[1]. Many of the idolaters[2], it was true, had been baptized, but of these converts a large number were not very satisfactory Christians, while Jews and Moslems resisted all efforts.

So Andrew reports from the shore of the China Sea in January, 1326; for other glimpses of the *Zayton* mission we are dependent on Friar Odoric and Marignolli[3] (whose mission-sketches we shall not try to separate from the rest of their work), on an allusion of John de Cora's[4], and on one meagre entry in the Franciscan annals[4]. But of Andrew himself we seem to catch yet another glimpse, after many years. For the writer of the letter of 1326 is possibly the same as that Andrew the Frank who in 1338 appears at the Papal Court as an envoy of the Great Khan and awakens so eloquent a response[5].

The best days, the brightest hopes, of the Chinese mission really closed with the life of its founder; but the Church at home,—when at last, in 1333, it received the tardy news of this irreparable loss,—showed no consciousness of failing energy. A certain Nicolas, a Franciscan like Corvino, was appointed to succeed him, and with twenty friars and six laymen set out for Cathay. But it is not known if he ever reached the Mongol capital or even penetrated to China proper. He was furnished with letters from Pope John XXII to the Great Khan[6], to *Socho* or *Sece*[7], to Uzbeg the Lord of

[1] 'Opinio, seu potius error, quod unusquisque in sua secta salvatur,' W., vii. 54.

[2] i.e. Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucianists.

[3] See pp. 272, 295-6 of this volume.

[4] Cf. pp. 209, 186 of this volume. We shall see how, by the time of Marignolli's visit (circa A.D. 1346) the two Franciscan establishments noticed by Andrew (writing 1326) and by Odoric (writing 1330 of an experience certainly prior to 1329) had grown to three.

[5] See p. 183.

[6] W., vii. 138-40, '. . . Magno Cam, Regi Tartarorum.'

[7] W., vii. 140-1, 'Socho de Chigista Regi Corum.'

Kipchak and Russia[1], to Leo the King of Armenia[2], and to the Armenian Patriarch—all dated from Avignon in the autumn of 1333. From these credentials we may conjecture that his route lay by sea to Lajazzo; by sea again from Lajazzo to some North Euxine port such as Tana or Sudak; by land to the Volga, Sarai, and the Court of Uzbeg; and finally by land to the residence of the Chagatai Khan, beyond which even conjecture fails us. What we really know (or think we know) of his journey is derived in great measure from a letter of Benedict XII, written in the midsummer of 1338, and addressed to *Chansi*, Lord of the Tartars of the *Middle Empire*[3], in other words to Jinkshai, Chagatai's twentieth successor in the Central Asian sub-kingdom, the *Medic Empire* of other passages[4] in this mission literature. Herein Benedict thanks *Chansi* for his kind reception of Nicolas[5], for the permission granted to preach, to repair ruined churches, to build fresh ones; he gives us some valuable suggestions for the history of the mission in Turkestan; but he takes Corvino's successor[6] no further towards China. Yet this letter, in which, as we shall see, there was something of gratitude for favours to come, had a very direct bearing on the Cathay mission, and is one of a series in which the same pontiff and the same year furnish valuable information about Chinese Christianity. For, a little earlier in 1338, an embassy from the Great Khan himself—probably Toghon Timur Ukhagatu, the last of the Mongols who ruled in Peking (1332–68), had appeared before Benedict; and with this embassy letters had arrived, not only from the Tartar

[1] W., vii. 141, 'Similiter scripsit ad reliquos omnes Tartarorum reges, necnon magnifico viro Usbech in Gazaria imperanti.'

[2] W., 143–4. This last is dated Oct. 31; those addressed to the Great Khan and *Socho*, Oct. 1, 1333.

[3] W., vii. 212, 'Magnifico Principi Chansi, Imperatori Tartarorum de Medio Imperio' (June 13, 1338).

[4] See pp. 186, 245–6 of this volume.

[5] 'Nicolaum archiepiscopum et dilectos filios fratres Ordinis Minorum, dudum ad partes illas per . . . Ioannem Papam XXII . . . transmissos,' W., vii. 212.

[6] See p. 236 of this volume, and Appendix, on the identity of this Nicolas with Monte Corvino's successor.

Emperor himself but also from certain Christian princes of the Alan nation who held office under him.

The words of the former were few but friendly[1]. His missive (of July, 1336) was dated from Peking; it was borne into *Francia*, beyond the seven seas, where the sun had his setting, by Andrew the Frank, with fifteen companions, envoys duly accredited to the Pope, the Lord of Christians, by the King of Kings, who ruled in the strength of Almighty God[2]. The Papal benediction, the Papal prayers, were dutifully implored; to the Papal notice the Alans, his Christian sons, were specially commended; and the Khan deigned to express his wish for the opening of diplomatic intercourse, and his desire for horses and other marvels of the sunset lands[3].

The epistle of the Alan princes was longer and less pleasant[4]. In it they hailed the Pope as their Holy Father and Lord, kissed his feet, implored his blessing, asked his prayers. They declared that for a long time past they had received instruction and guidance in the Catholic faith from Brother John, the Papal Legate, a man of saintly life and vigorous character[5]. He had now been dead eight years, and all this time the flock had been without guide or spiritual consolation; they had heard, indeed, that a successor had been appointed, but he had not yet arrived. Wherefore they besought his Holiness to send a Legate worthy to replace Corvino[6], and that quickly[6]. 'And as on your part (concludes the letter, with stinging directness), three or four persons have come[7] to the Emperor our Lord at divers times and

[1] W., vii. 209, 'Scripta in Cambalec in anno Rati, mense sexto, tertia die lunationis.'

[2] 'In fortitudine omnipotentis Dei Imperatoris Imperatorum praeceptum,' W., vii. 209.

[3] 'Adducant nobis ab occasu solis equos et alia mirabilia,' W., vii. 209. Examples of certain Western breeds are doubtless meant by 'equi' here: see what Marignolli says about the great *destrier* sent to the Khan (pp. 293–4 of this volume).

W., vii. 209.

[5] 'Valentem, sanctum, et sufficientem virum,' W., vii. 209.

[6] W., vii. 209, 'bonum, sufficientem, et sapientem legatum.'

[7] This perhaps refers to the prelates sent out in 1307 and 1312, and possibly implies other embassies of which there is no record.

been graciously received by him, and as the Emperor aforesaid has never had any reply from you,—although each and all of them promised that they would bring back replies from you to the Lord aforesaid,—Wherefore let your Holiness provide that on this occasion, and henceforth, he may have a sure reply and ambassador from you; for it is a great shame to Christians in these parts, when falsehood is found in them.' This appeal was signed by *Futim Iuens* (perhaps Yunus or Jonas the Futai) and a number of others, in whose names, corrupted into Gulliver-like monstrosities[1], we may probably recognize various Chinese and Turkish designations and titles, and whose real existence there does not seem any valid reason to question. Certainly no such doubt was now entertained by the Papal Court (Andrew the Frank doubtless giving satisfactory assurances); and in answer to the message of the Khan and the reproaches of the Alans, an extraordinary effort was now made.

The Tartar envoys were dismissed, in the July of 1338, with letters[2] full of the most cordial verbiage, addressed to

[1] W., vii. 209, 'Nos Futim Iuens, Caticen Tungii, Gemboga Evenzi, Ioannes Iukoy.' The Papal answer addresses 'dilectos filios Fodim Iovens, Chyansam Tongi, Chembogam Vensii, Ioannem Iochoy, Rubeum Pinzanum.' On these names see Appendix.

[2] See the letters (1) 'Magnifico Principi Imperatori Imperatorum omnium Tartarorum,' W., vii. 210–11; also in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 1338, §§ lxxv–vi (vol. vi, p. 150, edition of 1750); (2) 'Dilecto filio . . . Fodim Iovens Principi Alanorum,' W., vii. 211–12; (3) 'Dilectis filiis . . . Fodin Iovens, . . . Alanorum principibus ac aliis universis et singulis Christicolis in partibus Orientalibus,' Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.*, A.D. 1338, §§ lxxvii–ix (vi. 150–2); (4) 'Mag. Princ. Chansi,' . . . W., vii. 212, see above, p. 182, n. 3; (5) 'Dilectis filiis Carasmon et Iohanan . . . Chansi . . . familiaribus,' W., vii. 213; (6) 'Mag. Princ. Usbech . . .,' W., vii. 213; (7) 'Nicolao Boneti, Nicolao de Molano, Ioanni de Florentia, et Gregorio de Hungaria Ordinis Fratrum Minorum,' W., vii. 214–16; (8) 'Mag. Princ. Imperatori Imperatorum Omnium Tartarorum,' W., vii. 216–17; (9) 'Mag. Princ. Chansi Imperatori Tartarorum de Medio Imperio,' W., vii. 217; (10) 'Spectabili viro Tynybech, primogenito Magnifici Principis Usbech . . .,' W., vii. 218; (11) 'Eliae Hungaro Ordinis Fratrum Minorum,' W., vii. 218; (12) 'Dilecto filio . . . Fodim Iovens, Principi Alanorum fidelium,' W., vii. 219. Letters (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and apparently (6) are dated from Avignon, June 13, 1338; (7), (8), (9) from the same place, October 31, 1338; (10), (11), (12) also from Avignon, September 30, 1338.

the Grand Khan himself, to the Alan princes[1], to *Chansi*, to certain courtiers of *Chansi's*, and to Uzbeg; while four Franciscan envoys and a considerable company of less important missioners[2] were dispatched in the following December, with additional papers. These envoys—Nicolas Boneti[3], Nicolas of Molano, Gregory of Hungary, and John of Florence, otherwise John Marignolli—carried Papal briefs not only to the Mongol Emperor, the Khan of Chagatai, and *Fodim Iovens* (as well as to the other native Christian chiefs whose sharp words had so effectively stirred the Curia), but also to *Tynybech* or Tinibeg, Uzbeg's successor[4], and to Elias of Hungary, a Franciscan missionary, who appears to have gained a certain influence with the heir of the Kipchak state[5]. The history of this embassy, one of the most imposing undertakings of the Latin Church in missionary enterprise during the fourteenth century, and certainly one of the most interesting in the whole course of mediaeval religious travel, we shall examine in detail in connexion with John Marignolli, the leading figure of the company, who not only supplies us with some notes of the route followed and the work done, but also gives us a kind of essay in world-geography, evidently suggested by his travels[6]. Here it is enough to say that the mission, travelling by the northern overland route from Kaffa to Kulja, from Kulja to Kamul, from Kamul to Peking, reached *Cambaliech* in 1342, remained four years in China, and returned, like the Polos, by the southern waterway from *Zayton* to Ormuz, making a lengthy stay in Southern India, and finally reappearing at Avignon in 1353. We may add that the enterprise of 1338 throws no further light on the career of that Archbishop Nicolas whom we have traced

[1] On the Alans and their Christianity, see p. 294.

[2] On the number of these, as given by Marignolli himself and by John of Winterthur, see p. 291.

[3] On this legate's speedy return, see p. 292.

[4] On the Papal letters of 1338–40 to Uzbeg and Tinibeg, and the history of the Latin Missions in their reigns and countries, see pp. 239–41, 248–9.

[5] Two years later he came to the Papal Court as Tinibeg's ambassador, see p. 249.

[6] See pp. 288–309.

to Almalig and then lost; that no successor to Corvino, no Latin metropolitan, appears as resident in any part of Cathay during the visit of John of Florence and his companions; and that we have next to no information on the history of the Chinese mission after Marignolli's departure. In 1362 one James of Florence, 'Archbishop of Zayton,' with Friar William of Campania and two other Minorites, suffers martyrdom in Central Asia—in the *Empire of the Medes*[1] or Chagatai Khanate—possibly on his way to the Fokien see: eight years after this catastrophe, a last effort is made by Rome, with no small blowing of trumpets, to repeat the enterprise of 1338. A certain Cosmas is translated from the Far Eastern field, which there is no evidence of his ever having entered, to Sarai; William of Prato, a distinguished Franciscan theologian of Paris, is appointed in his place, as Archbishop of *Cambaliech* and Vicar of Cathay; twelve[2] Minor friars are chosen to accompany the new prelate into 'Tartary'; and letters[3] are addressed by Urban V both to the Grand Khan and to the Princes and People of the Tartars (March 26, 1370). But nothing more is heard of William and his comrades[4]. The expedition was too late; the eloquence of Urban was wasted. For the Chinese national reaction had already set in; the Mongol dynasty had just been expelled by the anti-foreign revolution of 1368–70[5];

[1] W., viii. 154: 'occisi sunt a Sarracenis in Medorum Imperio, et alii duo eiusdem Instituti in odium nominis Romani interempti sunt ab haereticis Nestorianis.'

[2] In another account, sixteen.

[3] W., viii. 221–7; Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.*, A. D. 1370 §§ ix-xii (vii. 184–6): see the letters (1) 'Guillelmo Archiepiscopo Cambalien.,' W., viii. 222; (2) to the same, five days later, W., viii. 223; (3) 'Magno Camo Regi Tartarorum,' W., viii. 223–4; (4) 'Principibus Universis ... Tartarorum,' W., viii. 225; (5) 'Universo populo Tartarorum,' W., viii. 225–7. (1), (3), (4), and (5) are dated March 26, 1370, (2) is of March 31; all are from Rome, 'apud S. Petrum.'

[4] Nor of the enterprise of Franciscus de Podio, surnamed Catalanus, sent to 'Tartaria aquilonaris' as Apostolic Legate in 1371, with twelve comrades, W., viii. 238–9.

[5] Though dated by the Franciscan Annals about 1340, it is perhaps to this time that we may assign the translation of the relics of a Mongol prince, said to be the Great Khan converted by Corvino, circa A. D. 1310, from China to Sarai, noticed above, p. 177; the body of this Khan's

and with this revolution ended for many a day the toleration of 'profane and foreign novelties' in the Celestial land, and the alleged corruption of its institutes by 'strangers of ill-regulated morals.'

So much for the first Roman enterprise on the Pacific side of Asia. We will next attempt to gain some idea of the contemporary undertakings of the Latin Church in Persia and South-Western Asia, in India, in Central Asia and in those East-Russian lands which were then not a whit less Asiatic than Fergana or the Soghd of Samarcand—illustrating each of these by at least one traveller of importance: for the first, Ricold of Monte Croce; for the second, Jordanus of Séverac; for the third, Pascal of Vittoria—and concluding this survey of missionary exploration with the more universal explorations and more encyclopaedic writings of Odoric of Pordenone and John Marignolli.

§ 2. *Ricold of Monte Croce, John de Cora, and the Missions in South-Western Asia.*

It is difficult to fix the commencement of Latin mission-travel in South-Western Asia, for spiritual enterprise accompanies military activity from the very beginning of the Crusading Age. Even in the Persian, Mesopotamian, and South Caucasian lands which more properly concern us here, the religious exploration of the Western Church shows a certain activity in a time considerably anterior to that now before us. The Dominicans begin work in Tiflis about 1240[1]; in 1249 the friar-diplomat Andrew of Longumeau seems to have passed

brother, Cathogonti, a generous benefactor of the Minorites, was also brought to Sarai and interred there, W., vi. 176.

[1] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* [hereafter quoted as R.], A. D. 1240, § xliii. The name of eight Dominican missionaries sent by Gregory IX to Georgia in this year are given ('dilectos filios fratres Huguicionem, Jacobum, Beneventum, Rubinum, Petrum, Bernardum, Lambertum, et Guizardum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum').

through the Georgian capital, and probably through Tabriz, on his way round the South Caspian littoral to the Mongol Courts in Higher Asia[1]; in 1255 William of Rubrouck meets with Bernard of Catalonia and five other members of the Order of Preachers at the Armenian towns of Nakhichevan and Ani; in a most interesting passage he tells us of Bernard's travels to Tabriz and Tiflis, and of the Jacobin community already founded in the latter city[1].

But it is with the Tartar conquest of Baghdad, with the overthrow of the Caliphate, and with the establishment of the Ilkhans in Persia and Irak, that the Western Church first seriously grapples with the Iranian enterprise. In 1260 we find the Pope corresponding with *Haolonus* or *Olao*, Polo's *Alau*, our Hulagu, through the medium of a certain John of Hungary, whom the conqueror of the Abbasides had employed on this embassy[2]. Hulagu's aim may have been merely political—to gain an alliance against the Moslem states of the Levant[3]; and we have no reason to suppose that he seriously meditated the baptism which he professed to desire so anxiously, but it is beyond question that he treated Christians with favour, that the Nestorians acquired a firm footing at his court, and that both his mother and one of his wives were allowed to profess Christianity, to shower benefits on 'Nazarenes,' and to worry 'Saracens[4].' Under *Olao's* successor, Abagha, the same policy was continued; and in 1267, 1274, and 1277, letters and envoys from the second of the Ilkhans arrived at the Papal Court, winning replies of extreme graciousness from Clement IV, Gregory X, and Nicolas III[5]. It is while answer-

[1] Cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 318, 372-3.

[2] R., A.D. 1260, §§ xxix-xxxii ('Olaoni regi Tartarorum'). If rightly assigned to 1260, this letter must have been from Alexander IV (1254-61), but as Raynaldus notes, it is without signature or date, 'nullo pontificis inscriptae titulo.'

[3] The beginnings of an alliance of this sort were concluded (suggests Wadding, iv. 395-6; v. 35) between Abagha, the next of the Ilkhans, and the Christian princes, headed by the Pope, at the Council of Lyons, in 1274.

[4] See Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, part i, p. 61.

[5] Cf. R., A.D. 1267, §§ lxx, lxxi; 1274, §§ xxii, xxiii; 1278, §§ xvii, xviii;

ing the Persian monarch that the last-named pontiff seizes the opportunity to dispatch Gerard de Prato and his colleagues on the embassy of 1278, and to address to the Mongol Suzerain those hasty congratulations on a legendary conversion which have been already noticed [1].

Under Abagha's successor, Nikudar Ahmad (1281–4), Mohammedan influence becomes paramount, and Christian proselytizing work is threatened with extinction; but with Arghun (1284–91) the sky brightens once more, and Catholic hopes of the 'Levant Tartars' are never higher than in the reign of the fourth Ilkhan. It is under this sovereign that John of Monte Corvino labours in Persia; it is from Arghun's kingdom that he returns to Rome in 1289 with such brilliant reports of past success and future promise [2].

Argon had already sent envoys to Rome in 1285, with letters to Honorius IV [3]; his next embassy of 1288, headed by Rabban Bar Sauma, the 'Roban Bersauma' or 'Barsamma' of the Papal Chancery, the 'Bishop Bersaumas' of the Latin annalists [4], has a distinct place in the history of exploration,

W., iv. 416–17; v. 36–8. The first letter, from Viterbo, and addressed 'principi Tartarorum Elchani Apucha,' has no precise date (merely 'Viterbii, Anno iii,' i.e. of Clement IV, 1267); the second ('Abaghae,' &c.) is from Lyons, March 13, 1274–5; the third is from Rome 'apud S. Petrum,' April 1, 1278, and enumerates, not only Gerard de Prato and the other Papal envoys, but John and James Vassalli or Vasalli, the ambassadors of Abagha: according to the Pope, Abagha had asked for 'viri apostolici' to be sent both to himself and to the Grand Khan.

[1] See pp. 161–2.

[2] See p. 163. Was Corvino's departure from Persia caused by Arghun's death, with which it appears to synchronize?

[3] R., A.D. 1285, § lxxix. This letter, in marvellous barbaric Latin, names Arghun's envoys, Ise Turciman, Bogagoc, Mengilic, Thomas Banchrui, Ugeto Turciman. It is dated 'Anno de Gallo de luna Madii die xviii in Coris' [Toris, Tabriz?].

[4] e. g. R., A.D. 1289, § lxi; W., v. 196, 169. This embassy produces a sheaf of Papal letters, in April, 1288,—two addressed to Arghun, one to 'Tuctani reginae Tartarorum,' one to Dionysius, Bishop of Tabriz, one to 'Sabadino Archaon,' the chief layman among Arghun's envoys; all are dated from St. Peter's, Rome, the first three are of April 2, the fourth of April 7, the last of April 13. Dionysius of Tabriz is not a Latin bishop (see p. 163), but had apparently recognized Papal claims to some extent. Cf. moreover R., A. D. 1288, §§ xxxv, xxxvi; W., v. 170–3 (see Appendix to this volume); the mission is also referred to in the

being of almost unique interest as an Oriental mission in the West which not merely came and went, but noted and described. How curious their description is, with what strange Asiatic eyes they looked upon the Western world, we shall see in another place[1]. We have now to make acquaintance with a new and remarkable figure from that Western world, a Dominican traveller, missionary, theologian, and controversialist, who has left us some of the most curious works in mediaeval literature, and whose Eastern journeys begin within a year or two of Arghun's accession.

Ricold of Monte Croce we shall meet with elsewhere as a pilgrim-traveller in Palestine[2]; here we are concerned with his far more important wanderings, labours, and studies in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. In two works, an *Itinerary* and *Letters*, Ricold has embodied this part of his life-story. Of these the former, like the still more celebrated *Confutatio Alcorani*, has long been known; on the other hand, his *Epistolae ad Ecclesiam triumphantem* were first published twenty years ago[3].

Despite their name, these *Letters* are not part of any correspondence, save with an unseen world; sometimes they are merely reflections, sometimes petitions or prayers—the passionate lamentations of a new Jeremiah, at times only saved from bathos by the reality and depth of their devotion —the confessions of a baffled apostle, labouring hopelessly among races which were rejecting the last traces of Christian rule and influence.

briefs of the next year (1289), commissioning Monte Corvino; see p. 163.

[1] See ch. vii of this volume.

[2] See ch. iii.

[3] In the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. II, part ii ('Documents'), pp. 258–96, ed. R. Röhricht, 1884; the *Itinerarius* (*sic*) is on pp. 105–41 of *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig, 1864 (the other texts in this volume are Burchard of Mount Sion, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, and the pseudo-Odoric *De Terra Sancta*). Ricold's *Libellus contra Nationes Orientales* and his work *Contra Errores Iudaeorum* have never been printed at all. On the *Confutatio Alcorani*, and the complete anticipation of its principal points in the *Itinerary*, see Appendix. The *Epistolae* are from the Vatican MS. No. 3717, fols. 249 A–267 A; the *Itinerarius* from the Wolfenbüttel MS. No. 40, Weiss., fols. 73 B–94 B.

No indications of date and place occur in the *Letters*, save for the endorsement, *Written in the East*[1]; but from internal evidence we may surmise that they were composed in Baghdad, between 1295 and 1300. The *Itinerary* was probably written out, from notes kept during his journeys, soon after his return to Europe in 1301[2].

Ricold was born at Monte Croce, near Florence, in 1242; in 1267, at the age of twenty-five, he entered the Dominican House of Santa Maria Novella, in the Tuscan capital; in 1272 he passed, as a Master of Arts, into the Convent of St. Catherine at Pisa, and became an ardent and prominent Thomist. In 1301, after many years of travel in the East, he appeared again at Florence, and some time after prepared to submit his *Confutatio Alcorani* to the Pope. In this resolution, however, he did not persevere. He lived to extreme old age, dying only on October 31, 1320, when nearly eighty[3].

It was in 1288 or 1289, when forty-six or forty-seven years of age, and a Friar Preacher of twenty-one or twenty-two years' standing, that he began to keep a journal of his travels and mission-work in the Levant[4]. With this diary he persisted, as he tells us, till his arrival in Baghdad (where he remained several years, studying with fervid controversial passion the chief theological writings of Islam, and where he first learnt the details of the fall of Acre, and the final ruin of the Crusading dominion in Syria); from this notebook he probably drew the facts recorded in his *Itinerary* and *Letters*, and some of the material of his *Confutation*. In his *Letters* and *Itinerary* alike, he claims to have asked and obtained

[1] 'Data' or 'Scripta in Oriente,' at end of all the Five Letters; see fols. 253 A, 255 B, 262 B, 265 B, 267 A.

[2] Röhricht inclines to an earlier date, 'vers la fin de l'année 1300,' *Archives de l'O. L.*, II. ii. 263.

[3] See Fineschi, *Memorie istoriche degli uomini illustri del convento S. Maria Novella di Firenze* (1790), pp. 303-40, and especially pp. 325, 333-40; Röhricht, *Archives de l'O. L.*, II. ii. 259. The date of 1309 given by Quétif and Echard (*Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, i. 504 B) for Ricold's death, is a mistake.

[4] See Röhricht, *Archives de l'O. L.*, II. ii. 263.

a commission from the Pope to preach to the Orientals[1], and it was to carry out this commission that he took ship for Acre in 1286 or 1287.

His Palestine wanderings (which will be noticed in the Pilgrim section of this volume) were apparently the first chapter in his Oriental journeys; but they were only the preface to much more extensive and interesting travels; and it is with Ricold as the Christian pioneer in the ancient capital of Islam, as the zealot labouring to confute the Koran in Baghdad itself, or preaching the doctrine of the Cross along the great trade-routes of south-western Asia, that we have now to deal.

As to the 'long and laborious peregrinations' undertaken by him, before joining the Dominicans, in search of worldly or so-called liberal knowledge (as he tells us, with a touch of scorn, in the preface to his *Itinerary*)[2], Ricold's words can hardly refer to any very distant explorations. His life as a secular ended at twenty-five; his wanderings in pursuit of secular learning were probably confined to the roads from one European School or University to another.

Entering Syria at Acre, he left it at Tortosa, where he took ship for Lajazzo[3], and started on the high-road to Tabriz; on this route, after crossing Little Armenia and the Taurus, he passed into *Turkey* or the mainland of Asia Minor, north and west of Taurus, where he soon encountered the brutish race of the Turcomans[4]. These Ricold dismisses briefly as mole-like horrors, who lived underground and were a terror to the Greeks; the still more famous and revolting people of

[1] *Letter* i, fol. 251 A; *Itinerary*, p. 105, *Per. Quat.*

[2] 'Quas longas et laboriosas peregrinaciones assumpseram adhuc secularis existens, ut addiscerem illas seculares scientias, quas liberales appellant,' *Itinerary*, p. 105, *Per. Quat.*

[3] 'Laiacium,' *Itinerary*, p. 113, *Per. Quat.* 'Et ivimus,' continues the *Itinerary*, 'ducenta miliaria in Armestriam': here was born Theodore [of Mopsuestia], that great heretic who defiled the whole Gospel with his Exposition, ibid., 113–14. Virulent books of this sort Ricold found all over the East among the Nestorians, for Nestorius was Theodore's accomplice ('eius complex'), ibid., 114.

[4] 'Thurchimannos, homines bestiales,' *Itinerary*, p. 114, *Per. Quat.*

the Tartars, situated 'below Turkey[1],' are more lengthily and faithfully described by our Dominican.

Their great, broad faces, little eyes, and small beards—making altogether, in Ricold's eyes, a visage like that of an old withered monkey; their ingratitude, insolence, and arrogance to others; their punctilious requirement of marks of respect and reverence to themselves; their hatred of fixed dwellings; their high estimation of drunkenness and cleverness in theft; their abhorrence of lies; their simple nature-worship; their aversion to royal blood-shedding; the honour paid by them to their women; the strange female head-dress of the *bogtak*; the immense influence, domineering character, stern virtue, and military prowess of their Amazons; their curious and cruel burial customs, based on the belief in a 'fatuous' resurrection to a life like the present; the power of their priests or soothsayers; their conception of one supreme God and countless inferior deities; their belief in the vast age of the world; their pretence of blood-brotherhood with Christians; their total ignorance of the Christian faith and language[2]—in all these characteristics of the Nomades Ricold shows himself at home—on most points well abreast of the knowledge gained by the best of earlier observers, by Carpini, Rubruquis, King Hayton, or Marco Polo.

But when he comes to tell us how this bestial and godless people was called by God from the ends of the earth to afflict mankind, his manner becomes wholly fabulous.

Many, he found, thought them the lost Ten Tribes, shut up by Alexander within the unscaleable mountains; certain it was they could not with patience hear[3] the name of the Macedonian conqueror.

According to other authorities they were the races enclosed by God within the Caspian Hills[4], or else the children of Gog

[1] 'Intrantes autem infra Thurchiam invenimus . . . gentem Tartarorum,' *Itinerary*, p. 114, *Per. Quat.*

[2] *Itinerary*, pp. 114–17, *Per. Quat.*

[3] 'Alexandrum summe odiunt et nomen eius non possunt pacifice audire,' *Itinerary*, p. 115, *Per. Quat.*

[4] 'Ut legitur in *Historia Scholastica*,' *Itinerary*, p. 118, *Per. Quat.*

and Magog and of the Jewish captives imprisoned with those monsters[1]. Their own traditions made nothing of a Jewish connexion, everything of Gog-Magog; their name of *Mogoli* or Mongols was a corruption of *Magogoli*[2]. Guided by an owl and a hare, a Tartar huntsman at last found his way beyond the mountain prison-walls of his race; *he* showed the path of escape to his countrymen; and wonderful was the honour they still paid to owls, whose feathers they wore in memory of the great deliverance.

It was *Camiuscan*[3] or Chingiz Khan who first inspired these Tartars with the notion of world-conquest. How he impressed upon his people the prime necessity of obedience and concord by the object-lesson of arrows in bundles, impossible to break, and of single arrows, easily snapped; how he overran Cathay, that 'most extensive province adjoining Furthest India[4]'; how he killed Prester John and seized his empire; how his hosts crossed the *Gyon or Phison*[5], that river of Paradise; how they destroyed *Corazmium* (the Empire of the Kharezm Shah); how they conquered the Medes and the Persians; how they stormed *Baldacum* or Baghdad, and slew the Caliph[6]; how they occupied *Turkey* and the lands from the Sea of India to the Mediterranean 'as far as Gaza'[7]; how they took Jerusalem and *gave it to the Christians*; how they once spared none but the worshippers of the Cross;

[1] So said Methodius, *Itinerary*, pp. 118–19, *Per. Quat.*

[2] 'Mogoli, quasi corrupto vocabulo Magogoli,' *Itinerary*, p. 118, *Per. Quat.*

[3] *Itinerary*, p. 119, *Per. Quat.* This is perhaps the nearest form to Chaucer's *Cambuscan*; Laurent prints *Camiustan*, but Ricold presumably wrote *-can*; *c* and *t* are constantly indistinguishable in MSS. of this date.

[4] 'Provinciam latissimam usque ad ultimam Indiam,' *Itinerary*, p. 120, *Per. Quat.*

[5] This identification is to be found in many other places, e. g. in the pilgrim-narrative of Burchard of Mount Sion: see ch. iii.

[6] Ricold (almost repeating M. Polo) gives the story of the Caliph being first starved, offered only gold and silver for food, with taunts for his senseless hoarding, and finally compelled to drink molten gold, *Itinerary*, pp. 120–1, *Per. Quat.*

[7] 'A mari Indiae usque ad mare mediterraneum usque Gazam,' *Itinerary*, p. 120, *Per. Quat.*

how this virtuous prejudice had evaporated before the seductions of Islam[1]; how their conquests had been often made by sheer terror with the aid only of sticks, a few bows and arrows, and little horses like goats; all this Ricold tells us[2] with a fine confusion of the historical and the mythical. To such a pitch of arrogance had they come, adds the Dominican, echoing almost the exact words of Carpini, that now they thought themselves the only true lords of the world, for whose sake this earth had been created[3]; and pretended to believe that the very fowls of the air announced their glories to strangers. It is with a suspicion of humour that our friar relates how a ready Frank disarmed the wrath of the Khan, confounded at his appearance before the imperial presence without a gift: 'Did not the birds tell you what you should do?' 'Perhaps they did, but I did not know their language[4].'

Ricold's view of the Tartars was possibly coloured by an incident recorded only in his *Letters*. When he was leaving *Babilonia* (apparently the region of Baghdad, not that of Cairo, is here intended) some servants of *Machomet*, slaves of the Devil, dressed as Tartars, fell in with him in the desert and tried to convert him, first by arguments, then by blows. Stripped of his habit, and disguised as a camel-driver, the preacher had to pursue his journey without any sign of his sacred calling, rejoicing only that, in his person at least, *Machomet's* prophecy was falsified—that all the world must be Islamised[5].

So much for these scourges of the Orient. Ricold now returns to his journey, whose course, in this stage, is usefully

[1] *Itinerary*, p. 120, *Per. Quat.*, contrasted with p. 121.

[2] *Itinerary*, pp. 119–21, *Per. Quat.*

[3] 'Dicunt ... se esse veros dominos mundi. Dicunt quod Deus fecit mundum solum propter eos ... quod aves coeli nuntiant hominibus quod ipsi sunt domini mundi,' &c. *Itinerary*, pp. 114–15, *Per. Quat.*

[4] 'Sed et aves celi non dixerunt tibi, quando intrasti provinciam? ... Potest esse ... sed non intellexi linguam,' *Itinerary*, p. 115, *Per. Quat.*

[5] On this encounter with the 'servi dyaboli, ministri Machometi, habitu Tartari, sed ritu Sarraceni,' see *Letter* III, fols. 251 A, 260 A.

supplemented by his second *Letter to the Church Triumphant*. For, herein, with many a groan, he tells how in Sebaste of Cappadocia, 'a city of Turkey,' some time after the fall of Tripoli (April 27, 1289), he witnessed a fresh outrage upon his faith—a crucifix tied to a horse's tail and dragged through the streets[1]. Siwas was a principal station on the Lajazzo-Tabriz high-road, and in default of any definite allusion we should yet naturally infer that he passed through this city on his way from Cilicia to the bitter cold of the Armenian Highland, the frozen beauty of Erzerum[2], and the awful grandeur of the mountain of the Ark of Noah 'over against the borders of *Turkey*[3].'

In this sacred neighbourhood, it is pleasant to find our good friar noticing a natural marvel which has been hidden from the less observant modern, namely, the *eastward* course of all streams from this point, and their arrival in the *Sea of India*. To a theologian, the value of this fact was great. For it showed how grievously the Indians lied in their pretension that the Flood reached them not[4].

From Ararat (which he only saw at a distance)[5] Ricold's way led him, through a country whose salt-mountains and oil-wells[6] he celebrates, on to Tabriz, where he made a stay of several months[7], preaching in Arabic through Turcomanland[8], and noting with indignation how the fine church of

[1] *Letter* II, fol. 254 A, B.

[2] 'Arcirum . . . civitatem pulchram . . . Ibi est tantum frigus, quod invenimus . . . multitudinem hominum truncatorum; ab aliquo ceciderat nasus,' &c.. *Itinerary*, p. 122, *Per. Quat.*

[3] 'Contra fines Thurchie,' ibid.

[4] 'Omnia flumina a monte illo descendebant versus partes orientales et intrabant mare indicum . . . expresse argumentum contra Indos . . .,' ibid.

[5] 'A remotis,' ibid.

[6] 'Montes et alpes salis . . . fontes olei, maxime in Mogano' (ibid.), i.e. in the Moghan plain-country, south-west of the Caspian, in the Lower Aras basin; Ricold may also be thinking of the Baku petroleum region. On the 'asinus silvestris Indiae' he saw at Tabriz, identified by some with the onager, and remarkable for its 'distinctio,' 'varietas colorum,' and 'proporcio tactabriature,' and on the wound-healing stones in 'Delatacta' plain near Tabriz (*Itinerary*, pp. 122, 123, *Per. Quat.*), see also Appendix to this volume.

[7] 'Per medium annum,' *Itinerary*, p. 123, *Per. Quat.*

[8] 'Praedicavimus eis per Thurcimannum in lingua Arabica,' *Itinerary*,

St. John in the 'metropolis of Persia' had been turned into a Koran-school[1].

But his work in and around Tabriz did not satisfy him. He longed to confute the Mystery of Iniquity in its very capital; and within a year of his arrival *in Tauricio*, possibly at the very time that Monte Corvino left for India, and certainly at a moment not far removed from the death of Arghun[2], he set out for Baghdad, so long the head-centre of Antichrist, and the chosen seat of Saracen power, faith, and learning.

But no sooner had he begun to move south than he came upon the monstrous and rabid people of the Kurds, exceeding in malice and ferocity all barbarians he had met, a race of naked, long-haired, dishevelled brigands, living in hills and rocky places like goats[3], and so savage that the Tartars, conquerors of all other Eastern peoples, could not conquer them.

Nor was this the only difficulty. But for the humanity of certain Saracens in these regions, who rescued some of Ricold's party from the snow, warmed and fed them, and sent them on their way, nature would have proved even more hostile than man. It was marvellous, reflects the friar, to find such kindness among a people of renegades[4], thieves, and murderers, to whom treachery was second nature, and who delighted in the butchery of Christian monks and friars[5].

p. 123, *Per. Quat.* It is reasonable to suppose Tabriz was his centre during this preaching tour.

[1] *Letter* II, fol. 254 B.

[2] March 7, 1291. Ricold may have stayed in Tabriz long enough to see the English envoys sent to the Khan of Persia in 1292 (*Public Record Office*; *Exchequer, Treasury of Receipts, Miscellanea No. 49*: printed in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, vol. XIII (1877–84), fasc. iii, pp. 591–643. Corvino must have left before Edward's ambassadors arrived. See ch. v of this volume.

[3] 'Monstruosam et rabiosam gentem Curtorum; ... Habitant in montibus et praeruptis locis, sicut caprae silvestres,' ... quasi nudi et discrinati (*sic*) *Itinerary*, p. 123, *Per. Quat.*

[4] They had been first 'Chaldei,' next Christians, thirdly Saracens, 'propter largam legem.' Ricold, however, seems to have found their 'mel silvestre' and 'manna coeli' very refreshing. *Itinerary*, p. 123, *Per. Quat.*

[5] 'In quorum occisione maxime

And so, after a weary march, Ricold arrives at Nineveh on the banks of Tigris—that 'river of Paradise': Jonah's Nineveh, 'now called *Mousal*[1]' (or *Mosul*), he apparently distinguishes from the Nineveh of his own sojourn, where[2] he seems to have heard the first definite news of the fall of Acre, and met with some Christian books, a missal and a copy of the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory the Great, relics of that great catastrophe. The *Moralia* he purchased[3]; the leaves of the missal, he mournfully declares, were destined by its Saracen possessors to serve instead of skin for drums and tambours[4]. Yet the king of this city was a Nestorian Christian, who willingly allowed Ricold to preach to his heart's content, though he did not permit himself to be in the least troubled by any demonstrations of his heresy, or by the friar's verbal triumphs over the local Jews[5]. Nor was any more evident change wrought by Ricold's controversial victory over the Jacobite[6] heretics, although their Patriarch had his chief seat in the immediate neighbourhood of Nineveh, at the famous monastery of St. Matthew on the Tigris[7].

From Nineveh, Ricold and his friends descend the river to Baghdad[8], a journey of more than 200 miles, all accomplished with the local raft-boat, supported on bladders[9]. On the way he notices *Techerit* or *Tekrit*—a great city of Maronites and Jacobites[10]—and certain vast ruins, 'like those of another Rome,' which he took to be the remains of ancient Babylon[11],

incrassantur . . . In eis maxime vigent tria peccata . . . homicidium, latrocinium, et prodicio,' ibid.

[1] The text of the *Itinerary*, p. 124, *Per. Quat.*, reads *Monsal*, but Ricold probably wrote *Mou-*.

[2] Perhaps not in, but near, this 'Nynive, civitas grandis'; see *Letter* III, fol. 258 A, B.

[3] *Letter* III, fol. 258 A.

[4] *Letter* III, fol. 258 B.

[5] *Itinerary*, p. 124, *Per. Quat.*

[6] 'Iacobi*n*orum' in the text of the *Itinerary*, p. 124, *Per. Quat.* Ricold adds a lengthy account of the Jacobite doctrine, worship, and practice, *Itinerary*, pp. 124–6, *Per. Quat.*

[7] *Itinerary*, p. 124, *Per. Quat.*

[8] 'Baldac,' 'Baldacum,' *Itinerary*, pp. 126, 127, *Per. Quat.*; 'Baldactum,' *Letter* II, fol. 255 A.

[9] 'Super utres continue,' *Itinerary*, p. 126, *Per. Quat.*

[10] 'Iacobini qui nos receperunt fere ut angelos Dei,' ibid.

[11] Like others, Ricold identifies Babylon and Baghdad ('antiqua Baldac sive Babilonia'), and here (i. e. at Eski-Baghdad) he places a colony of Saracens who followed *Ahali filius*

but which probably answered to Eski-Baghdad above Samarra.

As to the Moslem *Abode of Peace*, believed to be the ancient *Susis*, that 'marvellous and delightful place' which had once been the seat of the *Califa* [1], and was still the capital of the Nestorian heretics, though now subject to the Tartars, Ricold finds here the goal of his wanderings, the textbook from which, for years to come, he was to study the Islamic world. 'Marvellous and delightful' as it was to visit, the missionary found it, in time, wearisome enough to live in. Thus in his *Letters* [2], which are written on the spot, and preserve the true impressions of a diary, without the softening effect of time and change, he pictures himself as wretched and solitary in the infidel metropolis, disappointed in all his hopes of aid (or even of news) from Europe, and daily confronted by fresh proofs of the appalling overthrow of Christian power in Syria. Thus while for years cut off from all communication with Christendom and with his Order, he was kept constantly supplied with details of all that was most harrowing to his soul. In Baghdad itself he first heard the frightful tale of the massacre of the Acre Dominicans from a nun who had witnessed the butchery; along the whole of his route, especially from Tabriz, he met with Christian prisoners reduced to slavery,—with Christian service-books and sacred ornaments of every kind, and even with blood-stained garments of slaughtered Christians, put up for sale in Musulman bazaars [3].

Such is the gloomy tale of Ricold's *Epistles*. But in the *Itinerary* Baghdad appears under a far more cheerful aspect. On his arrival the Florentine brother had been welcomed, it

Haah, the twelfth Imam (cf. pp. 126–7 *Per. Quat.*; *Letter* II, fol. 255 A).

[1] 'Quod interpretatur successor Machometi,' *Itinerary*, p. 127, *Per. Quat.*

[2] And especially in the first, the 'Epistola admirantis animae ad Deum verum et vivum, qui gubernat mundum, et de blasfemiis Alcorani,' fols. 249 A–253 A.

[3] See *Letters* II, III, IV, fols. 253 A, B, 256 B, 257 B, 263 A, B–265 B.

would appear, by other Dominican missionaries[1], and with their aid he had so utterly confounded the Nestorian Patriarch[2], in the midst of all his pomp, that he had renounced his heresy, and given permission to the Latin preachers to deliver their message freely. Even though a reaction had quickly followed, and the Baghdad Nestorians, expelling the Latin missionaries from their church, had washed the sacred edifice with rose-water, to purify it from Roman contamination[3], Ricold yet seems conscious of a measure of success achieved. It is noteworthy that in spite of this unpleasantness, and in spite of all his orthodox loathing for the *followers of Theodore*[4] of Mopsuestia, the Italian preacher describes their church-system and private life with so much fairness and understanding—quite as great, in fact, as could be reasonably expected of a Papal emissary. Yet, while praising their abstinence and devotion, their long prayers and fasts, his criticisms far outweigh his commendations; and in his summing-up he declares that as a whole they offered a standing defiance to the Saviour's law—'*Narrow* is the way that leadeth unto life[5].'

[1] *Itinerary*, p. 127, *Per. Quat.*, 'ibi occurrerunt nobis fratres nostri ordinis extra civitatem.'

[2] The Wolfenbüttel MS. reads '*Iafelie*—quod interpretatur universalis,' *Itinerary*, p. 130, *Per. Quat.* *Iaselic*, a more usual MS. form, is perhaps not so close to the original *Catholic* as the reading here with f. See pp. 55, 56, and Appendix. He compares this Patriarch (using a traditional analogy, often employed; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 356) to Iarchas, the Pontiff of Indian Gymnosophists, in St. Jerome's letters ('Dum sederet ipse patriarcha in Ioserchiarcha in sua sede deaurata et ad pedes eius episcopi,' ibid.).

[3] *Itinerary*, p. 130, *Per. Quat.*

[4] 'Nestorini heretici sequentes et Theodorum,' *Itinerary*, p. 127, *Per. Quat.* Theodore, Ricold conceives as the 'Magister Nestorii' (p. 129), Nestorius being only the 'complex' or ally of Theodore.

[5] *Itinerary*, pp. 127-31, *Per. Quat.* Among Ricold's charges are the following: (1) In a city called *Harbe* he found 'quod ipsi circumcidebant non solum parvulos, sed etiam mulieres' (p. 129); (2) 'Dicunt, quod sufficiat Christiano si faciat sibi signum crucis super faciem et oret ad Orientem et comedat carnes porcinas' [i.e. to show he was not a Moslem] (ibid.); (3) Except in Lent 'ebrietatem non reputant peccatum, sed honorificum quid'; (4) 'Mendacium quasi nichil reputant' (p. 130). Nevertheless he recognizes their 'magnae abstinentiae,' and admits 'multum orant et . . . ieiunant.'

Turning now to Moslem Baghdad, Ricold declares that although most of the city had been destroyed, the Caliphate ended, and the whole region placed under Tartar rule, there was yet a vast Saracen population—more than 200,000 [1], as he was credibly informed—for the town had not ceased to be a centre of Mohammedan faith and learning. How from a law of such perfidy, the followers of *Machomet* could bring forth works of such perfection, amazed our Dominican. Such earnest study, such devout meditation, such plain living and high thinking, such instancy in prayer, such scrupulous cleanliness in worship, such reverence for the name of God and for all holy things, such lavish almsgiving, such kindness to the lower orders of the Divine creation, such gravity of demeanour, such hospitality and courtesy to strangers, such concord and love among themselves, such absence of all outward sign of vanity or anger, such freedom from vulgar excitement—were not these fruits of righteousness, worthy to be imitated by Christians [2]?

Especially generous were the Arabs, noblest of Saracens; it was from Arab camel-drivers in the desert 'of Arabia and Persia' that Ricold learnt (during a journey of fourteen weeks) to respect the devotion of 'a Mohammedan addressing his Creator,—just as from the schools and charitable bequests of Baghdad, from the *Megirede* [3] or Musulman monasteries, and from the Hanifite doctors [4], he understood how many other virtues could be found among the followers of the Beast [5].

Also 'Religiosi . . . episcopi . . . in perpetuum non comedunt carnes; in habitu magnam . . . austeritatem et humilitatem ostendunt' (pp. 129–30). Among Nestorian miracle-stories, he instances 'quod . . . *Iaselic* . . . in ictu oculi ivit de Baldaco . . . usque in Mecham *ubi sepultus est Machometus*' (the ordinary Christian blunder; Schiltberger is a rare exception, see ch. ii, part iii, § 5), a distance of more than thirty days' journey (*Per. Quat.*, p. 130).

[1] *Itinerary*, p. 131, *Per. Quat.*, 'praeter Christianos et Iudaeos, qui sunt ibi multa milia.'

[2] *Itinerary*, pp. 131–5, *Per. Quat.*

[3] *Itinerary*, p. 131, *Per. Quat.*

[4] 'Henefa,' *Itinerary*, p. 132, *Per. Quat.* Of Mohammedan ceremonial cleanliness Ricold gives a true enough picture in comic detail, 'Quando . . . volunt orare, digitum in anum infigit, et si sentit aliquid fetoris . . . in fluvium revertitur,' *Itin.*, ibid.

[5] See, e.g., *Letter* I, fol. 251 A.

On the other hand, the Saracen law was broad to destruction, irrational, violent, and full of confusion and darkling deceits[1]. Upon the repetitions, contradictions, obscurities, evasions, and lies of the *Koran* and the *Traditions*, on their insults to reason and common sense, their exaltation of brute force, and their condonation of the prophet's sexual license, Ricold dwells with passion, not without some controversial skill, though often directing his attack upon strong rather than weak positions, misconceiving his opponents' case, and using weapons inapplicable to the contest in hand.

But when he marshals his evidence for the tyrannous hate borne by Saracens, in spite of all their courtesy and hospitality, against Christians and the Christian faith, he is on firmer ground.

With his own eyes he had seen images of Christ and the Virgin mutilated by Musulman lances and swords, crucifixes dragged in derision through the streets, and churches ruined and polluted,—some left to moulder, some turned into stables, some into mosques, some into Moslem colleges; while some again were overtopped by lofty minarets, from which Moslem criers yelled out the perfidious law of *Machomet* over Christian heads[2].

With such a past and present before his eyes, it is not wonderful to find an earnest Catholic like Ricold despairing of success. How could a pygmy hope to triumph where giants had failed; how dared he expect to subdue that Apocalyptic Beast whom Francis, Dominic, and Jordanus had struggled in vain to overcome[3]? Those letters of our friar's, which reflect

[1] *Itinerary*, pp. 135–41, *Per. Quat.* As to the *other book* which Mohammed gave to his followers ('nam Sarraceni praeter Alcoranum habent quendam alium librum,' *Itinerary*, p. 136, *Per. Quat.*) the prophet frankly declared, says Ricold, 'quod in eo erant duodecim milia mendaciorum' (p. 137).

[2] See *Letters* II, III, fols. 254 B, 257 A, B, 258 A; *Itinerary*, pp. 108–10, *Per. Quat.*

[3] *Letter* I, fol. 251 B. 'Quid poterit homuncio, quod gigantes perficere nequiverunt?' The allusion to 'magnus ille sanctus pater, praedicator magister Iordanus' is not to the Indian explorer and bishop of 'Co-

this deep depression, seem to have been written, as we have seen, in the early years of Ghazan Khan (1295–8)[1], and at the beginning of his reign Ghazan was anything but friendly to Christianity. After 1298 the new sovereign greatly modified his policy towards the 'Nazarenes'; but the Latin missions never quite regained the influence they had acquired under Arghun; and with Oljaitu, Ghazan's brother and successor (1304–16) the Ilkhans definitely ended their long hesitation between the two great Western faiths, and ended it by choosing Islam.

Yet, for half a century more, Rome struggles bravely against the current. Whatever her faults, she shows pluck, she puts a good face on disaster. As the real strength of her cause declines, she appears to assume more and more the airs of a conqueror—founding bishoprics, creating provinces, vaunting the submission of heretical patriarchs.

No ruler of the 'Eastern' Tartars appears more nearly in the guise of a Christian proselyte than Arghun; this has already been made clear; but before we leave Corvino's patron, we may notice, in addition to the Romeward embassies briefly described above, his reiterated attempts to form alliance with other Latin sovereigns. A combined attack upon the Sultan of Egypt was his ultimate purpose; for the sake of European aid he was doubtless prepared to listen to European preaching; and if the latter is shown in his correspondence with the Pope, the former comes out clearly enough in his letters of 1289 to the Kings of France and England[2] and in the embassy of 1291.

It was in the year of his own death, of the fall of Acre, and of Monte Corvino's departure from Tabriz, that *Argon* dispatched his third and last communication to the Papal Court

lumbum,' but to the great churchstatesman who governed the Dominican Order after its founder (A.D. 1222–37).

[1] Röhricht, *Archives de L'O. L.*, II. ii. 260, n. 16, definitely assigns the *Letters* of Ricold to 1298.

[2] To Philip IV ('le Bel') and Edward I, see Rémusat, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, vii; Y.-C., i. 36; ii. 474. Facing the latter page, Cordier gives photographic facsimiles of the Letters of Arghun in 1289 and of Oljaitu in 1305 to Philip the Fair.

(1291); this was accompanied by another message to Edward I[1]; and with it came, not merely the old vague story of the Latin preachers having almost persuaded the Ilkhan, but definite news of important Catholic successes at the Persian Court. Thus two of Arghun's queens and one of his sons were said to have embraced the faith; the latter, the famous Oljaitu[2], had even been baptized under the name of Nicolas; while the Khan's physician and some of his courtiers and attendants, not content with professing the Christian creed, openly tried to win adherents.

It was therefore with no lack of compliment and congratulation that Nicolas IV addressed the Papal briefs of August 13, 21, and 23, 1291, to Arghun himself, to 'Nicolas' his converted son, to the unconverted but presumably well-disposed *Cassian* or Ghazan, the brother of Nicolas, to the Christian princesses, of name so formidable, and to another son of the Khan's[3]. Two Franciscans, William and Matthew[4], were entrusted with these documents; but of their journey and its results we know nothing. The death of Arghun must have deprived their mission of its principal object and support.

[1] 'Filio nostro Eduardo illustri regi Angliae,' says Pope Nicolas (W., v. 255; see also Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, i. 79).

[2] Called 'Carbaganda' and 'Chodabenda' (i. e. Khodabandah) by King Hayton the Younger (ch. 45, &c.); see also Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, i. 79, 90; Y.-C., i. 14, 36, 362; ii. 478.

[3] See the text of these letters in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, and Raynaldus, *Annales Eccles.*: (1) 'Argoni regi Tartarorum,' Aug. 23, R., A. D. 1291, § xxxii; (2) to the same, Aug. 21, W., v. 255–6; (3) 'Nicolao, nato . . . Argonis,' Aug. 21, W., v. 257–8, R., § xxxiii; (4) 'Cassiano, nato . . . Argonis,' Aug. 23, R., §§ xxxiv–v; (5) 'Saroni, nato . . . Argonis,' Aug. 23, W., v. 256–7, a duplicate of No. 4; (6) 'Anichohamini reginae,' Aug. 13, W., v. 256, R., § xxxvi; a duplicate of this letter seems to have gone to the other Christian queen, 'Dathanicatum'; (7) 'Ozolo Pisano,' Aug. 13, R., § xxxiii. This 'Ozolus of Pisa' was a distinguished 'capitalist,' engaged in Oriental trade and travel, who gave valuable aid to the Christian missions in South-West Asia. See ch. v. One 'Chaganus' acted as Arghun's ambassador; see above; Letter (2), W., v. 255. Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, i. 80, also speaks of Arghun's general, 'Tagharzar,' perhaps the 'Taga' of Marco Polo, G., 264, as being a special object of Papal proselytism, though he does not give a separate letter addressed to him, as Yule implies (Y.-C., ii. 474).

[4] 'Guillelmus de Cherio' and 'Matthaeus de Theatina,' W., v. 256.

Yet within four years. we hear again about the Persian enterprise. In the May of 1296, Boniface VIII, whose meddlesome arrogance was so soon to bring the Papacy into fatal conflict with European nationality, writes to urge on the Asiatic expansion of the Church, exhorting the Franciscans who had set out for labour among the 'Levant' Tartars to realize the dearest ambition of the Vicar of Christ, to expel the darkness of error from the whole infidel world, and to illuminate it with the radiance of Catholic faith. With similar but more tedious eloquence, three years later, he commissions various Dominicans to preach and act on behalf of Rome throughout all the countries of the 'Eastern and Northern nations,' from Bulgaria to Nubia, from Ethiopia to India, from Tartary to Khazaria, from Alania to Gothia, from Armenia to Russia (April 10, 1299). Among these Dominicans, three—Bolea, Bernardi, and Guille—are particularly named; great expectations apparently centre on their journey, which from their commission might have embraced a world as great as that of the Polos; but of their work, success, or failure we know nothing [1].

For the later history of Latin religious travel in South-Western Asia we are mainly dependent on the lists of bishops which have survived. To the reputed reconciliation of the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Yaballaha in 1304, to his letter acknowledging the claims of the Roman See under Benedict XI, and to the work of James the Dominican in conducting negotiations between Pope and Patriarch, not much confidence attaches [2]. While, as to the French and Papal intercourse with Oljaitu in 1305 and 1307–8 [3], the purely political character of the whole affair cannot be doubted. With Ghazan's death in 1304, and the accession of that 'Nicolas' from whom so much

[1] The Franciscan commission of May 15, 1296 ('universis fratribus Ordinis Minorum') is in W., v. 345-6; the Dominican ('fratribus Sanctio de Bolea, Guillelmo Bernardi, Bernardo Guille . . . Ordinis Praedicatorum ad terras . . . Bulgarorum, Cumanorum . . . Tartarorum, aliarumque terrarum orientalium et aquilonarium nationum'. . .) in R., A. D. 1299, §§ xxxix-xlii.

[2] See R., A. D. 1304, §§ xxiii-xxvi, and Appendix to this volume.

[3] R., A. D. 1308, § xxx; Y.-C., i. 14,

had been expected, Christianity, instead of finding the official recognition of a new Constantine, is rejected by that Mongol Julian with whom the faith of Mecca takes a new lease of life in Iran. Not that the Catholic Church gives up the battle. The Franciscan and Dominican fathers continue their labours in Tabriz,—so much we learn from Corvino's letters of 1305 and 1306[1]; somewhere between 1317 and 1321 Brother Odoric must have crossed the Persian Khanate in his wanderings from Trebizond to Ormuz[2]; in 1321 Jordanus, writing from Gujerat, addresses the friars, both Minorites and Preachers, stationed at Tabriz, at Dehkhargan, and at Maragha, near Lake Urmi[3]; and in the same year a party of Franciscans is dispatched with Papal letters and 'privileges' to Georgia[4]. But, after all, the chief point to notice in these years is the foundation of the metropolitan see of *Soltania* in 1318 and the appointment of the Dominican Francis of Perugia to this bishopric in the new capital of the Ilkhans[5]. Along with Francis (a West-Asiatic counterpart of Monte Corvino in office if not in character), six suffragans are named—William Adam, Bartholomew 'de Podio,' Gerald of Calvi, Bernardine of Placentia, Bernard Moreti, and Bartholomew Abaliati[6]: with these prelates we may compare the ten assistants dispatched to reinforce the Apostle of China in 1307 and 1312. Within the province of *Soltania* were apparently included not merely the whole of the Ilkhanate, but also 'Ethiopia,' the Indies, and the North Asian domain of Kaidu[7].

36, 362, and facsimile of letters facing ii. 474. The Papal letter of 1308, from Poictiers, is dated March 1, and is addressed 'Olegetucan, regi Tartarorum.'

[1] See pp. 171–2 of this volume.

[2] See pp. 257–61 of this volume.

[3] See p. 218 of this volume.

[4] R., A. D. 1321, § viii. Dated from Avignon, October 15, and addressed 'Georgio regi Georgianorum . . . et baroni Porcelli ac universis populis per regna.'

[5] R., A. D. 1318, §§ iv, v; dated from Avignon, May 1, and addressed 'Franco Perusino O. F. P., electo Soltaniensi.'

[6] All these seem to have been Dominicans, like Francis himself.

[7] 'Soltaniensem sedem patriarchalem . . . excitaret . . . quae fidelibus Persidis principi, Chaydo et Doha atque Indiarum et Aethiopiae regibus obnoxiis praeesset,' R., A. D. 1318, §§ iv, v.

Francis had been working in Persia, like Corvino in the remoter East, for several years before he received this recognition[1]; but the Curia now took up the policy of establishing a regular hierarchy in South-West Asia; and the foundation of the *Soltania* 'Patriarchate' was quickly followed by the creation of at least five other Persian, Armenian, and Georgian sees—that of Maragha in 1320, that of St. Thadaeus (north-east of Van, and close to the Russo-Turkish frontier of to-day), in 1321, those of Tiflis, Tabriz, and Dehkhargan or *Diagorgan* (south-west of Tabriz), in 1329[2].

And this brings us to certain writings of historical and geographical interest associated with the later years of the Persian mission.

In 1330 Pope John XXII appointed one John de Cora Archbishop of Sultaniyah, and to this John it is not unreasonable to assign that *Livre de l'Estat du Grant Caan*, which declares itself to be the work of an 'arcevesque Sultensis,' written by command of the aforesaid John XXII, which refers to the death of John de Monte Corvino as a recent event, and which from these and other indications must be dated between 1328 and 1334[3].

The author begins with a short description of the Mongol sub-Khanates, seeking to illustrate from the military strength of 'Boussaye' and 'Usbech,' the lords of the Persian and Kipchak kingdoms, how great that suzerain must be to whom they paid tribute and homage[4]. The tract then proceeds to

[1] By a brief of Aug. 1 in this year (R., A. D. 1318, § vi) William Adam and one John of Florence (not John Marignolli, but a Dominican who was afterwards the first Latin Bishop of Tiflis) were commissioned to take 'Francus' his pallium.

[2] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris, 1740), iii. 1361–4, 1369–71, 1377–81, 1385–6, 1393–1402.

[3] i. e. between the deaths of Corvino and John XXII. The *Livre de l'Estat du Grant Caan* is only a French version of a Latin original (now lost), made by Long John of Ypres in 1351 ('translate de latin en francois par frere Iehan le lonc d'Yppre moisne de St. Bertin en St. Aumer,' *Journ. As.*, vi. 57), and edited by Jacquet in the *Journal Asiatique*, vi. 57–71 (1830).

[4] J. A., vi. 57–9. Among these vassals is also reckoned the Emperor of *Cambalech* (p. 57), for which Yule (*Cathay*, i. 238) reads *Armalech* (i. e. Almalig-Kulja, the capital of the Chagatai or Central-Asian Khanate

speak of the Grand Khan's own realm, that *Cathanus* or *Cathay* which began right away in the East[1], which continued to India the Greater, which extended due west[2] for six months' journey, and in which lay the two great cities of *Cambaleçh* and *Cassay*, of Peking and Hangchaufu[3]. A number of details followed, many of them apparently derived from Polo —as to the festival of the New Year, the paper-money and generous alms-giving of the Khan, the imperial post and courier service, the government magazines for public relief, the vast riverine population of China, the immense trade of *Cassay*, the variety of merchandise in Cathay,—greater than in the territories of Rome or Paris,—the Cathayan rice-wine and rice-oil, the rich dresses of silk and damask and Tartary cloth[4] worn by all the 'emperor's people,' the mode of life in idol monasteries, the cremation of the dead, and the funeral ceremonies of the Celestials[5].

What is of more interest, the Archbishop of *Soltania* adds fresh detail to the accounts of older European observers on certain points—on the red and black lettering of the bank-notes of the *Yuen*[6], on the ecclesiastical organization of the Buddhists under their Grand Lama[7], on the Franciscan missions and the Nestorian Church in Cathay, and on the work of John de Monte Corvino[8].

This saintly man, Archbishop of *Cambalech* and legate of

at this time); this would make good sense and be consistent, for afterwards the author rightly treats *Cambalech* or Peking as the capital of the Grand Caan's own realm. 'Boussaye' is Abu Said the Ilkhan, Oljaitu's successor (1317–35).

[1] 'Cathanus . . . droit en Orient,' J. A., vi. 60.

[2] 'Se estent en droite ligne vers occident,' J. A., vi. 60.

[3] J. A., vi. 60. Each was thirty miles in compass (65).

[4] 'Chemises de soie . . . dras . . . de tartaire et de tamotas (camotas)', J. A., vi. 67.

[5] J. A., vi. 63–8.

[6] 'Une ense'gne rouge droit ou millieu et tout environ . . . lettres noires,' J. A., vi. 66.

[7] J. A., vi. 62, 'Un evesque souverain comme entre nous est le pappe . . . le nomment le Grant Trutius' (later 'Trucins,' 63). On this term see Appendix. This pontiff of idolaters was dressed like a cardinal: 'porte sur son chief un chappeau rouge, et tousiours est vestu de rouge' (63).

[8] 'Iehan du Mont Curuin,' J. A., vi. 68.

Pope *Clement*[1], had made a deep impression on the heathen of the remotest East: but for the opposition of Nestorian miscreants he would certainly have converted the whole of Cathay. As it was, he had established three Franciscan houses in *Cambalech*[2], and two in *Racon* (*Zayton* ?), a seaport town three months' journey from Peking: in the latter resided two bishops, Andrew of *Paris* and Peter of Florence[3]. More than this, he had won the favour of the emperor and the love of the Pagans among whom he lived, so that Roman Christians enjoyed a special measure of Court favour and protection, and even Nestorian malignity did not dare to touch their persons. When at last he died, but a short time ago[4], the heathen had thronged to his funeral and vied with his Christian followers in the relic-seeking seizure of his garments. Yet even his character had not shielded him altogether from the hatred of the Nestorians, and while he was building his 'Minorite abbeys,' these heretics actually destroyed in the night what had been constructed in the day[5]. Truly wonderful was their spite against the Latins. Obstinate in schism, they followed the usages of the Greeks[6], utterly refusing obedience to the authority of Rome, and bitterly resenting Corvino's words, when he showed them how that authority was needful for salvation; but such was their wealth and power, so many and important were the offices of state they held under the Khan, that in alliance with the

[1] Originally legate of Nicolas IV (1288-92), see above, pp. 163, 176, but made archbishop and furnished with ampler powers by Clement V (1305-14). The text quite mistakenly implies that Clement first *sent him out* as legate ('envoiez du pappe Clement').

[2] 'Et sont bien deux lieues loings ly uns de lautre,' J. A., vi. 68; see above, p. 173, on Corvino's estimate of two and a half miles between the first and second Franciscan houses in Peking; the third was built after 1306.

[3] In 'Andrieu de Paris' (J. A., vi. 68) we surely have our old friend Andrew of Perugia, see pp. 176, 178-81; on 'Pierre de Florense,' see p. 177.

[4] 'Nouvellement trespassez de ce siecle,' J. A., vi. 69. There is no authority in the text here for d'Avezac's suggestion that the author was present at Corvino's funeral ('a son sepulture *vinrent* (not *vis*) tres grant multitude,' ibid.).

[5] J. A., vi. 69.

[6] 'Tiennent la maniere et la guise des Grieux,' ibid.

Franciscans it was possible they might convert the emperor and all his realm to the true faith[1]. So at least the Archbishop of Sultaniyah believed, and one apparent object of his booklet was to suggest this alliance to the Papal Court[2].

No such alliance seems to find favour with the author of the chief rival composition traceable to the Persian friars—the *Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum*, which was professedly composed in 1330[3], and was certainly submitted to the council of the French King on July 26 of that year[4]. In the registers of Philip VI it is described as the proposal of a certain wise prelate, formerly a Dominican, and now an archbishop in the empire of *Constantinople*: but, as we shall see, the writer had evidently been a missionary in Persia, and that perhaps for many years. His main object is clearly that of Marino Sanuto—to revive the crusading energies of Western Europe, and to direct them both against the infidel and the Eastern Church; attention is even given to the conquest of Russia and its subjugation to Papal obedience; various routes to the Levant are discussed; and an easy victory over the Turks is predicted.

Incidentally, the 'sage prelate' refers to extensive travels of his own. He had once made his way so far to the south as to lose sight of the northern pole, in a region where he found the antarctic reach an 'elevation' of twenty-four degrees: this was his limit, but it was nothing to the feats of certain merchants. For these, at times, had penetrated thirty degrees still further southward.

The premisses sound wild, but the conclusion is excellent. For the archbishop, from these and other matters of astronomical geography noticed by or reported to him, very sensibly

[1] J. A., vi. 70. In all Cathay they numbered 'plus de trente mille'; their churches, it is admitted, were 'tres belles et . . . devotes,' ibid.

[2] J. A., vi. 69.

[3] Quetif and Echard [hereafter quoted as Q-E.], 571. The full text only exists in manuscript, in No. 2,104 of the Colbert MSS. in the Bibliothèque National, Paris.

[4] Q.-E., 574, 'Ex registro camerae regiae computorum vol. ii Bibl. olim Seguier., nunc Coislin., quod incipit ab a. MCCC.'

infers not only that part of Asia was greater than most men supposed, but also that the belief in Antipodes was neither false nor frivolous[1].

Once more, after describing the races that followed the Greek rite—Slavs, Bulgars, Wallachs, Georgians, Goths, and others—he tells how in his southern wanderings he once arrived at a 'fairly large' island in the Indian sea—probably Socotra—wherein baptism and circumcision were both practised[2], and about which he declares with tantalizing brevity he could have furnished many a curious detail, if he had not regarded the whole as foreign to his subject.

Again he relates how in Persia (where he seems to have journeyed and missionized as early as 1308) he noticed the slave-markets glutted with Greek captives[3]; on the other hand, he was delighted to find that the bare rumour of an attack from Latin Christendom threw the Moslems of Iran into a state of acute alarm[4].

He appears to have been one of the prime agents in that reconciliation of Lesser Armenia with Rome[5] which took place in 1318; he speaks of his residence in 'Constantinople or Pera'; while from various references[6] to Russia and from his detailed treatment of that country—its lack of stone or brick (save only in the Latin cities on the coast), the nature of its people, and other particulars[7]—we may infer that he had seen for himself a large portion of the lands on the north of the Black Sea.

[1] *Libellus* I, *pars* i, *motiv.* 2; Q.-E., 572. The acute conclusion is also drawn that Christendom, properly speaking, did not occupy a twentieth part of the inhabited earth ('vicesima pars non sumus').

[2] 'Insula in mari Indico satis magna, ubi populus circumcisionem obtinet pariter et baptismum'; *Lib.* i, *p.* ii, *motiv.* 3; Q.-E., 572-3.

[3] *Lib.* i, *p.* vi, *facil.* 2; Q.-E., 573.

[4] *Lib.* ii, *p.* iv, *rat.* 6. This reference to the Crusading movement threatened by 'Pope Clement' [V] is probably to be connected with the holy war proclaimed in 1308.

[5] *Lib.* ii, *p.* i, *art.* 1; Q.-E., 573. In this connexion we may notice the proposal of John XXII to establish Latin schools among the Armenians, primarily of course with a view to strengthening Catholicism; R., A. D. 1318, §§ xv, xvi.

[6] *Lib.* i, *p.* vi, *facil.* 1; Q.-E., 573.

[7] *Lib.* i, *p.* viii; Q.-E., 573.

Though a contemporary of John de Cora, there is no sufficient ground for identifying the Dominican author of this tract with the Bishop of *Soltania*[1]; true, he belonged to the same Order, and was once associated with the same mission; but his episcopate 'in the empire of Constantinople' cannot well be made to correspond with any of the Persian sees, while the attitude adopted by the *Directorium* towards the Eastern Church is very different from the diplomatic close of the *Livre du Grant Caan*.

There is little more to add about the Latin enterprise in South-West Asia.

In 1321 two Franciscan brethren, James and Peter, returning from 'Tartary,' report the almost complete conversion of the Emperor 'Mussayd[2],' in whom we may recognize the ninth of the Ilkhans, Oljaitu's successor, Abu Said Bahadur, the 'Boussaye' of John de Cora; the Pope writes accordingly; and the aforesaid James and Peter are commissioned to deliver this letter to the Khan, as well as to convey the Pontiff's greetings, congratulations, exhortations, and warnings to the Eastern converts of the Persian mission[3], and to various schismatic and orthodox clergy in Armenia, Persia, Georgia, and throughout the 'Empire of the Tartars[4].'

[1] As does Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. 1366; on 1364 suggesting John de Cora's successor Antony as the author of this booklet. William Adam (see above, pp. 206-7) and a certain 'Brocardus' (see Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 74) have also been named in this connexion. Cf. Appendix.

[2] R., 1321 A.D., § ii, which has 'Mussaydan'; W., vi. 368, 'Mussayd, Imperatori Tartarorum' (Avignon, Nov. 22, 1321).

[3] W., vi. 369, dated Avignon, Nov. 22, and addressed 'Dilectis filiis Vaitan . . . et aliis Monachis Monasterii S. Thadaei . . . David de Thaurisio . . . Anetis de Soldania Sarkis de Maiaga [Maragha] et Diacoregan [Dehkhargan] . . . Sarkis de Salamastro . . . David de Telefilic [Tiflis] et aliis . . . conversis per Tartarorum imperium.' Two letters of John XXII to the Archbishop of St. Thadaeus are given in R., A.D. 1321, v, vi–viii (dated Oct. 15 and Nov. 22), the first addressed 'Cachanae Archiepiscopo S. Thadaei in Camelesia,' the second 'Zachariae archº. S. Thad.'

[4] R., A. D. 1321, § xi; W., vi. 369–71. Dated Avignon, Aug. 23, and addressed 'Venerabilibus fratribus de Aguemaz et de Arthamar Archiepiscopis . . . Zachariae de Naczoan [Nakhichevan] . . . de Arteron [Erzerum?] Arzenga [Erz-

Again, in the next year, and again as a consequence (in all probability) of the Minorite reports, we find the same Pope John XXII writing afresh to 'Boyssethanus,' or Abu Said, adjuring him to aid the Christians of Armenia against Saracen oppression—an appeal which was more successful[1] than the Pontiff's direct efforts for the Khan's conversion.

Lastly, in 1330, Pope John addresses the Christians of 'Mount Albor' or the Elburz Highlands, who had requested a supply of Roman clergy, and sends Bishop William of Tabriz and a number of Dominicans to supply their needs[2].

It was a brave enterprise, this Persian mission; and a brave countenance was kept up from first to last. In spite of every discouragement, the founding of Catholic bishoprics does not cease; in spite of persecutions dimly glanced at in Papal letters[3], Roman Christianity persists, at least in certain regions; in spite of occasional martyrdoms (such as that of the English Franciscan, Brother William, at Salmas[4] near the

inghian] et de Cars, ac aliis Orientis episcopis, nec non dilectis filiis Stephano de Soldania . . . Papoy de Arzaron, Ioanni de Moraga, Stephano . . . de Diacoregan, Bartholomaeo de Thefeliz . . . ac clero et populo fidelium per Imperium Tartarorum.' Sultaniyah, Maragha, Erzerum, Dehkhargan and Tiflis are obvious enough in the last clauses. From a letter of John XXII to John de Cora 'electo Soltaniensi' (R., A. D. 1330, § lvii, dated Avignon, Feb. 14), which speaks of Thomas of Samarcand (i. e. Thomas Mancasola; see p. 240), and Jordanus of Columbum or Kulam, as his suffragan bishops, who are to take him his pallium, it is clear that Western and Southern India and Central Asia were included in the province of Sultaniyah.

[1] R., A. D. 1322, § xli; in §§ xlii-iii, R. gives another letter of Pope John's, urging 'Boyssethanus' to become a Christian. W., vi. 408, refers to this correspondence, but does not give the text ('Boysset Han hortatur,' &c.).

[2] R., A. D. 1330, § lvi, dated Avignon, Jan. 23, and addressed 'Christianis habitantibus in montibus de Albor.' This Guillelmus de Cigiis was the first Latin Bishop of Tabriz (in 1329, see p. 207). No result seems to have followed from the same Pope's contemporary appeal to Mar 'Forianus,' Patriarch of the Jacobites, to return to Catholic unity with all his followers (R., A. D. 1330, § lvii; dated Avignon, Jan. 23).

[3] 'Contumelias tribulationum et angustias persecutionum frequenter pati,' says John XXII, writing to the monks of St. Thadaeus in 1321 (W., vi. 369).

[4] W., vii. 166.

present Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish borders, in 1334) the appearance of a prosperous and growing Church is steadily maintained. Thus in 1356 the episcopate of *Naxivan* or Nakhichevan is established in Southern Armenia[1]; sometime before 1363 that of Bassora or Basrah is created, at the head of the Persian Gulf; in 1322 and 1341 two other sees appear, one of them perhaps in the neighbourhood of Baghdad; in 1401 and 1402 we have allusions to the existence of yet another pair—at the aforesaid Salmas in the basin of Lake Urmi, and at the old Sevastopol or Sukhum-Kalé on the east coast of the Black Sea[2].

From Clavijo and others we know how wonderful a vitality was evinced by the Latin missions in and near the Ararat region, down to the opening of the fifteenth century[3]; and this testimony finds a useful confirmation in the Franciscan Annals of the year 1392, when two Minorites, Roger of England and Ambrose of Siena, bring to the Court of Rome the request of certain native Christians, especially in the Caucasus regions, for pastors and teachers;—when Boniface IX, in his reply, alludes to the ten thousand converts of the 'Caspian' mountains;—and when four-and-twenty friars are placed at the disposal of the aforesaid Roger and his Italian brother[4].

Yet, after the death of Abu Said, the last true Ilkhan (in 1336), Roman proselytism seems to have utterly lost touch of

[1] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. 1403–14, where no less than thirty-four 'episcopi Nascivanenses' are recorded. On the other hand, only one bishop of Basrah is named, ibid. 1389–90. See Appendix to this volume.

[2] The sees of 1322 and 1341 are (1) the 'Ecclesia Diatagerensis' or 'Diataragensis,' only known from the death of its first and last known bishop, Gerard of Monte Pessulano, in Tabriz, Nov. 1, 1322; and (2) the 'Ecclesia Navarzanensis,' perhaps to be fixed at Naharvan in Babylonia. The sees of 1401–2 are (1) that of Salmas, noticed in this year because of the *translation* of its bishop to another post; and (2) that of Senascopolis (for Sevastopolis) which in 1401, Dec. 23, receives its *second* bishop, Nicolas Posseck. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, 1383–4, 1387–8, 1415–16; p. 313 of this volume; and Appendix, where further details will be found as to Roman mission-sees in the Euxine basin, e.g. the archbishopric of Trebizond.

[3] See ch. ii, part iii, §§ 4, 5 of this volume.

[4] W., ix. 106–7; dated Perugia, Nov. 8, 1392, addressed 'Rogero de Anglia et Ambrosio de Senis.'

the governing classes among the 'Levant Tartars'; the visit of John Marignolli and his colleagues on their return from China (in about 1351) does not appear to have had much relation to the Persian mission, though it forms part of one of the principal journeys of the fourteenth century[1]; and in the age of Timur the Islamising of the Western Mongols may be regarded as fairly complete. The Middle, like the Further East, though less completely, shuts its doors to Christian enterprise in the last years of the Papal captivity at Avignon.

§ 3. *Jordanus of Séverac and the Indian Mission.*

The first trace of a Latin mission in *Hind* is the visit of John of Monte Corvino and Nicolas of Pistoia to the Madras region in 1291–2. Enough has already been said of this incident, of its relation to the history of the Chinese and Persian undertakings, of its significance as representing, in the persons of the two friars, a joint effort of Franciscan and Dominican enterprise, upon the remoter heathendom of Asia, of the projected journey (cut short by the death of Nicolas) to the Court of the 'Lord of India' or Delhi Sultan[2].

After this, for thirty years, Rome meddles no more with India: it is not till 1321 (so far as we know) that any other Western churchmen arrive to carry on the work of the first pioneers. But at last, a few months after the Pastoureaux are stamped out in France, a few months before Dante dies[3] in Italy, the French Dominican[4] Jordanus of Séverac, and the

[1] See pp. 303-5. Marignolli's travel in the Ilkhanate do not suggest any lengthy stay for mission purposes; the narrative points rather to a hasty, though far from direct, crossing of the regions between the Shatt-el-Arab and the Mediterranean, by way of Babylon, Baghdad, Mosul, Edessa, Aleppo, Damascus, and Palestine.

[2] This must have been the first of the Khalji Dynasty, Jaluluddin Firuz II (1290-6). Just as Corvino tried to win the Mongol-Chinese Court on his arrival in Cathay, so he and Nicolas evidently purposed an attempt upon the Indian 'Emperor' and his magnates on reaching the Deccan.

[3] Sept. 14, 1321.

[4] The French origin of Jordanus appears from the title of the *Mirabilia* ('oriendum de Severaco') and from several passages of the same, but from which Séverac he came remains uncertain, probably from one in Aveyron, north-east of Toulouse, near the eastern border of Guienne.

Italian Minorites Thomas of Tolentino[1], James of Padua, and Peter of Siena, accompanied by a Franciscan lay brother, the Georgian Demetrius of Tiflis, who acts as interpreter, appear at Tana in Salsette[2]. Their previous movements were apparently much the same as Corvino's, and in its main features Odoric's track was pretty similar; as far as Ormuz we believe the Polos' route was also identical with, or closely parallel to, that of the friars. One and all were really following (whatever minor variations there might be) the main southern way from the great market of West Asia to the Far East.

The friars, then, had started from Tabriz, where they had probably resided some time, aiding the Persian mission; they had reached the Indian Ocean seaboard, and had embarked (probably at Ormuz[3]) for Kulam or *Columbum* in Travancore; their intention had been to go right on to China, probably by way of Madras and the 'Thomas country'; but adverse weather and deceitful sailors had brought them to Diu and Tana. Here the company separates; the local colony of Nestorian Christians induces them to dispatch one of their number to visit the Christian community at *Parocco* or Baruch in Gujerat, near the estuary of the Nerbudda; as Jordanus knows Persian better than the others, he is chosen for this work. On his way he stops at *Supera*, perhaps answering to our Suali near Surat, once favoured in sacred

[1] Thomas (see above, p. 175) was now sixty: W., vi. 353.

[2] On the position of this Tana, close to our Bombay, upon the north-east side of Salsette island, and on other notices of it in mediaeval travellers, see pp. 143–4 of this volume.

[3] The narrative in the *Chronicon Iordani* entitled *Satyrica Gestarum rerum . . . Historia* (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 4to edition of 1777, vol. xi, pp. 628–792) expressly names Ormuz as well as Diu 'missi usque ad Ormuse, quum nil ibi proficerent, ad Indiam transire cupiunt, in Columbum; . . . quum pervenissent ad insulam . . . Dyo'; it also shows that the Franciscans, separating from the rest, went (not 'by land,' as Yule has it, *Jordanus*, x, but) 'ad aliam terram . . . Thana, ut inde in Columbum transirent.' When questioned at Tana, they described themselves as 'Francos . . . ad S. Thomam proficisci cupientes,' i. e. bound for the Madras shrine, visited by their predecessors John and Nicolas in 1291: see *Chr. Iord.*, pp. 790–2, ch. 238, *partic.* 2.

story by the preaching of St. Thomas himself. His absence from his colleagues makes him anxious; to relieve his mind he begins a letter to Tolentino and his colleagues, those 'glorious heralds of God'; he then hears of their arrest. Hurrying back to Tana, he finds them dead; by his fluent Persian he had hoped to save them from their judges [1], but on April 7, 1321, they had already fallen victims to the fanaticism of the local Musulmans.

Why this event should have produced so deep and wide an effect it is hard to say; many other Franciscans were martyred with circumstances of equal horror, with courage as great, with miracles as obvious, but hardly any drew to themselves the attention aroused by the fate of Thomas of Tolentino and his fellows. Odoric, as we shall see, gives a very large section of his Travel-Record to describe the details of the martyrdom. And besides what is said by Odoric of Pordenone and by Francis of Pisa, at least four other Asiatic missionaries—Peter de Turre, Head of the Northern Vicariat (of the Eastern missionary world as mapped out by the Franciscans), James de Camerino, Warden of the Tabriz House in the Vicariat of the East, Bartholomew Accola of Tabriz, and Hugo of Sultaniyah [2]—have all left us some account of the matter.

But it is Jordanus who, with the help of a young Genoese, recovers the relics and brings them to *Supera* [3]; it is Jordanus who plays the largest part in the remaining acts of the Indian

[1] Almost all these details of the journey from Tabriz come from the Dominican Francis of Pisa, who soon after 1323 seems to have set out (from Persia?) to join Jordanus, and who wrote to his brother friars an *Epistola de martyrio IV Fratrum Minorum et de ministerio illis in vita et post mortem a F. Iordano praestito*, whose essence is given by Q.-E., 550-1, and by W., vi. 353-4. Brother Francis adds that Jordanus, after working many years in 'these [Indian] regions,' went to 'Soldania' [or Soldaia?] and exhibited in the Dominican church of the city a relic of Demetrius of Tana.

[2] W., vi. 353. Accola's communication was an *Epistola ad fratrem Salonem Vicarium Generalis Ministri in partibus Orientis*, Hugo's an *Epistola ad fratres Taurisii*.

[3] He only says himself 'Sanctorum corpora sepelivi,' W., vi. 360. The Genoese was perhaps a merchant.

mission-drama. Two *Letters* and a collection of *Mirabilia* (far less mythological than the name would suggest) contain his experiences in Southern and South-Western Asia; of these the *Letters* are certainly the earlier, and must be taken first.

The former is written from *Caga* or Gogo, a port of Gujerat, on October 12, 1321; the latter from Tana itself, on January 24, 1323–4[1]. It has been assumed, hitherto, that they give us our first introduction to the writer; were Ricold of Monte Croce referring to the same man, when[2] he speaks of Jordanus the great preacher, so eminent in doctrine, so stout an assailant of Islam, we could go back another twenty years, and believe that the friar of Séverac was already a famous missionary in 1298 or 1300;—but this notion, however tempting, would be against all probability[3].

Both these *Letters* are addressed to the Franciscans and Dominicans stationed in the North Persian houses at Tabriz, Dehkhargan, and Maragha[4], and both have the same exordium—a reference to the tragedy of Tana, to the writer's loneliness, to his work at Baruch[5], to his purpose of making ready a church for the brethren he expected[6]. All this

[1] 'Datum in Caga die xii. Octob. . . . MCCCXXI,' Q.-E., i. 550; 'Datae in Thana Indiae . . . MCCCXXIII, m. Ian., in festo . . . Fabiani et Sebastiani,' W., vi. 361. On *Caga* see also Appendix.

[2] In his *Letters to the Church Triumphant*, certainly written before 1301; see p. 202 of this volume.

[3] See p. 203. Yule, *Cathay*, i. 184, well conjectures that Jordanus may have travelled with Thomas of Tolentino in 1302, when Thomas and his twelve friar-comrades went out by Negropont and Thebes, which is the very route suggested at the beginning of Jordanus' *Mirabilia*; see W., vi. 11.

[4] 'Praedicatoribus et Minoribus in Thaurisio, Diagorgano et Merga,' W., vi. 359; the text of *Letter* I, in Q.-E., i. 549–50, gives *Tongano* and *Maroga*, *Diagorgano* and *Merga* being supplied in the margin. On reading this first Indian appeal of Jordanus, it is said that Nicolas of Rome, Vicar of the Dominicans in Tabriz, set out, like Francis of Pisa, to join him (Q.-E., i. 550, from a letter of Fr. Bartholomew, Warden of the Franciscan House at Tabriz, written in that city 'crastino ascensionis Domini'). Jordanus, however, in his second letter, two and a half years later, says that he is still alone, and we must suppose that Nicolas had not yet joined him; we know nothing more of *Nicolaus Romanus*' Indian mission.

[5] 'Parrhot,' W., vi. 360; 'Parocco' and 'Parrocco,' Q.-E., i. 550. The wording as to Jordanus' mission-work here and at 'Supera' varies slightly in the *Letters*, without any real difference of sense.

[6] 'Fratribus venturis,' Q.-E., i. 550. After this Jordanus seems to

probably belongs to the earlier epistle (of 1321), and has been copied into the later (of 1323–4)[1].

But in the remainder of their contents the two *Letters* differ considerably. A comparative cheerfulness lights up the former, though written so near the time of fiercest trial. The harvest promised to be abundant, and the friars must make ready to come and reap it. Especially at *Supera*, at *Columbum*[2], and in the district of *Parocco*[3] was there hope of spiritual gain. Nor was this all. From certain Latin merchants Jordanus had gathered that the way to Ethiopia was now open for preachers of the Gospel[4], and it was his most earnest wish to explore that part himself.

In the later epistle, on the other hand, an extreme despondency prevails. Since the Minorite confessors perished at Tana, for two years and a half their luckless comrade, unhappy not to have shared their glorious fate, had been left an orphan and a wayfarer, lonely in a place of error, suffering countless hardships. The captive of pirates, the prisoner of Saracens, the victim of cold and heat, of hunger and thirst, of disease and poverty—he suffered most of all from his solitude, and from the fickleness of the people among whom he worked[5].

Yet even now he picks up heart again, as he concludes. Let the good friars come, and with no false hopes; one of them might be able to embark on the Ethiopian mission[6];

promise to join his correspondents in North Persia ('veniam,' &c.) once certain difficulties have been settled. The promise is *common to both letters* (Yule and other editors have missed this point); it is only expressed in different language.

[1] Thus in the exordium he speaks of sending his friar's garments ('dimittam meam ... robbam,' Q.-E., i. 550); in the latter part of the second *Letter* he says he had been stripped to his shirt ('in camisia sola viliter ...,' W., vi. 360).

[2] 'Columbus' in original, Q.-E., i. 550; on this form see Appendix.

[3] 'In contrada de Parrocco'—besides many other places unknown, Q.-E. i. 550. For the identifications of 'Parrocco' and 'Supera' see above, p. 216.

[4] 'A nostris mercatoribus Latinis intellexi, quod via Aethiopiae est aperta,' Q.-E., i. 550.

[5] 'Maneo solus in civitate praefata [i. e. Tana] et circumadiacenti provincia per duos annos cum dimidio ...,' W., vi. 360.

[6] 'De via Aethiopiae ... apta est,' W., vi. 360.

the voyage from Tana would not be too costly, and the reward would probably be great. Sad and lonely as he was, the worthy father seems glad to find how deep a respect the Indians had for 'Latins,' how they prophesied the arrival of the European, and how they longed for that event[1]. If the Pope would but establish the smallest fleet upon the Indian sea, what infinite results might spring from it; if only two galleys could be spared for the southern seas, what a shrewd blow that would give to the Sultan of Egypt.

In his *Mirabilia* we shall find Jordanus again alluding to these prophecies[2], just as in the *Secreta* of Marino Sanuto we shall come upon similar suggestions for starting a Latin fleet in the Indian waters[3]. The European ocean-movement had begun half a century before this *Letter* was written; the oversea quest of the Indies was now thirty years old; and such remarks from a man who knew the ground did not fail to bear fruit.

For the Dominican of Séverac was not one who wrote from hearsay, nor had he paid a mere flying visit to one corner of Hindustan. Besides the two years and a half in the Bombay country, of which we have heard, he probably remained on the west coast of the peninsula long after the dispatch of his second *Letter*; and it is also probable that he visited Malabar, Travancore, and part of the Coromandel coast between 1324 and 1328, and selected Kulam as the best centre of his future work.

Such would seem to be the natural deductions, not only from his own writings, but also from the Papal briefs of April 5, 1330. In the former, addressed to the 'Nazarenes' of *Columbum*, John XXII names 'our brother Jordanus Catalani' as bishop of that place, at the same time commissioning him,

[1] 'Nomen nostrum Latinorum maius apud Indos, quam apud nos ipsos . . . Latinorum continue expectant adventum sive passagium, quia ferunt in ipsorum libris penitus esse scriptum . . . tota die rogant Dominum quod Latinorum acceleret optatum adventum. Si duae galeae per Papam in hoc mari constituerentur, quale . . . lucrum . . ., Soldano de Alexandria quale damnum,' W., vi. 360–1.

[2] See p. 234–5.

[3] See p. 316.

with his fellow Dominican the Bishop of Samarcand, to take the pallium to the new Metropolitan of Sultaniyah, John de Cora[1]—within whose province the Latin missions both in India and Central Asia were included. In the latter, addressed to the Christians of *Molephatam*, and commending the new Bishop of Columbum to their care[2], the pontiff mentions a city—our Malifatan—lying slightly to the north-east of Cape Comorin, and at no very great distance east of Kulam, which is named by no other Latin writer save Jordanus himself in his *Book of Marvels*, which we may suppose had been visited by the latter during his earlier Indian travels, and as to which it is not likely that the Papal chancery (whose spelling of the name agrees exactly with our Dominican's) had any information but that which *he* supplied[3].

From the *Book of Marvels* we see that Jordanus had resided some time at Kulam before he wrote his account of Indian wonders[4]. But whether that residence was before or after his appointment to the bishopric, whether he ever reached *Columbum* as a father in God, how long (in that event) he occupied the see, and what in fact was the course of his life after 1330[5], is all obscure. This much is clear, that the

[1] Two letters of John XXII are the chief authorities here: (i) R., A. D. 1330, § lv, dated from Avignon, April 8, and addressed 'Domino Nascarinorum et universis sub eo Christianis Nascarinis de Columbo'; (ii) R., A. D. 1330, § lvii, also from Avignon, Feb. 14, addressed 'Ioanni de Core, electo Soltanensi,' and naming 'Thomam Semiscatensem et Iordanum Columbensem, episcopos, suffraganeos tuos' as bearers of the pallium. The term 'Catalani' here applied to Jordanus is of doubtful meaning, but it apparently does duty for a surname; see *Recueil* edition of *Mirabilia*, p. 5, which also suggests that the name of Jordanus may have been 'adopté en entrant en religion en l'honneur de saint Jordanus, qui gouverna l'ordre des Frères prêcheurs, après Saint Dominique.' According to Bzovius, *Annal. Eccles.*, xiv. 531 (Cologne, 1618), Jordanus was made a bishop in 1328, though not appointed to Kulam till 1330. The Samarcand bishop is Thomas of Mancasola. See p. 240.

[2] 'Universis Christianis commorantibus in Molephatam,' R., ibid.; the text of the letter is not given.

[3] In European writings of this date such agreement in an Asiatic word cannot well be other than of authority and copy.

[4] See p. 227.

[5] The story in Francis of Pisa's letter, of Jordanus exhibiting Tana relics at *Soldania* [here Soldaia?]

Mirabilia (along with hearsay and book-learning) contain a mass of first-hand information on Asiatic lands, races, and products, from Chios and Chaldaea to the extreme south of the Deccan, and that in their final shape they were composed in Europe, at a date subsequent to the spring of 1329. For so far, at any rate, we can go with the help of Jordanus' reference to the Genoese adventurer Martin Zachary[1], his loss of Chios, and his capture by the Emperor Andronicus.

As a matter of reasonable probability, we may believe that the friar wrote his *Description of Marvels* after he had been to Kulam as bishop[2], and had returned a second time to the West: but this must remain an open question. The references to *Elchigaday* as the reigning sovereign of the Chagatai Khanate and to Archbishop Zachary (of St. Thadaeus) as a recent convert to Rome, both take us back to 1321; the mention of *Osbet* or Uzbeg Khan would suit any time between 1313 and 1340[3]; it is only through Martin Zachary that we arrive at greater precision. For Jordanus obviously writes on one hand with the knowledge of Martin's fall and captivity in 1329, but, on the other hand, in ignorance of his release: as that seems to have occurred between 1338 and 1340, we have here a downward limit, not of absolute certainty, but of reasonable likelihood, for the publication of the *Mirabilia*.

That work, though nominally a Collection of Curiosities[4], has a value far above its modest pretensions. It is in fact a brief general treatise on the world, as well as on those things in distant parts of the world which had struck the widely-travelled author as most remarkable or interesting: it

doubtless refers to a time much nearer 1321–4. It may signify that soon after his second *Letter*, the friar carried out his promise and re-visited the Persian mission: see p. 218.

[1] On this Zaccaria, see also p. 233.

[2] Though nowhere in the *Mirabilia* does he speak of himself as a bishop.

[3] See pp. 232–3.

[4] *Mirabilia Descripta per Fratrem Iordanum*, edited by M. Coquebert-Montbret in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, Paris, vol. iv, 1839, pp. 1–64 [hereafter quoted as R.].

contains a series of geographical as well as of biological sketches. For the most part, Jordanus confines himself to his own experience. He begins with the Mediterranean, in which his remarks suggest the route of a traveller passing by Thebes and Negropont to the Levant, a route certainly followed (as noticed above) by the friar-company of 1302, in which the Dominican of Séverac may have been included[1]. Next we hear of Armenia and Persia, both forming part of a mission-field well known to the author[2]. We then come to a threefold India, great part of which had been first opened by the Bishop of Kulam to Roman enterprise, and as to which his main discourse is of the regions he knew best—Gujerat, Malabar, and Travancore[3]. Finally, we pass rapidly by Arabia and Chaldaea, Georgia and the Caucasus, and Turkey or Asia Minor—none of them wholly unknown to Jordanus; we are treated to a more lengthy discourse on Tartary, mostly from report; and a chapter of statistical geography is thrown in, to complete the work.

Unfortunately, Jordanus here makes no adequate attempt to sketch the course of his travels; as to the progress of those Catholic missions with which he was so intimately connected, he is hardly more satisfying. For on this subject he confines himself to a few brief allusions, devoting his main attention to other matters.

The whirlpool of Scylla and Charybdis, between Sicily and Calabria, the ebb and flow of the Grecian sea as the author witnessed it at the Euripus, 'between Negropont and the mainland,' the incessant earthquakes at Thebes, and the wonders of Ararat[4], form the opening of these *Reminiscences*; in his own naïve way the good friar *believes* that he visited

[1] See p. 218, n. 3.

[2] See pp. 215–16, 218, 222. We must add that Jordanus is one of the earliest 'Frank' writers to give us the name '*Black* Sea' ('mauri,' 'nigro,' R., 61): cf. pp. 243, 258, 291 of this volume, and Appendix.

[3] See pp. 218, 227–9.

[4] 'Unum vidi notabile . . . montem super quem Arca Noe,' &c.: 'hic mons nunquam . . . sine nivibus, raro . . . sine nubibus . . . inaccessibilis,' &c., R., 38.

the spot (Nakhichevan or Arguri) 'where Noah planted the first vine,' but it was in the winter season, and for this part of his experience he relies upon the memory of his conversation with the lord of that land, a certain Catholic archbishop [1].

As to his other Armenian travels, he tells us only of his visit to the 'prison of Simon and Jude' (a traditional holy place near Lake Urmi), and of his wanderings in the region [2] of Semur city—the Semiramis-Town of the Armenians, and the Van of modern geography. His Lake of the Ten Thousand Martyrs [3] is doubtless the modern Lake of Van, near which the Varak Monastery still perpetuates the very same tradition; his Dead Sea of Armenia, bitter, lifeless, and stinking, is doubtless Lake Urmi; its island-tombs and treasures are vouched for, not merely by ancient Persian tradition, but by contemporary history [4], while the reference of our text to the Dominican and Franciscan triumphs in these parts and the conversion of Archbishop Zachary of St. Thadaeus [5], are abundantly confirmed by the correspondence of Pope John XXII, the annals of the Orders, and other authoritative documents.

But Jordanus seems to forget that Catholic missionaries had laboured here since the middle of the thirteenth century, when he allows himself to hope for the spiritual conquest of the whole country in a short time [6].

Of the Latin mission in Persia, as in Armenia, Jordanus might have given us priceless details, but he only tells us of the Roman churches and communities at Tabriz, at Sultaniyah, and at *Ur of the Chaldees, where Abraham was born*, two

[1] On the Latin missions in this part of Asia, see pp. 206, 214.

[2] 'Ego fui per totam terram istam, fere,' R., 39.

[3] R., 39.

[4] The first two Mongol Ilkhans, Hulagu and Abagha, were both buried on an island in Lake Urmi; cf. Jordanus, R., 39, on the 'mare mortuum in ista Armenia, amarissimum, ubi dicitur quod non est... piscis ... nec potest navigari ... pro foetore.'

[5] 'Unum archiepiscopum magnum valde, qui dominus Zacharias vocatur,' R., 39: see pp. 212–13, 222.

[6] 'Infra breve tempore (*sic*) totum residuum convertetur,' R., 39.

days distant from Tabriz (perhaps the town of Urmi [1])—adding a few particulars of no especial interest or freshness on Persian marvels, such as the 200,000 *houses* of Tabriz, or the manna and pitch-fountains of other regions [2].

It is only when he quits Persia and approaches the Indian lands of his own apostolate—that 'other world' whose birds and beasts, fruits and customs, differed so utterly from the European [3]—it is only in his account of the Greater, Lesser, and Tertiary Indies that our friar can be said to impart an adequate body to the beverage he offers us. But here, upon his own favourite ground, along with the childlike simplicity of his style, the almost feminine emphasis of his astonishment, the boyish recklessness of his Latin, he displays a surprising power of observation and description, a freedom from the legend-seeking passion, a love of truth, and a capacity for investigating and sifting fact, which is none too common in the fourteenth century.

Including in his *India Minor* all the coast-lands from Sindh, and possibly from Mekran to the northern frontier of Malabar, Jordanus sketches this great region with surprising fidelity:—its intolerable heat; its long rainless seasons; its heavy dews, affording a compensation for dried-up springs, rivers, and ponds; its black, rice-eating people, almost innocent of clothing; its ginger and sugar-cane; its strange and beautiful parrots and peacocks, and, above all, its fruit. The jack, the mango, the palmyra-palm, the cocoa-nut and its

[1] The 'Urmiyah' of Arab geographers. See R., 40, on the Roman 'ecclesia satis pulchra' in Tabriz and the 1,000 converts there, on the similar gains ('bene totidem') in 'Ur Chaldaeorum ... civitas opulenta valde,' and on the 'ecclesia valde pulchra' in 'Soltania' and the 500 or 600 converts of that mission.

[2] R., 41. Jordanus ends this section by warning his readers not to exaggerate the importance of these Levantine countries—Persia, Armenia, Chaldaea, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Greece: they abounded in good things, it was true; but (except Greece) they were not one-tenth as populous as Christian lands ('non sunt ... ibi habitatae, etiam in decuplo').

[3] R., 41, 42: 'haec India [Minor], quoad fructus et alia, a terra Christianitatis est aliena, excepto quod sunt ibi limones,' &c.

varied products (milk and toddy, thatch and twine) were never more accurately painted by a Latin writer of the Middle Age[1].

With the same exactitude he describes the Indian rhinoceros, and differentiates it from the unicorn; depicts the crocodile, the flying-fox, and the lynx; gives us (free from the misconceptions we might expect) one of the very earliest European accounts of the doctrines and burial customs of the Parsis—their First Principles of Good and Evil; their Towers of Silence—and notes the drudgery and degradation of Indian pariahs, the practice of suttee, and the ox-worship, idol ritual, and religious tolerance of Hindu misbelievers[2].

So excellent is all this that the modern student will not quarrel overmuch with the bishop's occasional embellishments—his two-headed, three-headed, and five-headed serpents; the Multan origin he assigns to the Turkish Saracens (dominating so great a part of 'Lesser' India); or his obvious prejudice against the Christians of St. Thomas, to whom he assigns with evident satisfaction the most outrageous of heresies[3].

Nor shall we lightly reject Jordanus' testimony to the Hindus of his day—'true in speech, eminent in justice,' jealous

[1] R., 42–6: on the 'calores horribilissimi et importabiles hominibus extraneis,' see p. 46; on the absence of 'fontes, fluvii, cisternae,' and on the abundant 'ros' and nine months' drought, p. 41; on the 'homines nigri,' their 'indumentum' and 'risis,' pp. 41–2; on the 'zinziber' and 'cannae de zuchara,' p. 46, and again p. 49, for ginger; on the 'spittaci (*sic*), papagaii, pavones,' &c., p. 45 ('istae aves domesticae sic loquuntur in gabiis, quod videntur quasi homines rationabiles'); on the 'chaqui, bloqui, aniba, nargil,' and other fruits, pp. 42–3.

[2] See R., 44–5, on the 'siagois' or lynx, the 'rinocerunta' (not now found so far west as Jordanus implies), the 'coquodrilli' or 'calcatix' (*sic*), and the 'vespertiliones magnae sicut milvi'; on the idol-sacrifices, see p. 47, with the additional remarks on pp. 51–2; on ox-worship, p. 48; on suttee, pp. 45–6; on the 'Dumbri' outcasts, p. 46; on the 'pagani qui ignem adorant,' their 'turres,' and 'duo prima principia,' p. 46. For Polo's account of the great bald bats or flying-foxes of India, see G., 205; Y.-C., ii. 345.

[3] See R., 44, on the 'serpentes bicipites,' &c.; on the 'Turci Sarraceni, qui exierant de Multan,' see p. 47; on the 'dispersus populus . . . qui dicit se Christianum esse,' its ignorance of baptism and the faith, and its conversion of St. Thomas into Christ Himself, ibid.

for the ancient rights of all. For, however opposed to the notions, or even to the experience, of our own time, this verdict is not without respectable support; it is substantially that of Benjamin of Tudela, Marco Polo, and John of Monte Corvino [1]; and it may have been more applicable to the un-Europeanized native of the fourteenth century than to his modern children. As to the prophecies handed down among Indian pagans that the Latin nations were to conquer all the world [2], Jordanus here repeats the tradition which he has already stated with more emphasis and detail [3] in his mission-letter of January, 1323–4;—a tradition which is perhaps sufficiently attested by native witnesses; which four centuries later began to receive fulfilment; and which we may compare with the still existent forebodings that Hindustan is destined to be the prey of a people from the north.

And now, moving on to Greater India, under which he includes all the South-Asian shore-lands from Malabar to Cambodia and Cochin China, Jordanus tells us of the elephant [4], that crowning marvel of the beast-creation alike in size and strength, in understanding and gentleness, in docility and aptitude for war. His words deserve some recognition. For here, again, as in his sketches of the flying-squirrel and the bandicoot [5], of the white ant and the spider-killing wasp [6], of

[1] Though Corvino certainly does not think the Hindu was 'in victu mundissimus' (R., 46), however much 'verax in verbo et in iustitia praecipuus,' see pp. 165–6 of this volume.

[2] R., 47, 'Pagani istius Indiae habent prophetias suas, quod nos Latini,' &c.

[3] See p. 220.

[4] R., 48–9. His charge was like 'fulgur de coelo' or 'lapis de machina,' yet 'genuflectit, iacet, sedet, vadit et venit . . . ad praeceptum magistri.' The physical description is also excellent.

[5] 'Catti alas habentes ad modum vespertilionum; . . . mures . . . magni sicut vulpes, et venenosissimi' (R., 50). The latter Jordanus assigns to India Minor; two of the former were found in Greater India, *while he was at Columbum.*

[6] 'Genus parvissimarum formicarum, sicut lana albarum,' with teeth so hard 'quod ligna rodant; . . . faciunt ad modum muri crustam . . . de arena; . . . genus vesparum cuius officium est araneas . . . interficere et postea in sabulo, in profunda foveuncula sepelire' (R., 53).

the Deccan kite and the Cinghalese devil-bird [1], or of the feathered beauties of the Archipelago—white as snow, red as scarlet, or green as grass [2]—the worthy friar appears as a true zoologist, with a genuine, if but half-awakened, capacity for the study of Nature.

But in his geography of the Indian island-world, it is equally evident that he lacks personal experience and sound information. Thus his Java—more than 7,000 (?) miles in circuit, producing nutmegs, mace, and all the finest spices, beautiful white mice, shaggy pygmies, and cloves of deadly odour [3]—is professedly described at second-hand, and has all the legendary flavour of the half-understood.

Nor can we always follow him with satisfaction upon the mainland. For though he seems to grasp the peculiar law of inheritance (by sister's son) among certain sections of Hindu nobility, he extends its application far beyond the Malabar coast, to the whole of *India Maior* [4]. His division of *Molebar* and *Mohabar*—Malabar and Coromandel—making Kulam the capital of the latter, and locating the pepper country in the former, is also perplexing [5]; and although his 'very great kingdom' of *Maratha* is perhaps the earliest notice of the Mahratta name in European literature, he seems entirely mistaken in suggesting (if he really means to suggest) a wide-reaching and unified Mahratta empire at this time. His whole treatment, moreover, of the political divisions of *India Maior* is artificial and unsatisfactory: it would perhaps be

[1] 'Avis ad modum milvi, caput habens album et ventrem, desuper autem tota rubea . . . de manibus piscatorum . . . pisces rapiunt' (R., 53); 'avis magna, non sicut milvus, quae solum de nocte volat, et vocem emittit nocturnis temporibus, ad modum . . . hominis plangentis . . . de profundo . . . Diabolus . . . ibi loquitur . . . hominibus nocturnis temporibus, sicut ego audivi,' ibid.

[2] R., 50.

[3] R., 51. The MS. reads 'Jaua [or Jana?], quae volvitur ultra septem milliaria' (*sic, sed emendandum*, says the French editor, and 7,000 for 7 seems a plausible restoration of Jordanus' text here). For other estimates of Java see pp. 133, 265.

[4] R., 51.

[5] R., 55. Kulam ('Columbum,' 'Polumbrum,' 'Coilon,' &c.) is the head-centre of the pepper country in all the mediaeval observers of note, except Jordanus here.

unreasonable to expect otherwise. For while his *Singuyli* may be identified with Cranganor, his *Molephatam* with Malifatan, his *Batigala* with 'Batcul' (to the north of Mangalore), his *Chopa* with *Champa* or Cochin China, and his *Telenc* with Telingana north-east of Hyderabad, and while his *Molebar*, *Mohabar* and *Sylen* are easily recognizable, we cannot say that his enumeration of the twelve idol kingdoms[1] between Travancore and Annam has even a slight pretension to exhaustiveness, though we include three or four realms in Java 'where the good spices grow,' and exclude the Batigala monarch, who 'was of the Saracens[2],' or the 'many kings' of *Chopa*, who apparently are not reckoned in the list[3].

We have no evidence that Jordanus was ever in *Champa*, but he is perfectly right in declaring that elephants there took the place of horses, mules, asses, and camels, in all kinds of work. Nor could the friar's account of elephant-taking and taming be improved; to whatever region its details refer (and it is introduced immediately after the mention of *Champa*, though probably without any special application to that country) it is evidently from life.

Lastly, while we cannot suppose that horses, camels, mules, and elephants were so unknown in Lesser India as the *Mirabilia* suggest[4], it is in the true spirit of Brahman tradition that the French missionary speaks of the *infernal* cave-dwelling and forest-haunting aborigines of the interior[5].

Jordanus' *India Tertia* vaguely corresponds to Polo's *Middle India*, and is to be understood of a vast but undefined coast region to the west of Hindustan, and even of Baluchistan. Further than this we cannot go. For India the Third is

[1] 'xii reges idolatrae (*sic*) et plus,' R., 55.

[2] 'Iste . . . Sarracenorum,' R., 55.

[3] R., 55. For other notices of 'Singuyli' and 'Champa,' &c., especially in Odoric and Marignolli, see pp. 132, 267-8, 296-7.

[4] R., 42.

[5] R., 53. These 'homines longe a mari habitantes' were found both in Greater and Lesser India. Jordanus' residence in the former is clearly stated in R., 50 and 52 ('me existente in Columbo'; 'in Maiori India, ubi fui').

plainly distinguished in the *Mirabilia* from the hot, volcanic, auriferous land of *Aethiopia*[1], the 'empire' of Prester John[2], even though it is apparently conceived as not far distant from the latter; the Terrestrial Paradise lay between the two[3]; and although the most valued products of *India Tertia* were carried to the Prester, yet his realm did not include the monsters who grew these jewels[4].

But as to any definition of this India and its limits, that is entirely wanting; as to any first-hand knowledge of the same, that is expressly disclaimed[5]; as to its marvels, the details given are those of legend, not of natural history, poured out in a profusion that shows the friar's real conception of the country as a useful storehouse of romantic myth, suitable to attract the reading public.

The dragons with foetid breath, ugly and venomous, which yet bore those precious gems, the carbuncles, upon their heads; the elephant-conquering rocs; the real unicorns, only to be captured by maidens; the neighbourhood of the earthly Paradise—these are the characteristics of a country we should imagine to lie wholly outside reality, if it were not for certain allusions to ambergris, the civet cat, the zebra, and the negro type of humanity[6].

It is between this *India Tertia* and *India Maior* (a very suitable locality for such a land of Nod) that Jordanus locates the *alleged*[7] Isles of Men and Women, pretty much after the manner of Marco Polo[8]; while as to Great Arabia, the

[1] R., 57-8. [2] R., 56.
[3] R., 56. [4] R., 55-6. [5] R., 55.
[6] R., 55-7; on the 'dracones in quantitate maxima' and their 'lapides lucentes,' their habitat 'super arenas aureas,' and their final destruction 'in flumine quod exit de Paradiso,' see p. 55; on the 'aves quae *roc* vocantur,' p. 56; on the 'unicornes veri, magni ad modum equi,' p. 56; on the 'Paradisus terrestris' said to lie 'inter istam Indiam et Aethiopiam,' because 'de partibus illis descendunt quatuor illa flumina Paradisi, quae abundant . . . in auro . . . et lapidibus pretiosis,' p. 56; on the 'embar . . . gemma marina,' p. 56; on the zebras 'ad modum asini laminati per transversum de nigro et albo'; on the animal 'ad modum catti, cuius sudor tanti boni odoris est,' p. 56; on the 'homines nigerrimi, ventrosi, grossi,' &c., p. 56.
[7] 'Dicunt esse,' &c., R., 57.
[8] R., 57; see pp. 145-6 of this volume.

country of incense and myrrh, which he professes to have visited, he pictures *all* its inhabitants as lean, black, and crafty cave-dwellers, with shrill, boyish voices, and a diet of nought but fish, herbs, and roots[1].

On the other hand, in what he has to say of the *Ethiopian Emperor, called Prester John*, and the heretical Christians who composed his people[2], it seems beyond dispute that he (first, perhaps, among Latin mediaeval writers) shows the way to the African explanation of the Priest-King's story.

For the recovery of Abyssinia to European knowledge and interest we owe to Jordanus, as to Marignolli[3], a measure of gratitude. Even his inflation of the Negus into the wealthiest and most potent monarch of the world[4], ruling over all his neighbours to the south and west, exacting homage from fifty-two[5] under-kings, and receiving tribute even from the Sultan of Cairo[6] (an exaggeration natural enough from one who had never investigated *Aethiopia* for himself, but only discussed it with travellers[7]) was perhaps more serviceable to the progress of knowledge than a tamer and truer recital would have been. For here at last the tale of Prester John was pointing towards something real, something of possible value for the Catholic world to explore: no outworn historic reminiscence, no intricate confusion with a Buddhist conqueror, here cheated discovery. The one essential was that Western attention should be emphatically directed towards the isolated Christianity of *Habesh*.

[1] R., 57. It is evident he can only have visited at most some of the southern coast-lands.

[2] 'Imperatorem Aethiopum quem . . . vocatis Prestre Iohan,' R., 56; 'populus totus Christianus sed haereticus,' R., 58.

[3] See pp. 305-6 of this volume.

[4] R., 57-8; as to the 'populus Aethiopiae' Jordanus believes, 'sine mendacio,' 'quod durat . . . in triplo plus quam tota Christianitas,' R., 61.

[5] Fra Mauro's map of 1457-9 makes 120. See Appendix to this volume.

[6] 'Soldanus Babyloniae dat omni anno de tributo quingenta millia duplarum ut dicitur,' R., 58. This is a frequently recurring fourteenth-century story; cf. Simon Sigoli, Marignolli, and others, p. 305 and ch. iii of this volume.

[7] 'Non fui ibi . . . Multos vidi et habui notos de partibus illis,' R., 58.

Jordanus closes his *Mirabilia* with a few notes on various extra-Indian countries, chief among which was the realm of the Great Tartar[1], that rich, just, and generous potentate under whose sway (as our friar had been told by persons worthy of credit) were four realms as large as France, 200 cities greater than Toulouse, a metropolis which it needed a full day's riding to cross[2], and incredible marvels of idolatry and barbaric civilization.

Though somewhat confusedly, Jordanus shows a considerable knowledge of the Mongol dynasties, especially in Central Asia[3]; and, in the same way, his references to the paper-money of the Tartar Emperors, to the church system of the Lamas and its analogies with that of Rome, to the Imperial funeral customs, to Chinese courtesy, and to the rhubarb, musk, and porcelain produced within the Great Khan's realm[4], are of a very different character from his pleasantries on India the Third or on Chaldaea[5].

Similarly in Caucasia, parts of which the friar may well have visited, but as to which he makes no claim, the *Mirabilia* clearly show access to good information, telling us how in *Mogan*, the rich plain-land of the south-west Caspian littoral,

[1] R., 58; by this he probably means only the Suzerain Kingdom (of Kublai and his successors), the 'Dominium proprium Magni Canis.' On pp. 61–2 he confuses this Realm of the Great Khan with the Khanate of Kipchak, speaking of '*alia duo* imperia Tartarorum, scilicet de Cathay, quondam modo vero de Osbet, quod vocatur Gatzaria [Khazaria] et imperium de Dua et Cayda, quondam de Capac et modo Elchigaday.' 'Osbet' or Uzbeg was Khan of Kipchak from 1313 to 1340; Dua was the Chagatai Khan from 1274 to 1306; 'Cayda' or Kaidu (1260–1301) was the real founder of the Sibir Khanate and the ruler of much of Central Asia at various times, frequently noticed above as Kublai's great enemy; while 'Capac' or Kapak (Kebek) was Chagatai Khan in 1309, and 'Elchigaday' or Ilchikdai in 1321.

[2] Called 'Hyemo' by Jordanus (R., 58. The description is too vague, and the name too corrupt for any identification; Peking, of course, should be intended.

[3] See note 1.

[4] R., 58–9. In parts of this Jordanus appears to copy Marco Polo closely; see e. g. the description of the Grand Khan's burial; cf. Appendix.

[5] He claims to have been here ('ibi, cum essem,' &c., R., 60), but has little except stories of monsters and hobgoblins.

the warm medicinal oil called *naft* was extracted from the pits of Baku[1]; how in the 'Caspian hills,' sheep were sacrificed upon a cross by pretended Christians[2]; how among these mountains were many different nations; and how Georgia (with its Christian warrior-folk) entirely resembled a European country[3].

Lastly, as to Asia Minor, inhabited by (and named after) those excellent archers, perfidious warriors, and rascally Saracens, the Turks—under whose careless rule (as he had seen for himself) the whole land was falling out of cultivation—Jordanus is speaking of what he knew fairly well. For he had probably travelled in various parts of the peninsula, and he expressly tells us of visits to the mainland coast as well as to the island of Chios[4]. But except for references to the Genoese *condottieri* Martin Zachary and Andreolo Catani, to the production of mastick gum, and to the manufacture of alum[5], he gives us little. Here, as elsewhere, we see that he only becomes an author for the sake of discoursing upon India.

We have already noticed that Jordanus inserts among his descriptive chapters a statistical one—estimating the 'distances' or extent of the chief countries of his purview. Little value attaches to these reckonings—the 100 days' journey across Cathay, the 90 across Persia, the 60 across Lesser India, the 170 across India the Greater, the 200 across the Empires of *Osbet* and *Elchigaday*, and the rest; but in the course of this summary, he takes occasion to reflect upon Saracen missions, to notice the sufferings of Christian pioneers among the schismatics and unbelievers of the East, and to express a sturdy patriotism, coupled with a strong

[1] See on Moghan p. 259, on Baku pp. 53-4, 245, 259; and cf. ch. ii, part ii, §§ 4, 5 of this volume.

[2] On this custom, so far as observed among Nestorians and others, see Appendix.

[3] R., 60.

[4] R., 63.

[5] 'Mastix gummi . . . alumen sine quo nullus pannus bene potest tingi,' R., 63. On the value of the reference to Zaccaria in fixing the date of the *Mirabilia* see above, p. 222.

contempt for the seamanship and the military strength of Orientals.

With a whimsical candour he lets loose his indignation upon the Saracen missionaries, perfidious and accursed, who ran about the entire Orient, just like the Latins[1], journeying everywhere to bring all men to their own villany[2]: it was at this very time, as a matter of history, that Moslem *perfidia* began its permanent conquest of the Malay world, began successfully to compass the seas and lands of the Archipelago in search of proselytes, began to penetrate even to the interior of Java and Sumatra.

Of his own and his companions' sufferings Jordanus has already told us something in his *Letters*: but it is only from the *Mirabilia* that we know of his *four* imprisonments in Mohammedan dungeons, of his scourgings, stonings, and torturings[3], or of the martyrdom of the five Dominicans who had perished in the East, besides the Minorites of Tana, within his own remembrance[4].

Last of all, upon the place of Indians in the scale of human strength and happiness, his words, repeating with greater emphasis and fullness his earlier language, go straight to the heart of the matter. Though the size of India was so great, and its marvels so admirable, its people were but children in war[5]; one seaman of Europe was worth a hundred of the Indian Ocean cowards, with their chicken-hearted dread of a little breeze[6]; the King of France alone, without the aid of any, might subdue the whole infidel world[7] to the Christian

[1] 'Sicut nos,' R., 63.

[2] R., 63, 'ad perfidiam suam.'

[3] R., 63, 'depilatus, verberatus, lapidatus.'

[4] R., 63. Yet he boasts of the conversion of more than 10,000 heathen, 'postquam . . . inter illos scismaticos et infideles fui'; 'si essent cc vel ccc fratres . . . fideliter et ferventer praedicare,' not a year would pass without a still larger harvest (R., 62); the character of the converts was admirable (ibid.).

[5] R., 44, 45, 55. It is especially of India Minor or the west coast that Jordanus speaks so scornfully ('bellum eorum puerorum ludus,' &c., p. 45).

[6] R., 62. This remark follows a short account of the 'navigia quae navigant in Cathay,' closely resembling Polo's (see pp. 126–7), but it applies to the 'mare Indianicum.'

[7] R., 63, 'totum mundum,' but the

faith; nor was any land fairer, any food more savoury, any folk more honest, any morality more noble, than here at home in Christendom [1].

Jordanus speaks cheerfully enough of the progress and prospects of the Indian mission, deploring only the paucity of workers; yet after his time we hear almost nothing of the Catholic community in the Deccan, Gujerat, and Konkan [2]. What we do learn from his contemporary Odoric and his quasi-successor John Marignolli will be told in our account of those travellers; here it is enough to say that the former (in 1321–2) coasted round great part of the Indian peninsula, from the Bombay region to Madras, on his way to China [3], and that the latter (in 1347–8) not only visited the Thomas country, but stayed at the Roman church still existing in Kulam, and gave a last impetus to the Latin enterprise in the Land of Pepper [4].

§ 4. *Pascal of Vittoria and the East European and Central Asian Missions.*

We have seen how vigorously the Roman Church struggled for the conquest of China, of South-Western Asia, and of India, throughout the first half of the fourteenth century. During the same period the fates of Christianity and Islam were decided in Higher Asia, and Latin missionaries fought no less keenly, no less cheerfully, no less vainly than in Cathay for the victory of their creed in Turkestan, in the Volga basin, and in the Crimea. But of these latter enterprises we have a slenderer record, and what we do know of them is frequently incidental to the larger story of Catholic

'subiicere fidei Christianae' (as well as the whole context) shows that Eastern heathendom is meant.

[1] R., 62, 'hic in nostra Christianitate.'

[2] In 1328 John XXII commissions prelates from the Franciscan and Dominican Orders to Persia, to the empire of 'Elgigaday' (Central Asia) and to 'interior India' and 'Indostan in India minore' (W., vii., 88). But no more is heard of these Indian bishops.

[3] See pp. 261–3.

[4] See pp. 297–9, 301–3.

proselytism in the Celestial Empire or in Persia. Thus between 1333 and 1338 we catch a glimpse of Archbishop Nicolas, Corvino's successor-designate, stopping at Almalig (or Kulja) on his way to that Far East which he never seems to have reached[1]; thus in 1338 we have the Papal letters to the Chagatai Khan and his courtiers, thanking them for their friendliness to Nicolas, and commending to their notice the embassy then leaving Europe for *Cambaliech* under John Marignolli and his fellows[2]. In the same way, we hear of this very embassy making a prolonged stay at Almalig in 1340–1, and then proceeding on its way to Peking[3]; twenty years later we read of an archbishop of *Zayton* perishing as a martyr-confessor in Central Asia (1362), presumably on his journey to the Fokien port[4]; and yet again (either in 1368–70, on their final expulsion from China, or in an earlier catastrophe) we see the Franciscans flying from Cathay to find a refuge at Sarai[5], then as Mongol and as Asiatic as Karakorum—

'At Sarray, in the londe of Tartarie,'

as Chaucer opens the story of Cambuscan. Yet though of slighter material, the history of the Kipchak and Chagatai—the 'Russian' and 'Turkestan'—missions yields to none in fascination, nor is there any record of Catholic travel more impressive than the letter of Brother Pascal of Vittoria written from Almalig in August, 1338, on the eve of his own destruction.

Even before the great Tartar invasion of Eastern Europe under Batu (1239–41), Dominican missionaries had penetrated into the countries lying east of the Middle Volga, into the *Pascatir*, *Bashkir-land*, or *Old Hungary* of the thirteenth century[6]; and in 1245–7 and 1253–5 the expeditions of John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubrouck, to some extent at least, had the character of proselytizing ventures. Rubruquis,

[1] See p. 181 of this volume.
[2] See p 182 of this volume.
[3] See pp. 292–3.
[4] See p. 186 of this volume.
[5] See p. 177 of this volume.
[6] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 342.

in particular, came to Tartary with an express commission to ascertain what truth lay in the rumoured conversion of Sartach, the son of Batu, as well as in similar tales of the Christian leanings or avowals of other Mongol princes[1]. The envoy of St. Louis pictures Sartach as indifferent to, and even contemptuous of, the faith[2], but he does not seem to have known of the Mongol chieftain's embassy to Rome, and of those declarations of his ambassador and chaplain, the priest John, which called out so eager a response from Innocent IV.

Yet whether or no Sartach had been won to the true religion by the prayers of his Christian subjects and the restoration of a sick child to health[3], we have no further light on Catholic mission-history in the Kipchak Khanate until about 1314. But under this year we possess a list of Franciscan houses in the Vicariates of Northern and Eastern Tartary—seventeen in the former, fourteen in the latter—compiled by a certain Englishman (doubtless a Minorite) whose name has not been preserved, but whose compilation bears witness to an astonishing spread of Latin activity to the north of the Black Sea. On the other or Persian side the catalogue (which mentions only Sinope, Trebizond, Erzerum, and four other places in South-Western Asia) is neither remarkable nor complete: but, in the Crimea and the basins of the Don and Volga, the establishments of the Greyfriars at Kaffa or Theodosia, *Sardaya*, Soldaia, or Sudak, *Cimbulum* or Balaclava, *Tana* or Azov, *Beler*, Bolghar, or Kazan, *Uguech*, *Ugalet*, or Uvyek[4], and Sarai itself, to say nothing of St. John's near Sarai

[1] See *Dawn Mod Geog.*, ii. 320. On the other hand, with Berke, Batu's brother and successor and the patron of the Elder Polos (see above, pp. 39, 40), the Kipchak Khanate tended irreversibly towards Islam.

[2] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 337.

[3] See the letter of Innocent IV, 'Sattach [Sartach] regi Tartarorum,' dated from Anagni, Aug. 29, 1254, in R., A.D. 1254, § ii, &c.; W., iii. 359, &c. The Pope professes to have learnt 'per dilectum filium Ioannem presbyterum, capellanum tuum, latorem praesentium, quem ad nostram misisti praesentiam,' how Sartach, with some of his people, had actually been baptized ('veterem . . . hominem in . . . baptismatis lavacro exuisti').

[4] Otherwise 'Ukak,' 'Ukek,' &c.; see p. 41.

and *Majeria*, 'Magyar,' or Majar in the Kuma valley, south-west of Astrakhan[1], express perhaps as much as anything recorded in Mendicant history. When the brethren founded their other houses noticed in the fuller catalogues of 1400[2] we do not know; we can only conjecture that these catalogues represent a state of affairs prevailing much earlier in the century; it was possibly during the reign of Uzbeg Khan (1312–40), when Rome exerted herself most eagerly for the winning of the north-western Mongols, that the mission stations at *Agitarcan*[3] or Astrakhan and *Mamuvi* or Memak on the Lower Volga, at *Comuch* or Kumuk and *Tarchis* or Terki on the Lower Terek, at *Acsarai* on the west coast of the Caspian (north of the Gate of Derbent), at *Organe* or Urganj (the mediaeval Khiva), at Almalig, and at other places in the Central Asian Khanate, sprang into being. Even more than in China or Persia, these Latin outposts from the Euxine to Kazan, from the Caucasus to Kulja, represent the exploring spirit of the Roman Church in its highest form. For where could the enmity of Nature and Man be defied more recklessly?

[1] See W., vi. 226–7, professedly derived from an 'auctor Anglus,' who records an astronomical phenomenon of March 1, 1314, and in Wadding's opinion wrote just at that time. The seventeen 'loca' in the Vicariat of Northern Tartary include, besides those named in the text, houses at 'Cata,' 'Baraton,' 'Marum Castrum,' and 'Vicena'; the fourteen 'loca' in the Vicariat of 'Tartaria Orientalis' comprise establishments also at Thessalonica, Pera, 'Symesso,' 'Calefinium,' 'Carpi,' and 'Piscevith.'

[2] For these see W., ix. 233–4, &c. Here the Vicariat of Northern Tartary is divided into two 'custodiae,' (1) Gazaria, (2) Sarai. In the former were four houses, in the latter ten. With the additions noticed in the text, the list corresponds closely with that of 1314: two houses 'in Cepton' (Zayton), one 'in Cambalech' (Peking), several ('plura') 'in Magna Tartaria iuxta civitatem Mille Scorte' (the Elburz highlands, just south of the Caspian, also noticed under this name in Odoric, p. 287 of this volume), one 'in Armalech' (Almalig-Kulja) 'in Medio Imperio Tartarorum,' seven 'loca immobilia et mobilia in regno Iveriae' (Georgia), two 'in Thauricio' (Tabriz), two 'in Maieria' (Majar), are also mentioned. The catalogue of 1314 gives two stations 'in Tarvisio' (Tabriz), not counting the 'loca Radiae et Cathaii,' whose number the Father Vicar did not know, and four in the Vicariat of 'Arabalech (Almalig ?) vel Cathay,' W., vi. 227. See also Appendix to this volume.

[3] Properly 'Hajji-Tarkhan,' Pegolotti's 'Gittarchan' and 'Gintarchan.'

Where in all the known world could distance, barbarism, sterility, and fanaticism present a more formidable combination of obstacles?

In 1317 the Dominican William Adam, returning from Persia, paints so favourable a picture not only of the Ilkhan's Court but also of Uzbeg's[1], that Pope John XXII, while founding the archbishopric of Sultaniyah on one hand, writes on the other to the Kipchak Khan loading him with ill-deserved compliment on his supposed good-nature towards his Christian subjects (March 28, 1318)[2]. These stories of Uzbeg, however unfounded, were perhaps an important factor in the establishment of the new Persian sees, and were doubtless all-important in the creation of those which lay, like Kaffa or Sarai, within the realm of the Golden Horde.

In 1318 that same Jerome who (with Thomas and Peter of Florence) had in 1312 been dispatched to the aid of the Chinese mission[3], is appointed bishop of Kaffa[4]: perhaps he had never really gone to Cathay; at any rate his appearance as a prelate in the Crimea (in 1320) effectively rouses the Genoese. The Ligurian traders were not, it was said, very favourable to Franciscan missionaries in Black Sea waters, and in the very next year (1321) they expel Jerome from his see, despite all his alleged successes in the conversion of Tartar magnates. Shrill protests issue from Pope John, and the Franciscans of Kaffa are empowered to lay the local Genoese under ecclesiastical censures, if Jerome is not restored[4].

After this upheaval at Theodosia, another follows in the

[1] Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, i. 105.

[2] See the letter 'Usbec imperatori Tartarorum' in R., A.D. 1318, §§ i–iii, written from Avignon, v. Kal. April.

[3] See p. 177 of this volume.

[4] See R., A.D. 1321, § 1; W., vi. 371. The Dominican John had in 1268 been nominated to the see of Kaffa (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 432), but no other appointment had been made here until that of Jerome. In 1318, R., §§ xiii–xiv, records the submission of the Crimean (as well as of the Cilician) Armenians to Rome, represented in the peninsula by the Latin bishop of Kaffa, and gives the letter addressed to them by John XXII from Avignon (March 28; the same date as the Pope's letter to Uzbeg, noticed above).

neighbour city of Sudak. In 1322–3 the local Moslems, who had for some time borne with a very bad grace the clanging of Christian church-bells in a place where Christians were no longer masters, deprive the unlucky Nazarenes of bells and churches at one blow, turning the latter into mosques, and expelling all the 'polytheists' from the town. Again John XXII appeals to Uzbeg (September, 1323) to do right among his subjects; just as a little earlier and later he appeals to the Catholics living under Uzbeg's rule to stand fast in their religion (November, 1321, and January, 1330) [1].

We now pass for a moment to Central Asia. We have already noticed the Papal attempt of 1289 to open correspondence with Kaidu [2], as well as with Kublai, by means of the Persian mission, then so flourishing, but we have no details of Catholic progress in Turkestan until 1328–9, when the Dominican Thomas of Mancasola, who had apparently been working for some years in or about Samarcand, journeys from Central Asia to the Roman Court in Avignon, as the envoy of the Chagatai Khan. The Khan aforesaid, that same *Elchigaday* or Ilchikdai whom Jordanus mentions [3], had commissioned Thomas and another friar-preacher as his envoys to Europe, and had entrusted them with letters for the Pope; in these letters he had requested the Pontiff to make Thomas a bishop; and the favoured preacher is accordingly sent back as 'episcopus Semiscatensis'; with Jordanus of Columbum he is commissioned to take the pall to the new archbishop of Sultaniyah, his metropolitan [4]; and he is furnished with Papal letters to Ilchikdai and to the Catholics of the

[1] See the letters (1) of Sept. 27, 1323, 'Usbek imperatori Tartarorum,' in R., A.D. 1323, §§ i–iii; (2) of Nov. 23, 1321, 'universis per Tartarorum imperium aquilonare constitutis in obedientia perseverantibus Apostolicae sedis,' in W., vi. 372; (3) of Jan. 22, 1330, 'universis conversis ... et Catholicis Christianis ... in partibus Aquilonis et ... Orientis, et specialiter in imperio Usbech et Elchigaday,' in R., A.D. 1330, § lv.

[2] See p. 163 of this volume.

[3] See pp. 232–3 of this volume.

[4] See pp. 220–1 of this volume.

Kipchak and Chagatai Khanates[1] (November, 1329, and January, 1330).

In 1318 we have seen a Catholic bishopric created, or rather revived, at the great Crimean port which had now become the chief Euxine base of the Genoese[2]; in 1333 two other Latin sees are erected in the same peninsula. For in this year the Dominicans Francis of Camerino and Richard 'of England,' who had been working in *Vosprus*, Bosporos, or Kerch, bring home the news of the conversion of the city-governor (as well as of his master Versacht, king of the Zicci), from 'Greek Schism' to Roman Orthodoxy: to secure the ground thus gained the Pope now makes Francis archbishop of *Vosprus*, and Richard bishop of the town of *Gochia* in the district of Kherson, our Sevastopol[3].

This burst of missionary energy on the Black Sea coasts, we may remark, exactly coincides with the appointment of Nicolas to succeed Monte Corvino at Peking, and with the elaborate series of Papal letters intended to prepare the way of Nicolas for a triumphant progress across Asia.

The letter of brother Pascal of Vittoria was written in the very year (1338) that witnessed the arrival of the Great Khan's embassy at Avignon, under Andrew the Frank, and the dispatch of the Roman legation, under John Marignolli

[1] See the letters of John XXII in R., A. D. 1329, §§ xcvii–xcviii, and A. D. 1330, § lv: (1) 'Elchigadam imperatori Tartarorum Corassan, et Turquestam, ac Indostan,' dated from Avignon, Nov. 2, 1329; (2) 'Universis Catholicis Christianis ... in imperio Usbech et Elchigaday,' Avignon, Jan. 22, 1330 (see above, p. 240, n. 1).

[2] See above, p. 239.

[3] 'Gochia' here is, of course, for 'Gothia.' See the letters of John XXII, all from Avignon: (1) 'Versacht regi Ziccorum,' July 2, 1333; (2) 'Francisco de Camerino archiepiscopo Vosprensi,' August 1, 1333; (3) 'Francisco archiepiscopo Vosprensi et Richardo episcopo Cersonensi,' August 4, 1333; these, with the additions of Raynaldus, are in R., A. D. 1333, §§ xix, xxxvi–xxxix, which also record the Papal orders for the erection of a cathedral (St. Michael) in 'Vosprus' and of a church (St. George) in 'Gochia.' On the 'Gothia' of the South Crimean coast see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 324, ch. v of this volume, and Appendix. The Zicci lay in the easternmost extremity of the Black Sea littoral. On Bosporos see Appendix.

and his colleagues; but the travels of this remarkable person began several years earlier, and it may have been as early as 1333, and was probably not later than 1335, that he set out from his Spanish convent for the Volga, the Oxus, and the Ili.

To Marignolli Pascal was a true prophet, remarkable for his visions, a seer who beheld the heavens opened and Sarai swept away by floods, and the coming fate of the Christians of Almalig: to us he is memorable as the best historian of Roman mission-enterprise during the fourteenth century within the territories of what is now the Russian empire. No prophetic gifts were needed to make him famous. In him was a double portion of the spirit of Francis himself; even among the mission-heroes of that time his figure stands out, in a manner, pre-eminent; in no single one of all the Catholic pioneers in the Asia of this time does there burn a devotion of more fierce intensity, and in no one does there appear a more triumphant contempt for every comfort and pleasure naturally dear to human nature. Here, in a word, we have the Spanish devotee, unqualified—the man devoured by the zeal of the Lord's house, absorbed by the vision of Death and Judgement, Heaven and Hell.

Pascal left Vittoria with brother Gonsalvo Transtorna[1]; *eos mittere binos*[2] was in this case, as in many others, the motto of mission-policy; but the companionship of these two brethren appears to have lasted only as far as the Crimea. From Spain to Avignon, the Papal capital; from Avignon to Assisi, the Franciscan capital; from Assisi to Venice, the commercial capital—so far the land journey lasted[3]. But at Venice began the sea voyage—the friars embarking in a carrack, and sailing down the Adriatic and on through the sea of *Pontus*—leaving *Sclavonia* on the left and *Turkey* on the right—until they came to Galata in *Greece*[4]. Here, in the Latin suburb of Constantinople, they met with a colleague, the Father Vicar of Cathay, a long distance from his province,

[1] W., vii. 256. [2] Mark vi. 7.
[3] W., ibid.
[4] 'Per mare Ponticum, ad sinistram admittentes Sclavoniam et ad dexteram Turquiam, applicuimus Graeciam, scilicet Galatas,' W., ibid.

the Franciscan Vicariat of the East; here they embarked in another vessel, crossed the abysmal depths of the *Black* Sea, and so arrived at *Gazaria* in the Vicariat of the North, in the empire of the Tartars; thence one more voyage, over another *unfathomable* sea, brought Pascal, who now outstripped his comrade, to Tana or Azov at the estuary of the Don[1].

The names of *Pontic*, *Adriatic*, and *Black* Seas, as here employed by the Spanish friar, are all noteworthy, the first for its singular restriction to the waters *west* of the Bosphorus, the two latter for their modern character: hardly any western, save Jordanus of Séverac, anticipates Pascal in his *mare nigrum*: while the conception of the *unfathomable* Azov, shallowest of salt waters, is almost worthy of Solinus.

At Tana, then, Pascal resumes his land travels: from this north-eastern outpost of Italian traders he plunges into the wild steppe-lands of the Golden Horde, making his way by horse-wagon to Sarai and the Volga, in the company of a party of Greeks; while his fellow traveller, coming along afterwards with some other friars, pushes right on to *Urganth* or Khiva[2].

Pascal would gladly have accompanied his comrade to the Oxus, but he wished first of all to learn the language of the country, 'and by God's grace,' he adds proudly, 'I did learn the Kuman tongue and the Uigur writing[3], which are in general use through all those kingdoms of Tartars, Persians, Chaldaeans, Medes, and Cathay.'

As to returning home, like his quondam associate from Urganj, Pascal looked on such a thing as a kind of apostasy, a return to vomit, in the vigorous language of his Bible[4]: for his own part, the temporal and eternal rewards of the

[1] W., ibid., 'per mare nigrum, cuius profunditas est abyssus . . . ad Gazariam in Vicaria Aquilonari, in Imperio Tartarorum . . . per aliud mare, cuius non est fundus, applicuimus Tana.'

[2] W., ibid. Khiva *represents*, but is not identical with, Urganj.

[3] 'Linguam Chamanicam et litteram Viguricam, qua . . . utuntur communiter per . . . imperia Tartarorum, Persarum,' &c., W., ibid.

[4] 'Ad vomitum abhorrens redire,' W., ibid. Pascal's comrade apparently went right back to Vittoria ('de Urgantho ivit ad vos').

faithful worker in this wild region—the grace of the sovereign Pontiff, the plenary indulgence belonging to missionaries in Uzbeg's Empire[1], the crown of life which finished all—were invincible restraints from backsliding. And if there was nothing else to inspire the labourer in the Northern Vicariat, was there not the example of Stephen of Hungary, only three years before? No one, even the weakest, could have sunk lower than the young friar from Peterwaradin, who had renounced his Order and his religion, and bowed down in the temple of the false prophet. No one could have retrieved himself more gloriously than Stephen, when he burst into the great mosque of Sarai, loudly recanting his apostasy, until absolutely hacked to pieces by the infuriated mob, in front of the fire that was to have burnt him (1333–4)[2]. It was, then, with such an example before his eyes that Pascal learnt the language and the script he needed; that he began to preach without interpreter to the Musulmans and native Christians[3] of Kipchak; and that he responded to the command of his

[1] 'Fratres, qui ad istas partes venimus, habemus indulgentiam . . . plenissimam a poena et culpa,' W., ibid.

[2] On this 'venerabile martyrium . . . ante annum tertium' (i. e. of Pascal's *quitting* Sarai) see R., A. D. 1333, § xliv; W., vii. 159–66 (A. D. 1334). Wadding mentions three other repentant apostates, two Dominican and one Franciscan, in the Uzbeg Empire about this time. Stephen, who came from 'Varadinum Petri, in tractu Sirmiensi, confini Belgrado,' was stationed at St. John's Franciscan house, three miles out of Sarai. He was young (only twenty-five), and fell under suspicion of immorality; for this he was imprisoned and was to have been sent back to Kaffa, but escaped to a Saracen friend in Sarai, went over to Islam, and was paraded about the city as a Moslem triumph. An Armenian lady (whose language he understood), apparently one of the Catholic communion in Sarai, awoke his conscience by her bitter reproaches. From the narrative we see the Kipchak court-town is now wholly Musulman: but we know that a Latin bishop had been appointed as early as 1321 (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 432).

Under 1314 Wadding enumerates another interesting tragedy, likewise evidencing distant missionary travel, at Erzinghian ('Arzenga') in Armenia, when Monaldus of Ancona, Antony of Milan, and another perished (W., vi. 224–6; March 15, 1314). Other martyrdoms of the same year in Armenia and what is now South Russia are recorded in W., vi. 227–8.

[3] 'Christianis schismaticis et haereticis,' W., ibid.

Vicar[1] (anxious, no doubt, to employ his exceptional gifts in an exceptional manner) to 'finish the journey he had begun,' —to push on into Central Asia.

Pascal had now been staying for more than a year in Sarai; he probably arrived there late in 1335 or early in 1336; and it was most likely in the summer of 1337 that he quitted the capital of the 'Northern Tartars,' in the company of certain Armenians. Dropping down the *Tygris* (Pascal shares with Polo this odd name for the Volga) he coasted along the north-west shore of the Caspian or *Sea of Vatuk*[2], by a route unique among Western travellers of the Middle Age, to the mouth of the Ural river. He next ascended the course of this stream to *Sarachuk* or Saraichik, afterwards famous as the capital of the Nogai Horde, and already an important nomade camp: thence fifty days of horrible jogging in camel-cart[3] brought him to the Khivan oasis on the lower Oxus, where he places the home and sepulchre of Job.

The Uz of the Patriarch, close to the Aral, like the Azov Sea of immeasurable depth, is peculiar to the Spanish friar; but not even Khiva is so far a cry as Oudh, where one Mohammedan tradition locates the grave of the much-enduring man of old.

This Uz, Urganj, or Khiva, Pascal further defines as lying on the frontiers of the 'Tartar' and 'Persian' Empires[4]—of the Kipchak Khanate and the kingdom of the Ilkhans. But his own destination was the *Middle Empire* or *Realm of the Medes*[5], as he styles the Chagatai Dominion, in the regular manner of the Latin mission-writings of this time; and to reach this from *Wrgant*[6] another wearisome journey in camel-

[1] 'A Vicario meo'; apparently the head of the Northern Vicariat is meant.

[2] 'Per fluvium . . . Tygris et . . . ripam maris Vatuk' (i.e. Bacuk, Baku), W., ibid. For Polo's *Tigri* and Schiltberger's use of the same term for the Kur, see p. 41, and ch. ii, part iii, § 5. The explanation lies in the generic use of 'Tigris' among some Turkish races as equivalent to 'River.'

[3] 'Ascendens currum camelorum, cuius equitatus terribilis est,' W., vii. 257.

[4] W., vii. 256. [5] W., vii. 257.

[6] Otherwise 'Urgant,' 'Urganth,' W., vii. 257.

cart, with no company but that of accursed Agarenes, followers of Mahomet[1], had to be faced.

The 'Medic Emperor' had just been murdered by his own brother; thus Pascal's caravan suffered many delays and alarms, creeping along in constant terror of robbery and slaughter; and the friar had abundant opportunity for the delivery of his message in these inmost depths of Heathendom.

At a place unnamed, between Khiva and Kulja, the Spanish zealot disputed for five-and-twenty days of Bairam with Saracen 'priests' and 'bishops'—in such close argument that he could scarcely snatch one meal of bread and water from morning till evening—but at last gaining the victory, as he believed, in all things, triumphantly demonstrating the Christian's verities, laying bare the deceptions of their false prophet, spurning the proffered seductions of his devilish adversaries, publicly confounding their barkings, and defying their utmost tortures[2].

And so in the end, despite all his sufferings,—the stonings, burnings, beatings, duckings, and poisonings, the plucking out of his hair[3], the cursing and the insult that wounded like physical pain,—our friar arrived at Almalig on the Ili, and it is from this mediaeval Kulja, with an exultant dedication of his life to the cause he served, that he bids his friends farewell. 'God who is blessed, by whom I am poor, knows that it is by his marvellous condescension I was counted worthy to bear such things. Fare you well, and look not to see me unless in these parts or in Paradise[4].'

[1] Thus Pascal wrote from *Armalech* in the midst of the *Empire of the Medes*, where now Russian and Chinese borders touch, on August 10, 1338[5]. Within four years at most,

[1] W., ibid. Pascal travelled 'cum servitore Zinguo nomine.'

[2] W., ibid. This dispute was 'coram eorum meschita . . . in Paschate eorum,' the Moslem cause being championed by 'Cadini, id est episcopi' and by 'Talismani' or 'sacerdotes.'

[3] 'Lapidaverunt, ignem faciei et pedibus meis apposuerunt, barbam . . . extraxerunt,' &c., W., ibid.

[4] W., ibid.

[5] 'In festo S. Laurentii,' W., ibid.

perhaps within a much shorter time, of the writing of this letter, the writer's life was over.

It is evident, from other records, that Roman missionaries had already established a flourishing church in Almalig before his arrival. A Latin bishop, the Franciscan Richard of Burgundy, had apparently fixed himself in the Chagatai court-town[1], and one of his clergy, friar Francis of Alessandria, had cured the Khan (probably Yesun-Timur), of a 'pestilent cancer and fistula (1337–8).' The Catholic missionaries had thereby acquired great influence, had baptized the Khan's son 'John,' and had gained lands, privileges, and authority to preach: the conversion of the Khan himself must have seemed not unlikely. It was doubtless in the hope of such prosperity continuing that new recruits like Pascal were sent on to Almalig from the West. But while the latter was still upon his journey, signs of Moslem reaction appeared: and shortly after his arrival on the Ili the Saracen party seized upon the government, the Christianizing Khan was poisoned, and the throne was seized by a Musulman zealot, Ali Sultan, who destroyed the Catholic church in *Armalech*, and ordered the Latin converts from Islam to recant (1340?). As the friars would not bend to the storm, they were broken: 'bound all together with one rope,' they were given up to the tender mercies of the mob. With Bishop Richard perished three priests, all Franciscan brethren, Francis of Alessandria, Raymond of Provence[2], and Pascal of Vittoria; two Minorite lay brethren, Lawrence of Alessandria and Peter of Provence[2]; the interpreter John of India, 'a black man' and a convert of the friars; and a Genoese trader, one William of Modena, who, fired by the example of the martyrs, shared their fate[3].

[1] It is curious that Benedict XII, writing in June, 1338, to thank the Chagatai courtiers Carasmon and Iohanan for their goodness to the Latin bishop in 'Armalech' (doubtless this very Richard), speaks as if ignorant of the bishop's name. See W., vii. 213 ('cuidam episcopo de Ordine Fratrum Minorum').

[2] In W., vii. 255, these names appear as Raymundus Ruffi of Alessandria ('de Alexandria') and Petrus Martelli of Provence ('de Provincia').

[3] See W., vii. 255; Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa, *Opus ... Conformitatum Vitae B. Francisci ad Vitam ... Christi*

Not for the first time do we find Western traders associated with Western missionaries in the remotest corners of the Eastern world.

Yet after all these tempests, the Latin communion in Almalig was able to rise again, through the undying energy of the Order of St. Francis. The persecuting Khan, as Pascal had foretold, died no long while after his victims; Marignolli and his friends rebuilt in 1340–1 the church which Ali Sultan had just destroyed[1]; and for more than twenty years (down to the persecution of 1362) Latin missionaries and communities seem to have maintained an existence, however troubled and precarious, in Mongol Central Asia[2].

None the less, when once we leave Pascal behind us, we have little definite news of Catholic enterprise in any of the lands to the north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Oxus. In 1338, indeed, we have some correspondence between Pope Benedict XII, on one side, and Uzbeg Khan, his son Tinibeg, and Elias the Hungarian Minorite, now so influential at the Court of Tinibeg, on the other. At the beginning of his reign, despite all the rose-coloured reports of Latin missionaries, Uzbeg had certainly not been favourable to Nazarene influence; but he had gradually become more friendly; he allowed Elias to exercise almost the authority of a father-confessor at Tinibeg's 'horde'; while the Pontiff refers with gratitude to his recent grant of an excellent plot of land to certain Franciscans in a new town whose name is not given. The special motive of the Apostolic letters of June, September, and October, 1338, was clearly to further the great legation

(written about A.D. 1380), fol. 80, v°., Milan edition, 1513; John of Winterthur, in Eccard, *Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi*, i. 1877–8; John Marignolli, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, iii. 495. Bartholomew dates the martyrdom 'about the feast of St. John Baptist' (i.e. June 24) 1340 (but compare Marignolli's narrative, on p. 292 of this vol., and the list of Chagatai Khans as corrected by Yule, *Cathay*, i. 189, which both point rather to 1339). Wadding fixes it to 1342, at the same time of year, admitting that 'Pisanus' and 'Rodulphus' differ from him, but relying on the support of the *Chronica Antiqua*, Marianus, and Marcus of Lisbon for his date.

[1] See pp. 292–3 of this volume.

[2] See p. 186 of this volume.

which was soon to start for the supreme Tartar Court in China under Marignolli and Boneti; Elias is definitely requested to further the embassy by every means in his power; and the envoys are commended by name to the notice of Uzbeg[1].

Again in 1340 and 1343, both times in connexion with the diplomatic activity of Elias of Hungary, we hear something of the Kipchak mission. On the former occasion Elias, in company with a certain Petranus *de Lorto*[2], 'formerly lord of Kaffa,' and one Albert, an associate of *De Lorto's*, appears at Avignon as an envoy of Uzbeg and Tinibeg. Despite all Moslem intrigues, these ambassadors declared, the Khan steadily increased his favour towards his Christian subjects: Benedict replies with cordial letters by the hand of Elias and his fellow envoys[3].

Lastly in 1343, after the death of Uzbeg, Elias is again at Avignon, reporting the accession of the new Khan Janibeg[4], and even (according to one authority) representing him as very well affected to Catholic Christianity—an apparent exaggeration, if we may judge *Ianibech* by his expulsion of the Latin merchant-colonists from Tana in this year, to say nothing of his confiscation of their goods[5]. In any case the friar returns to the steppes with letters from Clement VI, hinting (without effect, so far as we know) at the desirability of a regular intercourse between the Papal Court and that of Kipchak[6].

After this, almost all the rest is silence. For a moment

[1] See the Papal letters (1) 'Usbech, imperatori Tartarorum,' June 13, 1338: W., vii. 213; (2) to the same, Oct. 31, 1338: W., vii. 217; (3) 'Tynybech, primogenito . . . Usbech,' Sept. 30, 1338: W., vii. 218; (4) 'Eliae Hungaro, Ord. Fr. Min.,' Sept. 30, 1338: W., vii. 218. All these are dated from Avignon.

[2] Dell' Orto.

[3] See the letters (1) 'Usbech imperatori,' &c., Aug. 17, 1340: R., §§ lxxv–vi; W., vii. 227–8; (2) 'Tynybek,' &c., Aug. 7, 1340: W., vii. 229; (3) 'Taydolae imperatrici,' &c., same date: W., vii. 229–30; (4) 'archiepiscopis,' &c., Aug. 17, 1340: R., § lxxiv; W., vii. 230–1. All from Avignon.

[4] 1342–56. This is the Khan of 'Sarra' who figures in the Catalan Map (1375).

[5] See R., 1343, § xxi; W., vii. 289, &c.; Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, i. 118.

[6] See the letter 'Ianibech imperatori,' &c., July 24, 1343: R., §§ xxi–xxii; W., vii. 289–90. Dated from Villeneuve in Avignon diocese.

the silence is broken—in 1370—by the translation of Cosmas from the see of Peking to that of Sarai[1], and by the nomination of Francis de Podio, 'the Catalan,' as Vicar-Apostolic in Northern Tartary[2]. These appointments were part of a great but belated scheme for reviving Latin missions in the Mongol world, a scheme initiated by Urban V and continued by Gregory XI, in which the principal detail was doubtless the embassy to Cathay under William of Prato, Cosmas' successor, with its Apostolic letters to the Grand Khan and the other Tartar sovereigns and their people[3]. But, as we have seen, the whole thing was out of date; the Great Khan was already dethroned; the Mongol dominion was extinguished in China; and the Catholic missions in Higher Asia were everywhere tending towards a like extinction. And just as we know nothing of De Prato's journey or work—having no ground for believing even that he started for his province—so we cannot pierce the mist that enshrouds Cosmas of Sarai and Francis of Podio: the silence of the past thirty years reigns once more; and except for a few notes of episcopal appointments (as at Kaffa, Soldaia, Tana, and Balaclava[4]), this bypath of history is now finally lost to sight.

§ 5. *Odoric.*

One thing remains to complete the history of mission-

[1] See the letter 'Guillelmo archiepiscopo Cambaliensi,' March 26, 1370: W., viii. 222. Dated from Rome. I assume that Cosmas, like William de Prato, was only a titular of Peking; see above, p. 186.

[2] See the letter (from Rome) 'Francisco de Podio Vicario Tartariae Aquilonaris,' Dec. 30, 1370: W., viii. 238–9. On this Francis see also App.

[3] See R., 1370, § ix; W., viii. 222–5, and p. 186 of this volume.

[4] Thus bishops of Kaffa are recorded as late as 1439, a bishop of Soldaia (Sudak) appears in 1432, one of Symbolum (Cembalo, Balaclava) in 1462, one of Tana (Azov) in 1439. In all eight or nine 'episcopi Caphenses' may be reckoned between 1268 and 1439, two bishops of Sarai between 1321 and 1370, and six bishops of Tana between 1300 and 1439 (see Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, pp. 365, 432). A bishop of 'Matriga' (otherwise 'Matracha,' 'Matrica,' 'Matarcha,' Τὰ Μάταρχα), a famous port of the Central Middle Ages in the Taman peninsula, near the Strait of Kerch, one of the keys of the Sea of Azov (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 451–2), is mentioned in 1349; we have already noticed the bishops of Bosporos or 'Vosprus' and of 'Gochia' in Kherson, in 1333 (see above, p. 241).

exploration in the Orient of this time. We have still to follow the wanderings and the record of the two chief friar-travellers of the later Middle Age—Odoric [1] and Marignolli—whose journeys embrace nearly the whole field of Catholic activity in Asia, and whose writings form so valuable a supplement to the *Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

Among the Latin pioneers of the fourteenth century there are certainly some of greater ability, of more cultured mind, perhaps of more fervent zeal than the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone, but there is no one who has left a travel-record of equal range, interest, or value. To a great extent he traverses the same ground as the Polos, and no work of a mediaeval explorer offers so close a parallel to that of Messer Marco.

Odoric was born in or about 1286 [2], at or near Pordenone in the Friuli region of Venetia, close to the modern border of Italy and the Austrian coast-province; so at least asserts the local tradition, which even claims to show the exact birth-place—both cottage and bedchamber. One account, and that supported by contemporary evidence [3], makes the friar a

[1] The best editions of Odoric's *Descriptio Orientalium Partium* are (1) Venni's *Elogio storico alle gesta del Beato Odorico*, Venice, 1761; (2) Yule's, in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1866: (α) version and commentary, pp. 1–162; (β) Latin text, pp. 1–xlii, in Appendix (this is a reprint of the Paris MS., Bibl. Nat., *Fonds Lat.*, 2,584, fols. 118–27; and I quote Odoric from the same); (γ) text of old Italian version, pp. xliii–lxiii in same; (3) Cordier's *Les Voyages en Asie au XIVe siècle du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone*, Paris, 1891 (an edition of the French translation made by Long John of Ypres about 1350, and printed at Paris in 1529).

[2] 'From the effigies of Odoric on his tomb at Udine, I should have guessed the date of his birth to stand a dozen years earlier,' Yule, *Cathay* [hereafter quoted as Y.], i. 5: see also Cordier, *Odoric* [hereafter quoted as C.], v.

[3] See John of Viktring (Ioannes Victoriensis) in *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum: Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands* (ed. J. F. Boehmer), vol. i, ed. J. G. Cotta, Stuttgart, 1843, p. 391. John's Chronicle ends in 1313: it refers to 'Frater Ulricus de reliquiis seminis eorum, quos olim rex Ottakarus apud Portum Naonis ad custodiam deputavit, Ordinis Minorum,' speaks of his distant travels oversea, and gives a confused account of his collection of the Tana relics, and his visit to the wonderful menagerie in China (see pp. 275–6, 296 of this volume, and Appendix).

German-Bohemian in origin, sprung from a member of the garrison left in Friuli by King Ottokar II (1253–78); his name corresponds to the German Ulrich or Udalric; and one of the best manuscripts of his work expressly calls it *A Description of Eastern Regions by Brother Odoric the Bohemian of Friuli*[1], while it makes Odoric the *Bohemian* attest the truth of his narrative, and adds a postscript wherein William of Solagna declares that he had written down everything just as Odoric the *Bohemian* uttered it[2].

As to Odoric's membership in the family of Mattiussi, his birthplace at Villanova, the birth-date of 1286, none of these points rest upon indisputable authority; on the other hand we know of nothing which renders them impossible; the two former are not definitely traceable beyond the seventeenth-century work of Gabello, parish priest of Villanova (1627)[3]; the third and last, in itself far from convincing, has respectable mediaeval support. Our old friend John of Winterthur, though a younger contemporary of our friar's, is probably quite mistaken in making him a *Paduan*[4]; the traveller's connexion with Padua, as we shall see, was of a different kind.

Ecclesiastical writers, and especially Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa[5] and others used by Wadding in his *Annales Minorum*, and by the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, are mainly interested in Odoric as the man who carried the relics of the Tana martyrs to China, and was supposed to have shaken

[1] 'Descriptio Orientalium Partium Fratris Odorici *Boemi* de Foro Iulii,' MS. *Fonds Lat.*, no. 2,584, Bibl. Nat., Paris.

[2] 'Odoricus *Boemus* de Foro Iulii, sicut Odoricus *Boemus* exprimebat,' ch. 51.

[3] The patron saint of Villanova church was Udalric (i. e. 'Odoric'), Bishop of Augsburg. Cf. Y., 4, 16.

[4] Cf. Eccard, *Corpus Historicum*, vol. i, col. 1894–7, esp. 1894, on 'Sanctus Odoricus, de *Padua* oriundus, qui peragratis cunctis regionibus Orientalibus . . . haec et alia mira . . . visa et audita ab eo . . . in scripturam redegit; opusculum valde solatiosum,' &c.

[5] *Opus Conformitatum Vitae B. Francisci*, &c., bk. i, par. 2, conf. 8 (fol. 124 of Milan edition; see above, pp. 247–8); cf. also AA.SS., Jan. 14; and W., vii. 123–6 (A.D. 1331). Some of Albizzi's earlier works reach back to 1347, or within sixteen years of Odoric's death, though the *Conformity* is of 1380.

the citadels of Asiatic heathendom; but the modern reader will find so many matters of mundane interest in the *Descriptio*—the fullest, the most graphic, and the most amusing picture of Asia left by any religious traveller of this age—that the least clerically-minded will be under no temptation of dismissing it as a piece of wearisome miracle-story.

During his residence in Peking, somewhere between 1323 and 1328, Odoric was probably attached to one of the churches founded by Corvino; but he tells us nothing definite on this point; and it is hard to understand, from his own narrative, when and where he accomplished the feats recorded by the hagiologists. When and where did he sow the seed of the Gospel broadcast through Asia, or baptize his 20,000 Saracens and Pagans[1]? Modesty perhaps closed his mouth, when, 'from day to day making ready to return to those countries wherein he was content to die,' he dictated to a friend, 'without adornments of difficult Latin and conceits of style,' his *Description of the East*.

Yet, slight as they are, some proof of mission work and interest may be found in Odoric. He defines his journey as undertaken 'to win gain of souls.' He mentions some of the Minorite houses in China, such as the one at Yangchau, and the two at *Zayton*, which in Marignolli's day, twenty years later, we find grown to three; in one of the latter he deposits the relics he had transported from Tana. Once more, he tells us how in *Cansaia* or Hangchau, 'four of our friars' had converted a great local personage, 'in whose house I was entertained.' Again, he declares that in *Great Tartary* the Franciscan brethren had achieved a complete mastery over demoniacal possession. And, best of all, he gives us a charming and memorable picture of a meeting in Northern Cathay, close to the Great Wall, between certain Latin missionaries and the Emperor-Khan himself, while on a progress from Shangtu

[1] 'Rediit . . . post annorum sexdecim . . . peregrinationem, disseminato ubique Evangelii semente (*sic*), et sacro baptismate intinctis ultra viginti millia *Paganis*, Sarracenis, *aliisque infidelibus*,' W., vii. 123 (A.D. 1331), quoted misleadingly by Yule as if in reference to Saracens only, *Cathay*, 7.

to Peking, and of his own part in that meeting[1]. Lastly, in an effigy of 1332, executed only a year after his death, and still preserved at Udine, Odoric appears preaching to the heathen[2]: that was the attitude in which the men of his time commemorated him; and we have no right to say that they were wrong. At the same time, the *Descriptio* as a whole suggests a man, as Yule has said, 'with a strong taste for roving and seeing strange countries,' a keen observer of new customs, a thoroughly human creature with a very real interest in this world, rather than a saint dead to all things but those of a Heavenly Kingdom.

Odoric's travels began, at the earliest, in 1316, at the latest, in 1318; they ended at the close of 1329 or the beginning of 1330; we may be pretty certain that his visit to the west coast of India was in 1322; between the opening of 1323 and the close of 1328 (greater precision is impossible) must lie the three years which the friar claims to have spent in Peking[3]; his death took place at Udine in Friuli on January 14, 1331[4].

But already in May, 1330, and in obedience to the command of his Provincial, Father Guidotto[5], Odoric had dictated his story to Brother William of Solagna, in the house of St. Antony at Padua[6]. At other times he had given some recollections of his life to others, and especially to a Franciscan named Marchesino of Bassano, who adds a few of these reminiscences to the Solagna text[7]. Though his narratives, like those of Marco Polo, were evidently regarded by his contemporaries

[1] For these passages see pp. 257, 272, 275, 277, 281–2, 286 of this volume.

[2] On this effigy, the relics of Odoric at Udine, &c., see Appendix.

[3] 'Fui bene tribus annis in hac civitate' ['Cambalec'], ch. 38.

[4] 'Die 14 Ianuarii, circa horam nonam, beatus Odoricus provinciae Sancti Antonii ex Portu Naono oppido Fori Iulii oriundus, obiit in civitate Utinensi,' W., vii. 123 (A. D. 1331).

[5] Y., 44, from the St. Mark's, Venice, MS. Lat., class xiv, cod. xliii.

[6] See pp. 252, 287–8 of this volume.

[7] Though the Paris MS. 2,584 introduces the story of the meeting with the Grand Khan as if dictated to Solagna, in the St. Mark's MS. quoted in note 5, the tale is distinctly claimed by Marchesino, together with a rubbishy legend which follows in the MS.

as at times requiring a vigorous digestion, it is equally clear that his travels and missionary labours were looked upon as by no means unimportant, calling for careful record, and deserving of a place among the glories of the Order of St. Francis.

During many, if not all, of his wanderings, Odoric was not alone: six weeks after his death, the archives of Udine record a payment of two marks, 'for the love of God and of Odoric,' to his companion, brother James of Ireland[1]: in later years an introduction to the miracle-working remains of the friar is requested from this same James by a Venetian theologian[2].

Odoric went out by the Trebizond-Tabriz route, of which we have spoken so often: from Tabriz he made his way southwards by a road through Kashan and Yezd, which was probably much the same as that followed by the Polos and by Corvino, but with a digression of quite peculiar character as he approached the head of the Gulf. This digression seems to have led him through Shiraz and a part of lower Kurdistan, to the region of the Shatt-el-Arab[3], and so to Ormuz. Here he took ship for Tana of India, and coasted on past Malabar and Ceylon to the Madras region; here again, in all likelihood, he followed the same course as John of Monte Corvino. Sailing on through the Archipelago he appears to have touched at Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, before returning to the Asiatic mainland at some point of Cambodia or Cochin China.

He entered China at Canton; from this port he may be supposed to have travelled overland to *Zayton* in Fokien, whence his route to Peking—by *Cansaia* and the Grand Canal—strikes one as almost identical with that of the Polos' south-eastern or home-coming journey through the Pacific coast-plain of *Cathay* and *Mangi*. After three years in Peking,

[1] 'Socio Beati Fratris Odorici, amore Dei et Odorici,' Venni, p. 27. From this James probably comes Odoric's knowledge of the barnacle goose story and its location in Ireland; see p. 283.

[2] Asquini, *Vita e Viaggi del B. Odorico* (1737), p. 206.

[3] Probably this is Odoric's *India infra terram*; see pp. 260–1.

Odoric apparently started for Europe, following a continental itinerary of very uncommon type. For even if we identify his *Land of Prester John* with the *Tenduc* of Marco Polo, and his *Casan* or *Kansan* with Singanfu, Tibet will still remain to puzzle us. No regular path of international commerce or travel crossed this wild plateau, and Odoric's visit to the least accessible of Central Asiatic lands must have involved a digression of considerable length and labour.

West of Tibet he gives no indication of his route, except for his reference to *Millestorte*, once famous for the stronghold of the Old Man of the Mountain,—a reference which must certainly be understood of Alamut and the Elburz hill-country in North Persia.

Among Odoric's contributions to knowledge we may notice the following. In his *Sumolchra* or *Sumoltra* we have one of the earliest European suggestions of the name of Sumatra, though Marco Polo had already recorded *Samara* or *Samatra* as one of the kingdoms of *Lesser Java*[1]. To this we may add the friar's account of the cannibalism and community of wives among the ruder races of the same island; his allusion to the leeches of Ceylon; his description of pepper and of sago[2]; and many of his Chinese notes. No other Christian writer of the Middle Age, not even Polo, refers to the fishing cormorants and long finger-nails of the Celestials, and the compressed feet of their women[3]. The names which Odoric gives to the Chinese post-stations and the provincial administrative boards, the technical term he uses for the hearth-tax in Hangchau, for a sack of rice, and for rice-wine[4], are touches from real life; while his account of Tibet, of its capital, and of the Grand Lama[5], though dim and confused (perhaps only seen by us through a glass darkly in William of Solagna's transcript), is of great interest. For the man of Pordenone is perhaps the first European who ever visited the Hidden

[1] See pp. 135, 265 of this volume.
[2] See pp. 262–3, 264–5, 266–7, 269 of this volume.
[3] See pp. 273, 284 of this volume.
[4] See pp. 275, 277, 280 of this volume.
[5] See pp. 286–7 of this volume.

City of Buddhism; he is certainly the first who gives us any inkling of the same. True, his claim of personal acquaintance extends only to Tibet in general; he never tells us in so many words that he was in that city of the 'Pope of all Idolaters' which he describes so carefully; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that he touched at Lhassa on his homeward journey.

And there is one other thing for which we must render the friar our humble and hearty thanks. Unlike Polo, and in more bountiful proportion than almost any of the missionary-explorers whose steps we have followed, Odoric gives us precise indications of his route. He does not merely describe the regions of the East; he tells us in most cases the exact course of his journey.

Yet, like Polo, he begins by defining his object, in a way that might easily have led to a similar suppression of the personal element, to a similar loss of certainty in the Itinerary, as a *Collection of Marvels*. Many others had already given similar narratives, but now the curious might also hear what brother Odoric could tell[1] of the wondrous things noticed by him while he wandered oversea in heathen lands in search of converts[2].

The opening of the drama is laid at Trebizond—which men of old called *Pontus*—which the friar reached by way of the *Greater Sea*[3], and which was so admirably situated as a haven[4] for *Medes* and Persians, and other trans-marine peoples.

[1] 'Licet alia multa . . . de . . . conditionibus . . . mundi a multis enarrentur, tamen est sciendum quod . . . Odoricus,' &c., ch. 1.

[2] 'Ut fructus . . . lucri facerem animarum,' Od., ch. 1.

[3] 'Transiens mare maius me transtulí Trapesondam,' Od., ch. 1. The 'Greater Sea' was perhaps originally a Byzantinism, contrasting the Euxine with the Propontis. For Polo and Clavijo on the 'Marmaiour' or 'Mar mayor' see p. 31, and ch. ii, part ii, § 4 of this volume.

[4] 'Scala,' a technical term for a port in Italy and the Levant. Odoric (ch. 1) adds a story of a fowler and his 4,000 tame partridges following him to *Canega* or *Zegana*, Clavijo's *Sigana*, three days' journey from Trebizond on the Erzerum road. On this story in other writers and languages, see Appendix.

Like his Venetian predecessor and his Spanish successor, Odoric holds fast to the mediaeval name of the Euxine, and gives no sign of the *Black* title which was even then coming into fashion, and which we have already met with in Jordanus[1]. On the other hand, no Western traveller of this age more emphatically recognizes the position of Trebizond as an international port and trade-route terminus.

Erzerum[2], once great and opulent, now ruined by Tartars and Saracens, supplied with excellent springs from the Euphrates and said to lie higher than any other inhabited spot on earth, is the only city which Odoric clearly marks on his route between[3] Trebizond and Tabriz: at *Arziron* he may have lodged in the Franciscan house which here upheld the cause of Latin Christianity within the *custodia* of Kars.

And so by Mount *Sovisacalo*[4] (the *Sermessacalo* of Pegolotti), near which was the Mount of the Ark of Noah, the friar comes to that 'royal city' of *Thauris*, 'the Susis of the ancients,' greatest of all commercial towns, having correspondence with the whole earth for merchandise, and yielding a larger revenue than all France, according to the testimony of the Christians, who here formed a numerous colony[5]. Here, too, *in a mosque and church of Saracens*, Odoric places that central feature of mediaeval myth, the 'Arbor Sicca,' or 'Dry Tree,' located by Polo far to the east of Tabriz; the precious object was in the keeping of the Infidel; for though Nazarenes of every race abounded in the North Persian capital, the place was wholly under Moslem rule[6].

So much for Tabriz[7]. As to his next station, the new court-town of *Soldonia* or Sultaniyah, ten days' journey further on,

[1] See above, p. 223.

[2] 'Aritiron,' 'Arziron,' 'Aceron,' 'Arzirai,' &c., are forms in the MSS. (Odoric, ch. 1). In this section I shall illustrate the differences of Mediaeval name-forms in these travel-records, as given by manuscript authority, more fully than elsewhere.

[3] 'Via media eundi Thauris,' ch. 1.

[4] Od., ch. 1; see p. 330 of this volume.

[5] Od., ch. 2.

[6] Od., ch. 2.

[7] For parallels to Odoric's remarks on the salt mines near Tabriz ('mons salinus,' ch. 2) cf. the Arab geographer Bakui in *Notices et Extraits*, ii. 477, and Ricold of Monte Croce, p. 196 of this volume.

Odoric only tells us how, for its coolness, it was a favourite summer residence of the Persian kings, who in winter went to the shore of the *Sea of Bachuc*[1]. The plain of Moghan, in the lower Kur basin, was the chosen cold-weather camping-ground of the Persian Mongols and their Ilkhans, as we have seen already; and it is doubtless to this that the *Descriptio* refers.

Many days' travel in the company of a caravan from Sultaniyah towards *Upper India* (which usually means South China in Odoric, but here, at any rate, does not imply any direct overland approach to the Far East, the Kerman road being first followed, and afterwards a devious path leading to the head of the Persian Gulf) brings the traveller to 'royal' Kashan[2], the city of the Magi, and to *Gest*[3] or Yezd. Here, in a city which Odoric, in his careful arithmetical manner, declares the *third best in Persia*[4],—wherein (as Saracens believed) no Christian could live above a year,—the explorer was now close to the 'terrible and marvellous' sea of sand, or Iranian Desert, our 'Dash-i-Lut,' traversed by the Polos from Kerman to Tun, but carefully avoided by the friar. For at this point his route is changed, and from Yezd he moves south-west into Fars and north-west to *Caldea* and the Shatt-el-Arab.

Few indeed were the Franks of the Middle Age who visited Persepolis, yet in Odoric's *Conium* or *Comerum*, which 'once did much harm to the Romans,' whose walls had a circuit of fifty miles, in which deserted palaces still stood uninjured, and whose site the wanderer reached from Yezd by a long journey 'through many lands,' we may perhaps be right in recognizing the ancient Persian capital, the *Camara* of Giosa-

[1] 'Contratam . . . super mare . . . Bachuc' (otherwise 'Bachac,' 'Bacud,' 'Abacut,' 'Abachuc,' 'Bakuc,' 'Bacuch,' in Odoric MSS.), ch. 2.

[2] 'Civitatem trium magorum . . . Cassan,' Od., ch. 3.

[3] 'Iese' in one MS.

[4] 'Tertia melior civitas, quam Persarum imperator possideat,' Od., ch. 3. The 'mare arenosum . . . valde periculosum et mirabile' is the desert between Kerman, Tun (Polo's 'Tonocain'), Yezd, and Kuhistan. See above, p. 62.

fatte Barbaro[1], the *Karum* of Luke Wadding's Franciscan *Annals*. At Yezd the missionary appeared to be heading for Ormuz; now in the Shiraz region we might suppose him bound for some port near Bushire on the north-east littoral of the Gulf: but once more he turns inward—this time to *Hus*, the land of Job,—which lay near mountains famous for their pasture; in which men, not women, knitted and spun; which adjoined *Caldea* towards the North[2]; and which is scarcely to be identified with anything but the region from the Karun to the Shatt, or at least a certain part of that region. In Pascal of Vittoria we have found the Uz of the Patriarch interpreted as Urganj or Khiva; in Odoric's geography, Ahwaz (the *Huzia*, *Huzitis*, and *Cus* of various Western writers) may be intended; but the whole matter is chiefly noticeable as an unusual excursion of mediaeval fancy.

By *Caldea*, on the other hand—through which Odoric passed 'close to the Tower of Babel,' where a peculiar language was spoken, and where men dressed well, and women vilely, with bare feet and dishevelled hair[3]—the region of Baghdad and Bassora, the 'Irak-Arabi' of Moslem geography, is clearly signified. The *lingua propria* of the text will then be Arabic, which our Minorite, travelling through Persian-speaking lands, has scarcely heard as yet.

From *Caldea*, however, we tumble into a fresh difficulty. For *Inland India*, *India infra terram*, which Odoric claims to visit next in order, which the Tartars had so greatly wasted, and where men lived mainly upon dates of incredible cheapness[4], is a country of troublesome title, lacking all definition,

[1] Writing *circa* A. D. 1470. On 'Conium' (otherwise 'Comerum,' 'Comum,' 'Comam,' 'Como,' 'Conio,' &c., in Odoric MSS.) see Od., ch. 2.

[2] 'Haec terra correspondet a capite Caldeae versus tramontanam,' Od., ch. 3. I cannot agree with Yule's suggestion (*Cathay*, i. 53, 54) that Odoric goes up North to Hazah or even to Mosul before descending into 'Caldea.' See Cordier, *Odoric*, 60, 61 ('notre voyageur a fait en sens inverse le voyage de la mission Dieulafoy . . . Bagdad . . . Dizfoul . . . Ahvas'). The knitting and spinning of the men seem hard to parallel nearer than the Himalayas.

[3] 'Mulieres . . . turpes . . . discalciatae . . . capilli undique disparguntur,' Od., ch. 4.

[4] Od., ch. 4.

nowhere else precisely so named, but probably intended for the hot shore-lands of *Hindyan* at the head of the Gulf[1], by the adoption of a Jewish and Saracen misnomer.

After this, however, we reach firm ground again. For Odoric soon leaves this last strange India of his, and *traversing many countries*[2] (or, in other words, following an overland way along the shore of the inland sea) arrives at last in well-walled Ormuz, by the ocean, in a land whose merchandise, terrific heat, and hernia-like diseases he celebrates (like Polo) with no less fidelity than the nail-less, thread-compacted vessels of the Indian seas[3] with which he now becomes familiar. A month's sail in one of these *iasse*[4] brought him to that Tana of Salsette which has already appeared, somewhat modestly, in Polo, and with so great a sanctity in the records of the Indian Catholic mission.

To Odoric, as to a missionary, it was of course noticeable chiefly as the scene of the martyrdom of the Four Brethren, a short time before his arrival; but it was also of interest as an old-time possession of King Porus[5]; now it was subject to the Moslems of *Daldili* or Delhi; its people, sunk in idolatry, adored fire, trees, and the serpent, and enjoyed a profusion of monstrous and noxious animals—bats as big as doves, mice as large as dogs, black lions[6], and other treasures.

To the account of the martyrdom that follows, adding

[1] The Rabbis confounded *Havilah* and *Ubullah*, making both Indian ('Hindeki'); the Moslems imitated the Rabbis; and the term of *Hind* was frequently applied by Mohammedan writers (cf. the *land of Hind* in Masudi, *Prairies d'Or*, iv. 225) to the regions at the mouth of the Shatt, in reference to the Indian voyage and trade.

[2] 'Transiens per multas contratas,' Od., ch. 4. The friar probably travelled along the north-east or Persian shore of the Gulf.

[3] Od., chs. 4, 5. For the 'siccum solem spago' of the Paris MS. 2,584 we should read with the B. Mus. Arundel MS. (xiii. f. 38 b) 'sutum solo spago.' See above, pp. 61, 164.

[4] Od., ch. 5, 'vase' in one MS. (St. Mark, cl. vi, cod. 102).

[5] 'Ipsa fuit terra . . . Pori, qui cum . . . Alexandro,' &c., Od., ch. 5.

[6] 'Leones nigri,' i. e. tigers. On the 'noctuae magnae sicut columbae,' or great Indian bats, the 'mures magni sicut canes,' and the 'gattimaymones' or monkeys of Tana (Od., ch. 5), see above, p. 226.

nothing to what we know already, save the friars' foolish interference in domestic broils of wife and wife-beater while in Tana, Odoric subjoins a postscript, completing the record of Jordanus. For while the Dominican bishop tells how he gathered the relics, and gave them honourable burial in *Supera*[1], the Franciscan brother relates how he took the bones from their Indian tomb, and wrapped them in fair napkins[2], and carried them to China[3].

From Tana, Odoric, following out the intended route of the martyred brethren, took a junk[4] for Malabar[5] and the great pepper market of *Polumbum*[6], the *Columbum* of Jordanus, the *Coilum* of Polo, our Kulam or Quilon, famous also for its ginger, and abounding past belief in merchandise of every sort[7]. The grove, in which alone the pepper grew, as the friar relates, to the derision of John Marignolli[8], stretched full eighteen days' journey north of Kulam, and in this grove lay the towns of *Flandrina* and *Zinglin*, between which a ceaseless war prevailed, Jews and Christians ever contending for the mastery, and victory always resting with the latter[9]. In much of this there is a rather legendary flavour—even if the rival sites, with their Gulliver-like names, may be identified with Pandarani and Cranganor;—but the ancient colonies of Malabar Jews (both 'black' and 'white')[10], and the native Christianity of this coast, do not admit of question; and the friar's picture[11] of the pepper plant, with its leaves like ivy, its vine-like growth against big trees, its grape-like

[1] See above, p. 217.

[2] 'Toaleis,' Od., ch. 13.

[3] 'Indiam Superiorem,' Od., ch. 13.

[4] '*Aliam* navim nomine *zunchum*' (Venni's emendation for the *zocum* of the Udine MS., corrupted to *conclum*, *cocum*, *conchum*, and *zochi* in other MSS.), Od., ch. 15.

[5] 'Mimbar,' Od., ch. 16 (Paris MS. 2,584, hereafter quoted as P.; other MSS. read 'Minibar,' 'Minibarum,' &c.). Cf. Marignolli's 'Minibar' or 'Nymbar,' pp. 296, 307.

[6] 'Polumbum,' Od., ch. 6; 'Polumpum, ubi piper nascitur,' ch. 14. See pp. 220–1, 227, 297–9 of this volume.

[7] Od., ch. 16.

[8] See below, p. 298.

[9] Od., ch. 16.

[10] Cf. Benjamin of Tudela (Asher), ii. 183–5; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 258; and ch. vii of this volume.

[11] Od., ch. 16.

clusters, its *green* ripeness, its preparation for the market by drying in the sun, is, in spite of little inaccuracies, the record of genuine observation.

The ginger of *Polumbum* (to say nothing of its dye-wood and its world-famed pepper) is equally noticed by Odoric's contemporary, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti[1], greatest of mediaeval merchant-guides; while as to the Judaism and Christianity[2] of Malabar, there is no need of any further witness.

Nor is it necessary to confirm by other testimonies our Franciscan's admirable descriptions[3] of Hindu ox-worship; of the monstrous idols of Brahman devotion; of suttee; of gold-bedecked temple roofs and pavements; and of Indian modes of penance, pilgrimage, and sacred suicide[4],—as practised either on the east or west of the Deccan, either in *Mimbar* or in *Mobar*, either on the Malabar or the Coromandel coast.

The journey to the latter (presumably from Kulam) was a matter of ten days[5]; and here, like Polo, Odoric has something to say of the Thomas shrine and of the native Christians[6], whom he characterizes with a theologian's bitterness as the vilest of heretics. Whether from accident or design, he defers his account of Ceylon to a later chapter; when he does describe *Sillan*[7] his notions are somewhat confused and inadequate, though not so defective as to allow us to doubt his first-hand knowledge of the island.

But his acquaintance with the geography of Coromandel can hardly be called profound. He is apparently uncertain whether *Mobar* is an island or a province, though he unluckily seems to incline to the former view[8]; and any enter-

[1] See p. 332 of this volume.

[2] See ch. vii of this volume.

[3] Od., chs. 17–19.

[4] Reaching even to the detail of a Juggurnath-car, Od., ch. 19.

[5] 'Ab hoc regno . . . decem dietae . . . ad . . . Mobar' [i.e. Maabar], Od., ch. 18 ('Bobarum' in St. Mark's MS., cl. xiv, cod. xliii).

[6] 'Positum est corpus . . . Thomae . . . ecclesia . . . plena . . . ydolis . . . penes . . . quam sunt . . . xv domus Nestorinorum et Christianorum, qui nequissimi et pessimi sunt heretici,' Od., ch. 18.

[7] Od., ch. 25.

[8] Od., ch. 19; the reference is apparently to 'Mobar,' which is the

prising critic, endowed with an adequate resolution to say something novel, might certainly maintain that Odoric's whole account of the Eastern Deccan was from hearsay, and that his fifty days' voyage to Sumatra[1] was made direct from some port of Ceylon.

Of Odoric's presence on the Sumatran coast, however, there could be no doubt in the mind of the most captious reader. For the *Lamori* to which he comes, after seven weeks' voyaging to the south across the ocean, is unquestionably the *Lambri* of Marco Polo and the *Ramni* of the Arabic geographers[2], in the extreme north-west of the great tropical island, near Achin Head, and perhaps including that promontory. Here the traveller began to lose sight of the north star, as the earth took it from him[3] (a remark which apparently suggests some notion of the roundness of the globe), and beneath the new heaven that greeted the wanderer, his inquisitive eyes discovered ever fresh varieties of barbarism. The vile natives of *Lamori*—whose nakedness was unconcealed by any rag, whose women were common (like their land), who ate man's flesh like beef, and who traded briskly with foreign merchants for human meat—scoffed at their visitor in startling fashion. God made Adam naked, and yet *he* must needs pile on clothes[4].

Yet, with all their vileness, they had store of corn and rice and live-stock, of gold and aloes and camphor[5]: and the idea

last 'contrata' mentioned; but the text is not absolutely conclusive ('rex insulae vel provinciae huius . . . in hac insula . . . in ista insula').

[1] Od., ch. 20; 'De hac contrata recedens et iens versus meridiem veni per mare oceanum quinquaginta dietis ad . . . Lamori' ['Sustabor sive Lamory' in B. Mus. Arundel MS.]. The antecedent of 'hac contrata' is, however, 'Mobar' or Coromandel, and nothing else.

[2] Od., ch. 20. See p. 135, ch. vii, and Appendix to this volume. 'Ramni' in Arab geography is often the name for the whole of Sumatra.

[3] Od., ch. 20, 'incepi amittere tramontanam, cum terra michi acceperit eam.'

[4] Od., ch. 20.

[5] 'Magnam copiam carnium, bladi, et risi . . . de auro, de lignis aloe . . . ganfara,' &c., Od., ch. 20.

of private property, not yet existent in more important matters, was clearly defined in house-ownership[1].

The kingdom of *Sumolchra*, where folk branded their faces with hot iron, Polo's *Samara* or *Samatra*[2], on the north coast of the island, comes next in order; presuming that *Lamori* stretched up to Achin Head, Odoric's definition of his route as *southwards* here is just defensible, although the amount of southing is very slight. And in his third and last Sumatran realm, that of *Rotemgo* or *Resengo*, we may perhaps recognize the *Rejang* country within which lay that famous British factory of the seventeenth century, William Dampier's 'Bencoolen.'

On the whole, however, Odoric's conception of Sumatra, both name and thing, is markedly inferior to Polo's. It is true that he places all these kingdoms in the same island[3], but to that island he never gives a name; nor can his slight sketch of *Sumolchra* and *Rotemgo* be set against Messer Marco's elaborate and careful treatment of *Samara*, *Dagroian*, *Fansur*, *Ferlec*, and *Basma*[4]: only in his account of *Lamori* (perhaps the one region of 'Lesser Java' he really visited), can the ecclesiastic be compared with the merchant-prince.

The case is somewhat different with the jewel of the Archipelago. For Odoric's picture of Java[5],—three thousand miles in circuit; adjoining *Rotemgo*, but forming an island quite distinct, the best, or at any rate the *second best*[6], in all the world; thickly inhabited; producing cubebs, cardamoms, nut-

[1] 'Domos tamen habent in speciali,' Od., ch. 20.

[2] See p. 135 of this volume.

[3] 'In hac eadem insula *versus meridiem* . . . aliud regnum . . . Sumolchra . . . penes quam . . . aliud regnum . . . Rotemgo' (otherwise 'Bothonigo,' 'Betonigo,' 'Boteingo,' 'Resengo,' 'Botemgo,' in the MSS.), Od., ch. 20.

[4] See above, pp. 134–5.

[5] 'Jana' in two MSS.

[6] Od., ch. 21; 'melior insula, quae habeatur' in P.; in other MSS. 'secunda melior insularum,' 'melior secunda,' and 'tertia melior.' The 3,000 miles is Polo's estimate, according to the best MS., others reading 5,000; see p. 133 of this volume. Nutmegs ('nuces muscatae') were not a Java product, though doubtless sold in Java markets.

megs, and many another precious spice, but lacking wine;—is certainly fuller, if not more accurate, than that of his forerunner. Nor has Marco anything like the friar's portrait of the Javan Majesty, ruling over seven under-kings, and enshrined in a palace whose staircase-steps were alternately gold and silver, whose pavement was golden on one side and silvern on the other, whose ceiling was of pure gold, and on whose walls (entirely lined with golden plates inside) glittered *knightly* figures crowned with halos like the saints of Christendom [1].

The *Descriptio* next passes to the country of *Patem* or *Talamasim* [2], probably some region of Borneo [3], defined as lying near to [4] Java, as bordered on the south by a *Dead Sea*, whose waters ran ever southward, and into which if a man drifted, he was never seen again [5]; as possessing trees which yielded flour, honey, and poison—the last used in war, and ejected with terrible effect from blow-pipes; and as famous for its great canes or reeds—some sixty paces in length, others able to throw out their roots for a good mile, and containing stones which rendered their wearer proof against all iron weapons, if inserted under the skin.

The 'flour-bearing trees,' or sago-palms, of the narrative, and the whole process of sago-preparation, Odoric describes like the eye-witness he claims to be. The thick stumpy

[1] Od., ch. 21, also declares that the Great Khan of Cathay ('Canis grandis Cathaii') had often taken the field against this king of Java ('multociens in bello in campo cum isto'), though never with success, here again adding to Marco Polo (see p. 133), and apparently making justifiable additions. Odoric need not copy Marco at all here: his statement is correct, if we cut out the exaggeration of Kublai commanding his Javan expeditions in person. See Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, ii. 275.

[2] Otherwise 'Panten, 'Panthen,' 'Paten,' 'Thalamasin,' 'Talamaxim,' 'Thamalsi,' 'Malamasmi,' &c., in the Odoric MSS., ch. 22.

[3] Parts of Celebes and the Moluccas have also been suggested.

[4] 'Penes hanc contratam,' Od., ch. 22.

[5] Od., ch. 22, 'in ripa huius contratae [Talamasim] versus mare mortuum . . . semper currit versus meridiem,' &c.

trunks, the incision with an axe, the liquor 'like size[1]' that flowed out, the leaf-bags in which this liquor was put, the fifteen days' drying in the sun, the steeping in sea-water, the washing in fresh-water, the making into paste, the white outside, the dark inside, of the sago bread—all this, despite its errors, must be recognized as the account of an eye-witness, who did not always understand what he saw, but who could truly say that he had witnessed every stage of sago-making and had eaten of sago bread[2]. And no European before him could do the same; just as no European of earlier time has noticed the *sumpit*, the deadly blow-pipe, of the East Indies[3].

On the other hand, the Dead Sea, with its awful currents sucking southwards into a limitless Lethe, exactly recalls Polo's allusion to the overwhelming ocean stream south of Madagascar[4]. Upon these, and similar authorities, the legend was long buttressed; and it appears as late as 1457, with all its old embellishments, upon the great world-map of Fra Mauro.

We now return, though only for a moment, to the mainland of Asia. In *Campa*[5], to which Odoric brings us from *Talamasim*—the *Ciampa* of Polo, the *Chopa* or *Champa* of Jordanus, the Cochin China of our geography—we have again a close parallel between the out-going preacher and the home-coming trader. The fair land, full of all good things; the 200 children of the polygamous king; the monarch's 14,000 (?) tame elephants[6], have a very similar sound to what we find in Messer Marco. But, while omitting all reference to Mongol invasions, Odoric adds certain details of his own. The system of partnership[7] on which the royal villeins tended the great

[1] 'Ad modum collae,' Od., ch. 22.

[2] Od., ch. 22, 'panem multum bonum, de quo ego frater Odoricus . . . comedi: haec autem omnia propriis oculis vidi.'

[3] This is only found in the Palatine MS. (Florence, Nat. Libr., E., 5, 9, 67).

[4] See p. 148 of this volume.

[5] 'Campa,' 'Canpa,' 'Carpa,' 'Zampa,' in the Odoric MSS., ch. 23. The C is perhaps for Ç. Cf. pp. 132-3, 229 of this volume.

[6] Od., ch. 23. In the best MSS. the number is 14, an obviously ridiculous under-statement in the 'metropolis of elephants.'

[7] 'Ad socedam,' Od., ch. 23, explained in Y., 95, as the Italian

beasts, as oxen were tended in Europe; the vast shoals of fish which came ashore here at certain times of the year, and so let themselves be taken ('doing homage to their Emperor,' as the natives said); the prevalence of suttee; the huge tortoise, 'bigger than the dome of St. Anthony at Padua,' which the worthy missionary saw with his own eyes[1]—all these are peculiar to the churchman's *Descriptio*.

The narrative now reverts to the islands of the southern sea, but in perplexing fashion. It was, Odoric tells us, by a southward voyage from *Campa* across the ocean that he discovered many countries and, among the rest, the great isle of *Nicuveran*[2], 2,000 miles in circuit, and remarkable for its naked, dog-headed, ox-worshipping cannibals, who fought with shields that covered the whole body, and whose king, an inflexible maintainer of justice, boasted not only of a rosary of 300 pearls, but also of the world's finest jewel, a ruby[3] of fiery lustre, vainly coveted by the Tartar Emperor of Cathay.

Here it is easy to recognize the *name* of the Nicobars (Polo's *Necuveran*[4]), as well as the tradition of the brutal Andaman folk, whom Arab voyagers had long since endowed with the faces of dogs and the hearts of deer; but it is equally clear that the whole of this chapter is in the worst style of legendary jumble.

From Polo's chapters on the Deccan and Ceylon, Odoric apparently derives the ox-ornaments and ox-idolatry, the pearl necklace, the flame-like ruby[5] of his *Nicuveran* islanders and their ruler; from Borneo, perhaps, he takes the vast shields so well known among the Dyaks; from some confusion of mind

soccita, 'the name for a sort of *metairie* in cattle-keeping, the cattle being tended for the owners on a division of profits.'

[1] Od., ch. 23 ('Vidi ... testudinem maiorem quam esset revolutio trulli ecclesiae S. Antonii de Padua').

[2] The reading of St. Mark's, Venice, MS., cl. vi, cod. 102 (Od., ch. 24). Other MSS. read 'Sacimeran' (P.), 'Nichovera,' 'Mochimoran,' &c.

[3] 'Rubinum,' Venni; 'bene,' P. (Od., ch. 24).

[4] See above, p. 136.

[5] So invariably Cinghalese, in fact, is the tradition of the flame-like ruby—from Hiuen-Thsang to Polo and Jordanus—that it may be a piece of Odoric's *Sillan* chapter has here got misplaced.

—his own or his scribe's—must come the strange direction given, to the south of Cochin China. All the particulars enumerated (save nudity) are equally foreign both to Nicobars and to Andamans; and it is disturbing to find that Odoric's text unmistakably implies[1] a personal visit to an island-group of which his description is so obviously mythical.

This claim of first-hand knowledge our friar makes with a better show of right in his next Indian island, *Sillan*[2] or Ceylon, to which he assigns practically the same dimensions[3] as to *Nicuveran*. For in spite of his mistake as to Cinghalese diamonds, his exaggeration of the country's size, and his quaint description of two-headed birds as big as geese (the double-beaked hornbill of Ceylon), he gives us unimpeachable allusions to Adam's Peak and its traditions, to the rubies, pearls, and elephants of *Sillan*, and to the pestilent leeches, against whose bites lemon-juice alone availed.

But we return to a more legendary atmosphere in the next (and last) of Odoric's Indian isles—isles whose number he reckons at 24,000, whose crowned kings were four-and-sixty strong, and whose marvels (as we may readily believe) exceeded to his mind those of all the world besides[4]. This was that 'Unclean' land of *Dondin*[5], to which the friar came by voyaging south of Ceylon, in which men devoured their nearest relatives[6], and which some have tried to identify with the Andamans under some such form as *d'Andin*.

[1] 'Reperi . . . *contratas*. Quarum una est . . . Nicuveran,' Od., ch. 24. Cf. C., pp. 208–17, for an elaborate note on fables of dog-headed races.

[2] Od., ch. 25. The forms 'Sillam,' 'Silam,' 'Salam' also occur in the Odoric MSS.

[3] 'Circuiens bene plura quam duo milia milliarum' (Od., ch. 25) as against 'circuiens bene per duo milia milliarum' (ch. 24).

[4] Od., ch. 27.

[5] 'De ista insula [Ceylon] recedens . . . versus meridiem ad magnam insulam me applicui . . . Dondin . . . idem quod immundum.' Od., ch. 26.

[6] Y., 101. The excuse alleged by the cannibals of 'Dondin' (Od., ch. 26) was just the same as that given by the folk of 'Dagroian' in Sumatra to Marco Polo; see above, pp. 135, 141.

And now we come to the most valuable part of the *Descriptio*. For, whatever may be said of certain parts of Odoric's *Lower India* (from Bombay to Annam)[1], there can be no two opinions of his Chinese sections. Because, as we have said; they give us a picture of the Far East second only to that of Marco Polo[2].

It was by 'many days" navigation through the ocean sea towards the east (presumably from *Campa*) that Odoric came at last to that noble province of *Manzi* which men called *Upper India*[3]. It would be difficult to find elsewhere (save in Marignolli) such a use of *India superior*; but by it, as by *Manzi* or *Mansi*, southern China, the *Mangi* of Messer Marco, is clearly intended.

The size, wealth, prosperity, and peculiarities of this great region; the nature and appearance of its people; its religion and institutions, are depicted by the two Italians with striking unanimity. But Odoric's Italian comparisons, and his attention to many traits of daily life, which neither the Polos nor any other Westerns of that day have troubled to commemorate, add a special value to his *Description*, though it is only in the eastern plain of China that he makes a serious appearance by the side of Kublai's envoy. To Marco's south-western journey there is only the faintest parallel in our Franciscan, and that is a hasty reference to *Casan*—perhaps the old viceroyalty of Singanfu—almost at the close of his work[4].

Christians, Saracens, Idolaters, and officials of the Great Khan's service, all agreed (Odoric assures us)[5] that in this *Upper India* were full 2,000 great cities, so huge that neither Treviso nor Vicenza could be named with any one of them[6],

[1] Cf. Andrew of Zayton, p. 179.

[2] It is in China that Odoric makes almost all his curious comparisons between Eastern and Italian life.

[3] 'Ad Mansi . . . veni quam Indiam vocamus Superiorem,' P. (Od., ch. 28). The form 'Manzi' is found in St. Mark's, Venice, Lat. MS., cl. xiv, cod. xliii, and in Venni; 'Mansiae,' 'Mancy,' &c., occur in other MSS.

[4] See pp. 285–6.

[5] Od., ch. 28.

[6] 'Quod Trevisium neque Vincentia in ipsarum numerum ponerentur,' Od., ch. 28.

The population was incredibly great; unrivalled was the store of food and drink [1]. The men here were all artificers and merchants, who never fell into pauperism or begged for bread, till they could no longer put their hands to aught; their appearance was pallid, their beards were as thin as the whiskers of cats [2]; but their women were the fairest in the world.

Odoric first saw Chinese life at the port of *Cens-scolan* [3] or Canton, the *Cynkalan* of Marignolli, a city three times as large as Venice, lying one day's journey from the open sea, on a river that reached inland a good twelve days' journey [4]. The shipping of the port was past belief—greater than all Italy could show: no less wonderful was the cheapness of articles rare and precious in the West. For here 300 pounds of fresh ginger could be bought for less than a groat [5].

As to the strangely-formed geese and edible serpents which the *Descriptio* notes among the products of the Canton region [6], they correspond in most respects with the famous *anser cygnoides* and still more celebrated *nanche* snake of South-East China, features of a district apparently unvisited by Polo.

At Canton, as we have already suggested, Odoric must have quitted his ship, and definitely taken to land-travel once more; for his route from *Cens-scolan* to *Zayton*, from Kwangtung to Fokien, lies through 'many *lands* and cities [7].' Unfortunately he tells us nothing about a journey which no European of the

[1] But compare the strange language about the plenty of Tibet, pp. 286–7.

[2] 'Barbam . . . raram et longam sicut murilegae, id est cattae,' Od., ch. 28.

[3] Od., ch. 29 (P.). Otherwise 'Censcula,' 'Censcalam,' &c., in MSS. It is the 'Cincalan' of the Catalan Atlas and the 'Sinkalan' of Ibn Batuta, but does not, of course, appear in Polo.

[4] 'Bene ita magna pro tribus Venetiis, distans a mari per unam dietam, posita super . . . flumen, cuius aqua . . . ascendit ultra terram . . . xii dietis,' Od., ch. 29.

[5] 'Tota Ytalia non habet navigium ita magnum . . . haberi possunt ccc librae zinziberis recentis minori uno grosso,' Od., ch. 29.

[6] Od., ch. 29. Cf. Y., 107, ccxliii, on these 'anseres' and their 'pellem pendentem sub gula.'

[7] 'Per multas terras et civitates . . . ad . . . Zayton,' Od., ch. 30.

Middle Ages has described; he only resumes his detailed sketches of the Middle Kingdom on reaching the great port in the Formosa channel; from this point up to Peking, his route is Polo's inverted; and the words of the *Description* here afford an excellent complement to those of the *Book of Diversities*.

Thus to Marco's account of *Zayton*[1] Odoric adds a note as to size—it was twice as big as Bologna[2]; a note as to Latin mission-work—the Friars Minor had now two houses[3] there; a note as to his own task—in one of these mission-houses[3] he laid to rest the relics of the Tana martyrs; a note as to the abundance and cheapness of food; a note as to the idol monks and monasteries; and a note on colossal Buddhas, of whom the smallest were as great as the St. Christophers of the West[4].

After *Zayton*, again, *Fucho* follows in Odoric[5], just as *Fugui* precedes in Polo: both terms, like the *Fugui* of the Catalan Atlas[6], are forms of Fuchau, the capital of Fokien, sketched by the Pordenone traveller as lying on the sea (in modern language, on the Min estuary); as full thirty miles in circuit; and as notable not only for its wealth, size, and rank, but also for its curious poultry—its huge cocks and *white* woolly wingless hens[7].

And once more, when eighteen days' journey 'through many lan'ls and cities' brings Odoric to a 'great mountain,' we certainly have what answers to Polo's 'land of mountains and valleys' between the provinces of *Quinsai* and *Fugui*, in

[1] See above, p. 125. In the Odoric MSS., ch. 30, the forms of 'Zaitan,' 'Kaycon,' and 'Caicham' also appear.

[2] 'Magna est sicut bis esset Bononia,' Od., ch. 30.

[3] 'Loca,' Od., ch. 30.

[4] Od., ch. 30.

[5] Also given as 'Fuc,' 'Fuco,' 'Fuzo,' &c., in the Odoric MSS. (ch. 31).

[6] Sheet IV. Besides 'Fugui,' just north of Zayton, 'Fozo' is also given by the Catalan Atlas (same sheet) just south of Zayton, and 'Fugio' on an island fronting the North Chinese coast.

[7] These 'gallinae . . . albae ut nix, non habentes pennas sed solum lanam' (Od., ch. 31) are the 'galine qe ne ont pennes, mes . . . peaus come gate . . . toute *noire*' of Polo (G., 177; see p. 124 of this volume).

other words, the border ranges of Fokien. Here, as we know, Marco locates savage beasts and still more savage men; while Odoric adds a distinction of colour and a note on local female fashions. For on one side of this 'mountain' (as he believed) all animals were black, and on the other white; while the women wore a queer erection, 'like a great barrel of horn,' upon their heads—words exactly applicable to the head-dress still prevailing among some of the Meautse aborigines of Western Fokien[1].

Still another eighteen days of land-travel, and Odoric arrived at a great but unnamed river, probably the Tsien Tang, upon which stood a city, likewise nameless, but certainly one of the towns of Southern Chekiang[2], whereat the friar witnessed one of the strangest sights of China, unrecorded by any European of earlier time.

For here his host, living at the bridge-head, invited him to see some rare good fishing[3], and the astonished European was a spectator of what trained cormorants could do. How these 'waterfowl[4],' their voracious throats tied up with cords, were fastened upon perches till all was ready; how when released they dived for fish and popped their catch into baskets; how when they had satisfied their masters, their necks were unbound, and they were let free to find their own dinners; and how of this miraculous draught Odoric himself partook[5] we may read in one of the best chapters of what, if meant for a missionary book, is a perilously entertaining one.

Between Fuchau and Hangchau Odoric does not give us a single name; we can only guess that his route may have

[1] The text here, obviously corrupt, reads 'mulieres *innuptae* . . . *magnum* barile de cornu in capite portant, ut cognoscantur quia *nuptae* sunt,' Od., ch. 31.

[2] Od., ch. 31.

[3] 'Si tu vis videre bene piscari, veni mecum,' Od., ch. 31.

[4] 'Mergos,' Od., ch. 31.

[5] Od., ch. 31. A little later Odoric (ch. 31) sees Chinese divers catching fish with their bare hands. No place is named, but it must be near *Cansaia* or Hangchau.

been very similar to Polo's. Both travellers were journeying, as far as we can determine, with the simple object of traversing the interval between these two great cities, not with any view of penetrating into curious and little-known regions, on one side or other of the main roads; and therefore, if we are satisfied that we can trace Marco's course up the Min and down the Tsien Tang, through Kiuchau and Kinhwa, we may also surmise that his successor passed in like manner up and down these valleys, through or near these towns [1].

But at *Cansaia*, the *Quinsai* of which Polo has said so much, with such brilliant and unusual eloquence, Odoric again becomes explicit [2], again witnesses—like John Marignolli and Ibn Batuta—to the substantial truth of all that the Venetian pioneer had told.

Again, we hear of Hangchau's matchless size and splendour and prosperity; again, of a circuit of 100 miles; again, of 12,000 bridges; again, of paper-money; again, of abundance of every luxury and necessity of life; again, of an unrivalled commerce; again, of the past glories of the 'royal seat' of *Manzi*. Again, we have a population reckoned by *tumans* or *myriads* of hearth-fires, but with a different result; again, the visitor marvels 'how so many human bodies could live together [3].' And yet, once again, we have a *heavenly* meaning [4] mistakenly attached to the native title—'*Cansaia*, which is to say, the City of Heaven.'

But Odoric does not merely reproduce the language and ideas of Polo. He adds a comparison of Hangchau and its river with Ferrara and the Po [5]; likens the city's position on lagoons [6] to that of Venice; declares that each of its suburbs (extending some eight miles outside the wall and the twelve great gates) was larger than Venice or Padua [7]; makes every

[1] See above, pp. 123-4.

[2] Od., chs. 32-3.

[3] Od., ch. 32, 'quod tot corpora humana poterant habitare simul.'

[4] See above, p. 117.

[5] 'Sicut Ferraria ipsa manet,' Od., ch. 32.

[6] 'In aquis lacunarum, sicut civitas Venetiarum,' Od., ch. 32.

[7] 'Maiores quam essent civitas Venetiarum et Padua,' Od., ch. 32.

hearth-fire represent ten or twelve households [1], bringing the total population up to 8,900,000 families, on the most modest reckoning; and asserts that every span [2] of the town's land was peopled, whereas Marco suggests a profusion of gardens, parks, and open spaces. At this point, moreover, the missionary brings in some of the technical terms he had learnt, such as *thuman* for 'ten thousand,' *bigni* [3] for the local rice-wine, and *balis* for the tax (about a florin and a half) paid to the Khan (in bank-notes, resembling strips of cotton) by every hearth [4] in *Cansaia*.

Lastly, the friar tells us how the Latin mission had prospered in the great city. Four Franciscans had converted a local magnate [5]; in the house of this potentate Odoric received hospitality; and his host took him (as perhaps Marignolli was taken later) to see a marvel worth the notice even of a Frank Rabban, on his way to *Cambaleth* from the land of the sunset [6].

The marvel was to be witnessed in the grounds of a local monastery. Here the temple servant, leading his visitors into a shrubbery, with a few blows upon a gong summoned a great crowd [7] of animals from a neighbouring tree-clad mound. Apes and monkeys and others, down they hastened at the sound, and grouped themselves around their keeper to be fed. And he, when he had emptied two large baskets [8] full of table-leavings for his charges, dismissed them to their lairs by

[1] 'Supellectiles,' Od., ch. 32. There were 89 *tumans* of fires, and a *tuman* was 10,000, Od., ibid.

[2] 'Spansa,' Od., ch. 32.

[3] Od., ch. 32. Some MSS. give other forms, e. g. 'bigini,' 'vigim,' &c.

[4] 'Quilibet ignis solvit unum balis annuatim . . . Cani Magno, id est, quinque cartas ad instar bombicis,' Od., ch. 32.

[5] 'Unum potentem hominem,' Od., ch. 33.

[6] 'Vides hunc Raban Franchi (scilicet istum virum religiosum Franch) iste venit inde ubi occidit sol, et nunc vadit Cambaleth, ut roget vitam pro Magno Cane,' Od., ch. 33. The 'potens homo' calls the friar '*atha*, id est pater,' a striking instance of Turco-Tartar language in the heart of China (Od., ibid.).

[7] 'Multa animalia varia et diversa . . . sicut nunc essent symiae, cattimaymones . . . et multa alia animalia,' Od., ch. 33.

[8] 'Mastellos . . . paropsides,' Od., ibid.

another beating of his gong. These *noble* animals, he informed the laughing Odoric, were the souls of noble men, thus fed and tended for the love of God; the souls of boors inhabited the bodies of baser creatures. Nor could the friar by any argument shake his belief in this transmigration.

We can well believe that 'a good quire of stationery[1]' (in Odoric's own language) would not have suffered him to tell all he could remember of *Cansaia*; for the good friar is at times a man of large discourse; but he now hurries on (perhaps with the fear of wearying an incredulous public) to the narrative of his North China travels, from Hangchau to Peking, mainly by the line of the Grand Canal.

And now we hear of Nanking or *Chilenfo*[2], first seat of the Kings of Manzi[3], and still vast and prosperous, with a circuit of forty miles, with 340[4] stone bridges of super-eminent beauty, and with a marvellous volume of shipping. As to this *Southern Capital* Polo is silent[5], so that Odoric's few words, abundantly confirmed by modern observation, are doubly valuable.

In the river *Talay*[6], however, which immediately follows, we unquestionably have the *Kiang* and *Brius* of the *Livre des Diversités*, the Yangtse Kiang of the modern world. Like Marco, Odoric places it at the head of all the streams of earth[7]; but in his details the ecclesiastic is more legendary than the layman. For though in his name he preserves the Mongol *Dalai*, an *ocean* term sometimes applied by the Tartar

[1] 'Bonus quaternus stationis,' Od., ch. 33.

[2] Otherwise 'Chilepho,' 'Chilemfo,' 'Chilenfu,' 'Chilopho,' 'Chilemphe,' &c., in the Odoric MSS. (ch. 34). Kianninfu is the proper name; 'Nanking' or 'Southern Capital' merely a title.

[3] 'Prima sedes regis Manzi,' Od., ch. 34; cf. the phrase as to Hangchau: 'civitas regalis in qua rex Manzi olim morabatur,' ch. 33.

[4] One MS. (St. Mark, Lat., class xiv, cod. xliii) has 360.

[5] He only mentions Nganking ('Nanghin'); see above, p. 114.

[6] Otherwise 'Thalay,' 'Thanai,' 'Dotalai,' 'Talai' in Odoric MSS. (ch. 34).

[7] 'Maius flumen quod sit in mundo,' Od., ch. 34.

conquerors to the great watercourse of China [1], he strains a point when he gives its breadth as seven miles in narrower places [2], and makes it flow through the Land of the Pygmies [3], a tiny folk of countless number, three spans in height, greatest of cotton workers [4], whose city *Chathan* [5] was among the fairest of all towns.

Iamzai, the next point marked by Odoric in his progress towards Peking [6], is almost certainly the *Yangui* of Polo, the *Iangio* of the Catalan Map, the Yangchau of the Chinese, standing a short distance to the north of the Yangtse, the first place of importance on the route of the Grand Canal, as one journeyed from the Blue to the Yellow River [7]. Here the Franciscans now possessed a house, and the Nestorians three churches [8]; the former, of course, subsequent to Marco, and the latter unnoticed by him, though it is this city, as we have seen, which the Venetian claims to have governed for three years in Kublai's name [9].

Both travellers agree well enough on the wealth and importance of Yangchau; but it is Odoric who tells us of its restaurant-life and hospitable citizens, of its enormous shipping, of its 480,000 (?) hearth-fires, and of its colossal revenue from salt—a revenue which manuscript-transcribers, probably tampering with their original, have written down as equal to 750 million florins [10].

[1] Like the Arabic *Bahr* applied to the Nile, or the Tibetan *Samandrang* to the Indus; see Y., 121.

[2] 'Ubi strictius est,' Od., ch. 34.

[3] Or 'Vidinni,' adds Odoric, ch. 34; 'Pigmeorum scilicet Vidinnorum' (P.). In other MSS. the forms 'Biduini,' 'Bidoyni,' 'Vidimii' occur.

[4] 'Faciunt magna opera goton, id est bombicis,' Od., ch. 34.

[5] Otherwise 'Cathan, Kaycon,' &c., in Od. MSS.

[6] Od., ch. 35; see above, pp. 113–14.

[7] Odoric implies he reached it by a river voyage on the Yangtse 'per . . . flumen . . . Talai . . . transivi per multas civitates, et veni ad Iamzai,' Od., ch. 35.

[8] 'Locus nostrorum fratrum minorum . . . tres ecclesiae Nestorinorum,' Od., ch. 35.

[9] See above, p. 113.

[10] Od., ch. 35, 'habens bene xlviii vel lviii *tuman* ignium . . . de sale habet de redditu quinquaginta milia *tuman balisi*.' A *balis* equals 1½ florins; a *tuman*, of course, 10,000 of anything. On Odoric's previous computation at Hangchau, 480,000 hearth-fires would give at least 4,800,000 people, and the salt-tax would equal 500,000,000 balish.

But still vaster, to Odoric's mind, was the shipping at *Menzu*, or Ningpo—which he places at the 'head' (perhaps here signifying the *mouth*) of the Yangtse[1] or Talay—and whose floating palaces, with their whitewashed hulls and splendid cabins, perchance unequalled in any port on earth, kindle his admiration so notably[2].

From this point the *Description* takes us along the 'sweet water' course of the Grand Canal towards that imperial city for which its author was bound[3], and where he was to spend so many months[4]. But whereas Marco Polo shows a fair understanding of the Canal, its purpose, and its origin[5], Odoric seems to confuse it with the *Caramoran* or Hoangho, that dreaded stream which, flowing through the very midst of Cathay, worked such havoc, like the Padus at Ferrara, when it burst its banks[6]. Upon the *Caramoran*, accordingly, the friar places *Lenzin* and the great silk mart of *Suzumato*, the *Ligui* and *Singuimatu* of Polo, and probably the modern Canal ports of Lingching and Tsiningchau, the only stations he names on his way from Yangchau to Peking[7].

And so, at last, 'by many lands and cities,' still going towards the *East*[8], still confusing his own course on the Canal with that of the Yellow River, Odoric arrives at that 'ancient and noble city of *Cambalec*,' where the Great Khan had his

[1] 'In capite . . . fluminis . . . del Talai,' Od., ch. 35, 'Menzu' in *name* must be Mingchu, i. e. Ningpo, the *Mingio* of the Catalan Atlas, south-east of Hangchau, and the nearest great city to the Chusan Archipelago. See Y., 124, for other instances from (the Ramusian) Polo and Josafat Barbaro of the use of 'head' for 'estuary.'

[2] 'Omnes albae ut nix, zesso depictae. In ipsis hospicia multa . . . pulchra . . . ordinata,' &c., Od., ch. 35.

[3] 'Vadit Cambaleth,' &c., Od., ch. 33; see above, p. 275.

[4] 'Ego . . . Odoricus fui bene tribus annis in hac civitate' (Peking), Od., ch. 38.

[5] See above, pp. 111, 115.

[6] 'Per medium Cathaii transit, cui magnum dampnum infert quando rumpit, sicut Padus transiens per Ferrariam,' Od., ch. 36.

[7] Od., ch. 36. For 'Lenzin' some MSS. read 'Lencim' and 'Lencyn'; for 'Suzumato,' 'Sucumat' and 'Sumakoto'; as to Polo's account of these towns, see above, p. 112.

[8] 'Per multas civitates et terras versus *Orientem*,' Od., ch. 37.

seat[1]; where John of Monte Corvino had, for a quarter of a century, championed the cause of Roman Christianity; and where the Franciscan Brethren had now won a definite position, fortified by marked success among the great ones of the Court[2].

In Peking, as we have heard already, Odoric spent three years; and his picture of the imperial city is an invaluable companion to that of Marco Polo. For, like Kublai's courtier, he tells us of the new city of *Caydo* or *Taydo*, built by the Tartar conquerors half a mile from the ancient town; of twelve great gates, with spaces of two miles from each to each; of a circuit of four miles for the imperial palace[3]; and of the green mount, lake, and bridge, still to be found within the palace grounds[4].

Here, then, merchant and missionary are in complete accord; and the same may be said of the imperial Court and ceremonial; of the Khan's system of government, with twelve chief provinces and viceroys; of his summer palace at Shangtu[5], in the cool of the north; of his relaxations in hawking, hunting, plays, jugglery, and sport of all kinds; of the vast army of actors, singers, mummers, beast-tamers, gamekeepers, and physicians, who waited on the *Magnus Canis*; of the great festivals of the imperial calendar; and of the white horses presented to the Son of Heaven upon these festivals[6].

[1] 'Cambalec . . . multum . . . vetus et antiqua . . . in hac civitate, Canis *ille* Magnus suam sedem habet,' Od., ch. 37.

[2] 'Nam nos fratres minores in hac curia . . . habemus locum deputatum,' &c.

[3] For Old and New Towns together, Odoric allows a circumference of over forty miles ('circuitus duarum civitatum plura ambit quam xl miliaria,' Od., ch. 37). Polo gives twenty-four miles for 'Taidu' alone; see above, p. 95; for Pegolotti's estimate, cf. p. 328.

[4] Od., ch. 37. See above, p. 101, for Polo's account.

[5] Od., ch. 39, written 'Zandu' in P., and 'Sandu,' 'Sanday,' 'Sanay' in other MSS. Odoric describes it as if a very Arctic spot: 'posita sub tramontana et frigidior habitabilis quae hodie sit in mundo,' ch. 39.

[6] Od., chs. 37–42 (the imperial Court in ch. 38, Shangtu and the imperial hunting in chs. 39 and 41, the governmental system, provinces, and viceroys in ch. 40, the four great annual festivals in ch. 42); cf. Polo, pp. 90–1, 97–102, 113 of this volume.

But to appreciate Odoric's merits to the full, we must remark somewhat more closely upon his notice of certain other matters omitted in the record of Messer Marco—the priceless jade of the imperial palace[1]; the towering *bogtak* head-dress of Tartar matrons[2]; the crimson, green, and yellow colours worn by the three highest ranks of courtiers on state occasions[3]; the *kwei* or ivory tablet held in hand, like a memorandum-book, by great nobles at these same festivals[4]; and the carriage, adorned with gold and gems, hung with fine skins, drawn by elephants and horses, and escorted by the four *Zuche* or hereditary bodyguards[5], in which the Khan went forth upon his journeys.

Once more, in the term of *singo*, as applied to the twelve provinces of the Mongol Suzerain state, Odoric preserves and correctly employs the *sheng* of the Chinese, the *shieng* of Polo[6]; in the names of *yam* and *chidebo*[7], for the post-houses and runner-stations of the Mongol news-service, he is equally accurate; and though his account of this marvellous courier-system, with its horses and foot-messengers, its horn and bell-

[1] 'Merdatas' or 'merdacas,' Od., ch. 37.

[2] From Ricold of Monte Croce we even get a similar comparison of this ornament to a 'pes hominis super caput,' Od., ch. 38; cf. Ricold in *Per. Quat.*, p. 116, and p. 193 of this volume. For Rubruquis' notice of the 'bogtak' or 'bocca' see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 329 (R., 232-3).

[3] Odoric speaks especially of the four imperial festivals, especially the birthday of the Khan, ch. 42.

[4] Od., ch. 42. On this 'tabulam de dentibus elephantum albam' see also Rubruquis in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 350. It was a most ancient piece of Chinese Court ceremonial; cf. Y., 141-2.

[5] Od., ch. 39. The 'Zuche' are the *Quesitan* of Polo, the *Kiesie* of the Mongols; see Y., 135, C., 372, 415. For *Zuche*, one Od. MS. reads 'Cuthe,' some others 'Cuche.' Odoric adds that this imperial car ('currus a duabus rotis') always moved, as it were, in the middle of a cross, four squadrons of horse guarding its front, rear, and sides: in the car was a 'pulcherrima sala ... de lignis aloe et auro ornata, insuper perlis magnis et lapidibus pretiosis' (ch. 39).

[6] See Od., ch. 40, and Polo on p. 110 of the G. text. The term appears as 'Syno' in P., 'Signo' in another MS. Odoric's mistake of reckoning all 'Manzi' as only one of the twelve great 'shengs,' is perhaps due to his travels south of the Kiang being largely in the one 'sheng' of Kiangche.

[7] 'Chidebeo' in one MS.

signals, and its organization of relays, is slighter than his predecessor's [1], it gives the essential points well enough.

Lastly, although the friar merely alludes to the paper-money of Kublai's dynasty, he has a very good idea of its universal, compulsory, and exclusive use [2].

It was during his stay in North China, and on the road from Peking to Shangtu, that Odoric had his famous meeting with the Grand Khan, a meeting which associates our traveller more clearly than any other known phrase or circumstance with the *Cambalec* mission and its founder.

As the Emperor was once upon his journey from his summer to his winter palace (presumably in the gorgeous elephant-car of which we have read), Odoric was sitting by the wayside, proceeds the *Description* [3], with some other friars [4], one of them being a bishop, all waiting for the arrival of his Majesty. 'And when the Khan approached, the bishop put on the episcopal dress, while Odoric [5] fixed a cross upon a staff: and the friars [6] all began with a loud voice to sing the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. And the Khan, hearing the sound, asked what it might be. And the four barons who were next him said it was four Frank Rabbans that were there. Then the Khan himself made them approach. And the bishop took the cross and presented it to the Khan that he might kiss it. Now the Khan was reclining; but when he

[1] See Od., ch. 40, and pp. 98–9 of this volume.

[2] See above, Od., ch. 32 and ch. 42 ('nichil aliud pro moneta expendatur in . . . suo regno quam quaedam cartae quae pro moneta reputantur').

[3] Od., ch. 50. P. makes the friars go of set purpose to meet the Khan ('dum . . . de adventu suo certitudinaliter dicerentur . . . episcopus et aliqui fratres . . . et ego ivimus sibi obviam'), the Bassano text (in St. Mark's MS. Lat., Class xiv, Cod. xliii) rather implies an accidental meeting. The bringing of the censer (in P.) strengthens the former suggestion. Odoric, in this MS., introduces the tale with a mention of the Cathayan custom of burning aromatics when the Khan passed by ('omnes . . . ante hospicia . . . igne accendunt et aromata apponunt,' &c.). Acting up to this, P. suggests, the friars brought a censer and censed the Khan.

[4] 'Cum iiii fratribus' in the Bassano text.

[5] So P., 'posui crucem,' &c.

[6] 'Isti iiii fratres' in the Bassano text.

saw the cross, he sat up at once, and taking the cap from his head, he kissed the cross devoutly and with a notable humility. Now there is this custom with that lord; no one may dare to come before him empty-handed, according to the ancient law, *Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus*; wherefore Brother Odoric, having a trencher full of apples, offered it to the Khan [1]. And the Khan took two apples and ate a part of one of them. And 'tis apparent that he was somewhat acquainted with our faith, through the Minor Friars who constantly abide at his court, in that he doffed his cap and so reverenced the cross. And that cap of his, as Odoric related, was worth more than the whole March of Treviso, for the pearls and gems that were on it.'

The emperor here referred to must have been Yissun-Timur, sixth of the Mongol dynasty in China (1324–8); the bishop was either Corvino himself, or one of his suffragans, Gerard, Peregrine, or Andrew; from another passage of the *Descriptio* we learn how well accustomed the Khan must now have been to the Franciscans of his court and capital, whose presents and benedictions he regularly accepted at the yearly festivals [2].

All this is obviously history, but before we part from Odoric, we have some tales of mystery as well. And of these there is one worth special notice.

It is doubtless in some land where Buddhist rock-sculptures might be found [3], that we must place the friar's adventure of the Perilous Ravine: that he passed through some real terror, and is not merely entertaining William of Solagna, seems pretty evident; but the main point is the extraordinary coincidence between the tale of the fourteenth-century *Descriptio* and the Valley of the Shadow of Death in the seventeenth-century allegory of John Bunyan [4].

[1] So the Bassano text: P. does not make it so personal ('portavimus nobiscum aliqua poma . . . sibi super . . . incisorium . . . obtulimus').

[2] Od., ch. 42, less clear in P. than in B. Mus. Arundel MS., xiii. f. 38 b.

[3] On these see Polo, p. 78 of this volume, and Hiuen-Thsang in *Daun Mod. Geog.*, i. 506.

[4] The link is perhaps supplied by 'Sir John Mandeville,' see below, p. 323.

For the Pilgrim's Progress of the Roman missionary[1] was on this wise: 'As I went through a certain valley lying upon the River of Delights[2], I saw countless bodies of the dead, and heard divers kinds of music, and especially that of drums[3], marvellously beaten. And so great was the noise that extreme terror fell upon me. Now this valley is seven or eight miles long, and if any unbeliever enter it, he dies forthwith. And going in (that I might see for good and all[4] what this matter was) I saw in a rock upon one side a man's face, so terrible that my spirit seemed to die[5] within me utterly. Wherefore I continually repeated with my lips, *The Word was made Flesh.* Close up to that face I never dared to go, but kept always some seven or eight paces from it. And at the other end of the valley, having climbed up a sandy mountain, I looked round everywhere, but could see nothing, save those drums, which I heard played upon so wondrously.' On the hill-top, concludes the story, lay silver heaped up like fish-scales; some of this Odoric gathered, but only to cast it from him, thus 'by the gift of God' coming forth unharmed, to the admiration of the *Saracens*[6].

Here is a legend in every way remarkable, whatever its origin; but in his tale of the vegetable lamb of the Caspian mountains, supported by the still more venerable myth of the bird-producing trees of Ireland[7], Odoric descends, as in his story of the Great Khan and the Babylon Soldan[8], to the level of the Dark Age fabulist.

In striking contrast to these absurdities are the concluding observations of our traveller upon certain oddities of Chinese life and manners, observations nowhere else recorded in the mediaeval literature of Latin Christendom, and sufficient by

[1] Od., ch. 49.
[2] 'Flumen deliciarum,' ibid.
[3] 'Nachara' (i.e. nakers), corrupted to 'achara' in P.
[4] 'Finaliter.'
[5] 'Spiritum me perdere penitus credebam.'
[6] 'Dicentes me esse baptizatum et sanctum,' strangely adds the narrative (end of ch. 49).
[7] Od., ch. 43.
[8] Od., ch. 50, only in St. Mark's MS. Lat., Class xiv, Cod. xliii.

themselves to stamp the *Description* as a book of original value.

Thus, for one thing, Odoric records how, 'while still in Manzi,' he once passed by the palace of a magnate, whose revenue he estimates at 300,000 ass-loads of rice[1]. This palace had an enclosure of two miles; its pavement was of gold and silver; and within the enclosure was a mound of the precious metals, on which stood monasteries and bell-towers, 'such as men build for their amusement.' Yet the lord of this fair dwelling was fed like[2] a pet sparrow by fifty handmaidens, who waited on him by five at a time, putting the food into his mouth, and keeping up a continual song. 'And it is said there are four men like him in Manzi.'

Nor was this the only eccentricity of Far Eastern fashion. For there nobility consisted in the wearing of long nails, and some dandies even let their thumb-nails grow right round their hands. But women's beauty lay in the smallness of the feet, and to that end mothers bound up the feet of their new-born daughters, so that they could never grow, 'or at most very little[3].'

Odoric takes us to Peking, as we have found, with quite sufficient clearness; it is only here and there that we cannot follow his route; but of his return he gives us only the vaguest and most fragmentary reminiscences.

Four regions, however, he does indicate as lying on the path of his homeward journey. These are the land of Prester John, the land of *Casan*, Tibet, and *Millestorte*.

In the first, which he places at fifty days' journey westward from Cathay, the ruler (that *Pretozoan*[4] or Prester John of whom we have heard so much) always and by treaty received a daughter of the Great Khan to wife. Yet the Prester's chief city of *Chosan*[5], though supreme over many wealthy

[1] Od., ch. 46.

[2] 'Si esset unus passerinus.'

[3] Od., ch. 46. The omission of these customs is one of the most puzzling deficiencies of Marco Polo.

[4] Od., ch. 44. For P.'s 'Pretozoan,' other MSS. read 'Pretezoan,' 'Pretegianni,' and 'Pretegoani.'

[5] Od., ibid. For P.'s 'Chosan,' other MSS. read 'Tozan,' 'Cosan,' and

towns, was after all not equal to Vicenza [1], and in general, the friar complains, the wildest exaggeration had been employed in current descriptions of this potentate [2].

The region of which *Chosan* was the centre may be identical with the *Tenduc* of Polo [3], and the land of Monte Corvino's convert King George; it may lie along the north and north-east of the great Mongolian bend of the Hoangho; it may, on the contrary, lie further to the south, and nearer to the chief high-road from Peking to Singanfu; it may correspond with Kuku-Khoto (as Palladius suggests for *Tenduc*); or it may be sought rather in Togto, two days' journey west of Kuku-Khoto. But at present, even more than *Tenduc* itself, it seems insusceptible of precise identification, and we can only be sure of two things—that it was the seat of an *Asiatic* Prester, and that it was situated far to the west of *Cathay* [4].

Next, *Casan* (otherwise *Consan* or *Kansan*, in the Odoric manuscripts) appears in the *Descriptio* as a region fifty days' journey in extreme breadth, and over sixty in length; as the most populous country in the world—so much so that when one quitted the gate of one city, that of another town was already to be seen;—as famous for its rhubarb and its chestnuts; and, in general, as being the *second best* of all provinces [5].

By this we are perhaps to understand the old viceroyalty of Singanfu—as it existed in law to 1285 [6], and in popular language to a much later time—including Shensi, Szechuen, and a great part of Kansu. The generous estimates of distance which are given, the chestnuts (so celebrated a product of

'Kosan.' The Old French version (C., 433) supplies the name of 'Penthexoire' for the Prester's country. This term frequently occurs in later writers, and is considered by some to be genuinely Odorican: see Appendix.

[1] The reading of Venni's text.

[2] 'De quo non est centesima pars eius quod quasi pro certo de ipso dicitur,' Od., ch. 44.

[3] See Y., 146; C., 434, 445-6; pp. 88-9 of this volume; and Appendix.

[4] Od., ch. 44 ('de isto Cataio recedens et veniens versus occidentem L dietis ... per multas civitates,' &c.). Here 'Cathay' probably means the Peking region.

[5] Od., ch. 44.

[6] See Polo above, pp. 104-5 of this volume.

Szechuen), and the dense population, all point to this—to say nothing of the route apparently requiring a country between Tibet and the Land of Prester John [1].

Beyond *Casan* must have lain that *Great Tartary* wherein, according to Odoric, the Minorite friars thought no more of driving devils from the possessed than of turning a dog out of a house, and where the good brethren had triumphantly committed to the flames so many of the felt idols of Nomade superstition, despite all the shrieks and protests of the demon, thus roughly driven from his dwelling [2].

Far plainer is the next stage westward—the land of *Tybot* or Tibet [3], on the confines of India proper, subject to the Great Khan, possessing *greater plenty of bread and wine than any other country,* whose people usually lived in tents of black felt, but whose chief and royal city was built with 'white walls and black,' had well-paved streets, and was famous as the dwelling-place of the Chief of all Idolaters.

This pontiff, called *Lo Abassi* in the language of the natives, disposed of all the benefices of the idol-worshipping world; in his city none dared to shed the blood of any, whether man or beast,—such was the awe men had for a certain idol venerated there [4].

That this city was Lhassa, and the *Abassi* the Grand Lama, seems beyond dispute [5]; that in the walls of black and white, Odoric refers to the decoration of buildings with the black and

[1] Cordier, pp. 445-6, would restrict 'Casan' to Kansu, an identification which the 'Consan' and 'Kansan' of some texts invites one to make.

[2] Od., ch. 48.

[3] Od., ch. 45.

[4] Od., ch. 45.

[5] Yule, *Cathay*, 149-50, well quotes (1) Benjamin of Tudela's language about the 'Khalif . . . Al Mumenin *Al Abassi*' chief and pope of Mohammedans (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 250); (2) Evesko Petlin's *Russian Travels in Tartary* (1620), where the term *Lobaes* is used for the Mongol Lamas; (3) the term *Ubashi*, in Mongol religious language, for certain classes of Lamas, which term perhaps appears in the 'Bakshi,' 'Baksi,' 'Baxitae,' found in Polo and Ricold of Monte Croce (see above, pp. 102, n. 9, and 193 of this volume), and translated by the latter 'pontifices idolorum.'

white horns of sheep (as still practised in the Buddhist capital) is probable; the black felt tents can still be found; but how could Tibet be described, by one who knew it, as super-excellent for the staff of life and the fruit of the vine[1]? Odoric returns to firmer ground when he describes the hundred-plaited hair and tusk-ornaments of the Tibetan women; and when he dwells, with a grisly interest, on the goblets made by these brutal savages from the skulls of ancestors, on their family cannibalism, on their exposure of the dead to the kind offices of eagles and vultures, and on their ghastly make-believe that these birds of prey were but angels carrying their loved ones to Paradise[2].

Lastly, in *Millestorte*[3], that 'fair and very fertile' region in which once lived the Old Man of the Mountain, but whose position our wanderer merely defines as west of the land of Prester John, we may recognize that *Mulehet* or *Heretic Land* of the Elburz highlands where Hulagu and his Mongols, seventy years before, had rooted out the hashish-eaters from their Eagle's Nest at Alamut[4].

Here, then, in Northern Persia, we leave the friar, whose homeward path we cannot further trace, but whom tradition shows us commissioned by the Khan of Khans to bring a fresh supply of Christian preachers to the Mongol world, and who, in the same story, was even honoured by a meeting with the Enemy of souls[5]. The Satanic taunts came true: Odoric's errand was fruitless: though labouring to the last to unite a company of fifty friars for a new assault upon the Citadels of Heathendom, he was surprised by death before he could return to Asia[6].

[1] See, on details of Odoric's Tibetan picture, the Appendix to this volume.

[2] Od., ch. 45; see Appendix.

[3] Otherwise 'Millescorte,' 'Milescorte,' &c. See above, p. 238.

[4] Od., ch. 47; Wadding, *Annales*, vii. 258. The Catalan Atlas marks 'Malascorti.' See ch. vi of this volume.

[5] W., vii. 124 (A.D. 1331).

[6] After dictating his *Descriptio* at Padua, Odoric is said to have gone to Pisa *en route* for the Papal Court at

§ 6. *Marignolli.*

We have repeatedly met with John of Florence, otherwise John Marignola or Marignolli [1], in the history of the Chinese, Indian, Kipchak, and Chagatai missions; but we have kept all detailed notice of his work till now, because, like Odoric's *Descriptio*, that work is far more than a record of mission-enterprise in any one field.

John was an aristocrat. He belonged to the noble Florentine house of the Marignolli of San Lorenzo, usually supporters of the Guelf party, who suffered a short exile on the defeat of their faction in 1260, but soon returned to their former position and influence. Many Florentine magistrates came from this family, and a street near the cathedral once bore their name [2]. Our explorer, after he had entered the Order of St. Francis, became a member of the Santa Croce monastery in his native city, and to this convent he probably refers in speaking of the 'camall-cloth' garment which he brought from India and left in the sacristy of the Minor Friars in Florence [3]. From another passage in his Reminiscences he appears at one time to have lectured at Bologna University [4], and besides the

Avignon, before which he purposed to report himself and ask for fresh aid in the Eastern Mission. But at Pisa his fatal illness came upon him, and he had only time to return to Udine and die (W., vii. 124 (A.D. 1331)).

[1] All quotations from, and references to, Marignolli are from the text in the *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* (1882), vol. iii, pp. 492-604 [here cited as F.]. Yule's translation and notes are in his *Cathay*, ii. 309-94 [here cited as Y.], but this only refers to the portions of geographical and Asiatic interest, which practically end on p. 512 in the *Fontes*. An admirable study of Marignolli by Dr. F. Kunstmann, *Der Reisebericht des Johannes Marignola*, is in the *Historisch-politische Blätter* of Phillips and Görres (vol. xxxviii, pp. 701-19, 793-813). From the same author, in the same series, come, e.g. (1) *Die Mission in Malabar und Tana* (xxxvii, pp. 25-38); (2) *Die Mission in Columbo* (xxxvii, pp. 135-52); (3) *Die Mission in China* (xxxvii, pp. 225-52; xliii, pp. 677-81); (4) *Der Missionsbericht des Odericus von Pordenone* (xxxviii, pp. 507-37); Munich, 1856-9.

[2] Y., 311-12; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 522 (Venice, 1717); Villani, *Istoria Fiorentina*, book v, chs. 79-80. The modern *Via de' Cerretani* was formerly the *Via de' Marignolli*.

[3] F., 502.

[4] F, 509.

Latin *Annals of Bohemia*, in which his travel notes are embedded 'like unexpected fossils in a mud bank [1],' he wrote several treatises in Italian [2].

The great event of his life was the eastern mission of 1338–53; after his return to Avignon, he was not merely rewarded with the bishopric of Bisignano in remote Calabria, but introduced (a somewhat better recompense) to the notice of the generous and cultured Emperor Charles IV. Charles made him one of his domestic chaplains, took him with his Court to Bohemia, and (probably during a residence at Prague, in 1354–5, of which certain faint indications remain in one of Marignolli's miracle-stories [3]) laid upon him the uncongenial task of compiling a history of the Chekh kingdom [4].

That history began, of course, with the Creation, Paradise, and the life of Adam; and in paraphrasing the first chapter of Genesis as an introduction to the *Cronica Boemorum*, Marignolli found abundant opportunity to introduce his Recollections of Eastern Travel—Recollections, which so far as they refer to his own personal experience, are often interesting and fairly accurate; but when professing only to report the statements of others, are chiefly noticeable as illustrations of mediaeval legend, as revealing the mental aberrations of a mediaeval oddity.

Here again, as in the case of Odoric, though in another way, there is a certain discrepancy between the church tradition and the man's own picture of himself. For whereas in Papal and Franciscan annals John of Florence appears as a man of weight and force, well suited to the responsibility of leading

[1] Y., 311.

[2] e. g. *The History of St. Onofrio* and *The Acts of the Apostles*; cf. Y., 312; Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum*, p. 436 (Rome, 1806). The present John of Florence must be distinguished from another Joannes de Florentia, a Dominican who was bishop of Tiflis in Georgia from 1329, see above, p. 207, n. 1; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1370; Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 454; Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Praedicat.*, 583.

[3] In the chapter *Miraculum de incisione digiti S. Nicolai*, F., 521–2.

[4] Charles IV's main interest was in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, and to Bohemians he is still the ideal mediaeval ruler.

the great mission of 1338, the Recollections of the worthy legate suggest a man of weak and vain character, though of eager and inquisitive mind, of a piety rather childlike than masterful, a garrulous and credulous old gossip, seldom capable of sticking to one theme for more than two minutes together, whose occasional power of graphic description is combined with a normal incoherence both of thought and expression.

It is hard to think that the ecclesiastical authorities were not fully as much mistaken in their view of Marignolli as was Charles IV in his appointment of this most incompetent redactor of the Bohemian Chronicles. 'A poor old wheezing hound, without repute for eloquence or learning[1],' is the vigorous description of Richard Fitz Ralph in the heat of controversy; but whatever the Archbishop of Armagh might say, our good John, in the words of the same adversary, seems to have still 'vaunted himself at Caesar's Court as the Apostle of the East[2].' The Papal reward of the Bisignano See (bestowed in 1354) had no overpowering attractions; and it was not unnatural that Marignolli showed a preference for travelling with his Imperial Master, negotiating, as a Papal envoy, with his native city (1356), or administering the (Italian) diocese of Nazareth at civilized Bologna (1357)[3]. In the composition of his *Cronica*, the main part of his undertaking, the threading of the 'thorny thickets and tangled brakes' of Bohemian history, the illuminating of that labyrinthine jungle of strange names (even though garnished by the story of Creation, the building of Babel, the life of Nimrod, and the careers of holy men from Melchizedek to Aaron, and from Aaron to the Roman Pontiffs), was evidently productive of atrocious boredom; and it was no doubt to find some relief for his ennui that he fortunately determined, very early in

[1] Y., 332, 'palpitantem senio molossum, cui ... neque vocis claritas neque scientiae habilitas suffragantur.' This letter of the Archbishop of Armagh's is in the records of the Metropolitan Chapter Library at Prague

[2] Fitz Ralph in Y., 332, 'qui se Apostolum Orientis in curia Caesaris ampullose denominat.'

[3] Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio*, as above.

his labours, to insert a few of the *things that he had seen himself*[1].

It is at the mention of 'Eden beyond India' that Marignolli starts off upon the track of his own reminiscences. His Oriental mission, as we have seen[2], was the result of the Tartar embassy, which arrived in Avignon early in 1338, with letters from the Great Khan and the Christian princes of the Alans; he travelled in the company of three colleagues, Nicolas Boneti, Nicolas of Molano, and Gregory of Hungary; and with these four legates went a number of lesser envoys, the whole party numbering at least thirty-two[3]. We have also noticed[4] that Marignolli and his colleagues were accredited not only to the Tartar Suzerain at Peking but to the Kipchak and Chagatai Khans in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and that they carried the letters of Benedict XII to the Alan Christians, to the heir of the Kipchak Khanate, and to Elias of Hungary, the Minorite friar now so powerful in Kipchak.

Starting from Avignon in December, 1338[5], the Nuncios waited at Naples for the Tartar envoys who had left the Papal Court in July, but did not join their Frank companions till the Easter following (end of March, 1339). They reached Constantinople on May Day, and after some breezy controversies with Greek churchmen, left the Eastern Rome[6] for Kaffa on June 24. Eight days' sail brought them over the *Black* Sea[7] (doubtless with very favourable wind and

[1] 'Ut ex visis aliqua breviter inseramus,' F., 494. Occasionally he seems to fear that the Emperor might think his reminiscences a little off the point, but his majesty in that event, he remarks resignedly, had but to score them out, F., 499, 583.

[2] See above, pp. 182–5.

[3] This was their number when at Peking, F., 496. See also Appendix.

[4] See above, pp. 185, 248-9.

[5] Marignolli, F., 494, dates it 1334 ('mense Decembris'), but there is no doubt of the true year. See above, pp. 184, 249. The Tartar envoys came to the Naples meeting-place in a Genoese vessel ('navigium Ianuensium'), F., 494.

[6] They were lodged in Pera ('Peyra,' F., 495).

[7] 'Mare *maurum*,' the new term, F., 495. See above, pp. 223, 243.

weather), and from the great Crimean port, with its Christians of many sects [1], they set out on their great land-journey, by the route which Corvino had so earnestly recommended for travellers to North China [2], thirty years before.

The next we hear of their advance is at the Court of Uzbeg, the Lord of Kipchak (probably at Sarai), where they presented this 'first Emperor of the Tartars [3]' not only with the Roman briefs, but also with rich clothing, a great war-horse, some cordial waters, and other presents [4]; perhaps even more acceptable than the Apostolic greetings. Their reception was most cordial, and they stayed with Uzbeg over the winter of 1339–40. Nicolas Boneti, however, must have turned back now, if he ever came so far; the Franciscan Annals declare his defection to have been necessary, 'for grave reasons' [5]; but of these reasons we know nothing,—only that in May, 1342, he was made Bishop of Malta.

The other envoys, meantime, pursued their way. In the spring of 1340, loaded with presents, and abundantly supplied with horses, money, and victuals [6], they left the Court of Uzbeg and pushed on (probably by the Khivan oasis) to Almalig on the Ili, where 'only a year before' the Latin mission had received so terrible a blow in the martyrdom of bishop Richard, brother Pascal, and their comrades [7].

If we may suppose that our legates quitted the Volga basin in April or May, they probably reached *Armalec* in August or September; luckily for them, they found the Saracen reaction already over in the Chagatai capital; and here they made another lengthy stay, preaching and baptizing without hindrance, digging wells, buying ground, building a church [8],

[1] F., 495.

[2] See above, pp. 170–1.

[3] F., 495, 'primum Thartarorum imperatorem.'

[4] F., 495, 'literas, pannos, de(x)trarium, cytiacam, et dona papae.'

[5] W., vii. 253, 'qui . . . ob graves causas ex ipso reversus est itinere.'

[6] 'Bene pasti, vestiti . . . remunerati . . . et cum . . . equis,' F., 495.

[7] Marignolli, F., 495, gives a full account of this 'solempne martirium'; see above, pp. 247–8.

[8] F., 495, 'Armalec Imperii Medii, ubi fecimus ecclesiam, emimus aream, fecimus fontes,' &c. For 'fontes' Kunstmann suggests 'fundacos,' 'factories.'

and generally restoring the prestige of Rome in the Kulja region, in the heart of the *Middle Empire*.

It was not till near the end of 1341, that Marignolli and his friends left Almalig for Peking. Of his route he only tells us that it led him past *Cyollos Kagan* or the Sandhills of the Wind[1], but from another passage it is practically certain that he travelled by *Kamul* or Hami[2], which, again, taken along with Almalig, implies a journey by the Northern route of the Thian Shan, possibly identical with the path of the elder Polos on their first outward journey. Whether *Cyollos Kagan* corresponds to the Sha Shan or Sand Mountains north of Kamul, or no[3], Marignolli clearly places this range on the border of the Gobi desert, that waste and *impassable* zone which, despite its name, he, unworthy Bishop of Bisignano, did cross twice over[4]. From what he relates of Kamul, of the numerous converts made there, and of the ticklish tithe question raised by the local catechumens, and settled so much to their advantage[5], it seems likely that the mission halted in this oasis, as at Kulja, for some time.

In any case the embassy arrived in 1342 at the Chinese Court. The Annals of the Franciscan Order[6] and of the *Yuen* Dynasty are quite agreed about this date, and the latter even record the presentation to the Son of Heaven of certain horses of *Fulang*—of a race till then unknown in China—the very same 'rarity' which the Grand Khan had so urgently desired in his letter of July, 1336[7]. With these *destriers*,

[1] F., 495, 'montes arenae, quos faciunt venti.'

[2] F., 515.

[3] See Y., 339; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, iii. 37-44 (1846).

[4] F., 495, 'ego eciam bis.'

[5] 'Ubi conversi nolebant baptizari, donec iuravimus nichil temporale post babtismum [*sic*] extorquere, ymo de nostris indigentibus providere... sic multitudo ... baptismum receperunt,' F., 515.

[6] W., vii. 258; Y., 340; Gaubil, *Histoire de Gentchis Can*, 279, and *Chronologie Chinoise*, 186. A picture was preserved, says Gaubil, commemorating the gift of a fine horse to the last of the *Yuen*, i. e. Toghon Timur Ukhagatu, 1332-70, by a foreigner of the 'Kingdom of France' (a Frank or Western European, here doubtless signifying Marignolli or one of his colleagues).

[7] See above, p. 183. This was entrusted to the Legation that arrived at Avignon in 1338.

Marignolli assures us, the Tartar Majesty was greatly delighted[1]; the envoys, for their part, were dumfoundered at the size, population, and military display of Peking[2]. The hospitality of the Mongol suzerain did not fall short of his great western vassals': the Catholic legation was lodged in an 'imperial apartment[3]' for more than three years; two princes were charged with their entertainment; and everything was provided for their comfort, from costly raiment to paper lanterns[4]. The customary courtesies, moreover, were extended to Latin rites; Marignolli himself headed a procession before the Khan, with cross, candles, incense, and the chanting of the Nicene creed, within the palace; and the legate's benediction was received 'with all humility' by the successor of Kublai[5].

In Peking, by this time, the Franciscans possessed a cathedral, immediately adjoining the imperial residence, several other churches, an archbishop's house, church bells, and every comfort; all the Roman clergy were given most honourable allowance from the Emperor's table[6]. The memory of Monte Corvino, the Apostle of these regions, was still green; he was venerated as a saint by the Tartars and the Alans[7]; to the last-named he had imparted so fervid a Catholicism that they called themselves slaves of the Pope, ready to die for their Frankish brethren in Christ[8].

Both in his own Recollections and in the Minorite Annals[9], Marignolli appears as winning a great harvest of souls in Cathay; the disputations of the Papal envoys with Jews and sectaries were many and glorious; and the Emperor expressed his wish to see one of his visitors as a bishop, with cardinal's

[1] F., 495-6.
[2] F., 495-6.
[3] 'Aulam.'
[4] F., 496. The time of residence is first stated as 'annos quasi quatuor,' and later as 'annis quasi tribus,' F., 496, cols. 1 and 2.
[5] F., 496.
[6] F., 496.
[7] F., 496.
[8] F., 495, 'parati mori pro Franquis; sic enim vocant nos, non a Francia, sed a Franquia.'
[9] W., vii. 258; F., 496 ('erectae tunc multae ecclesiae, et diffusa . . . fides Romana,' adds W.).

rank, in *Cambalec*, succeeding to the See of Corvino[1]. It is curious that none of them should have been commissioned so to act; this was the very point on which the Alan princes, in their letter to Pope Benedict, had laid the greatest stress[2]; yet to this one thing no attention seems to have been given.

After three years or more in the Chinese capital, the envoys, despite all pressing, declared they could stay no longer, and set out for Europe, by the route of the Polos on their final return. The journey from Peking to *Zayton*, through *Manzi*, made an ineffaceable impression on the chronicler—for here, in the great plain of China and the rich valleys of Fokien, he beheld the 'glory of the world' in such a multitude of towns and villages, that no tongue could express it adequately[3]. From his reminiscences of the Deccan and Ceylon, from the very neighbourhood of the Earthly Paradise, Marignolli turns back to celebrate once more the splendour of that Chinese shore-land, that *India maxima*[4], which among its 30,000 cities boasted of *Campsay*, 'the most marvellous town that now exists, or mayhap ever did exist,' the city of the greatest wealth and luxury, and of the most splendid buildings, whose 10,000 bridges of stone, celebrated by some authors, passed the belief of many, and yet perhaps were nothing false or fabulous[5].

Nor can our good John refrain from harking back to *Zayton*, that incredibly fine seaport[6], where Franciscan missionaries pointed with pride to their three excellent and wealthy churches, and to the bath-house and merchants' factory[7] here founded and controlled by their Order. To Marignolli *Zayton* had a special interest; for herein he dealt a notable blow at the enemies of the faith. Who that knows

[1] F., 496.

[2] See above, pp. 183–4.

[3] F., 496. The whole party mustered 200 horsemen.

[4] F., 499, 'Manzi, quae olim India maxima vocabatur.'

[5] F., 499–500.

[6] F., 500, 'portus maris mirabilis, civitas nobis incredibilis.'

[7] F., 500, 'tres ecclesias pulcherrimas, optimas et ditissimas, balneum, fundatum, omnium mercatorum depositorium.'

Ibn Batuta can forget that pious Moslem's horror on being first awakened by the din of Christian campaniles in Kaffa[1]? A like annoyance now clashed upon the ears of Musulmans in the Fokien port. For now, at the legate's order, two large bells, *Johannina* and *Antonina*, were cast and set up with all due form in the very midst of the Saracen community[2].

And, once again, the Bohemian historian preserves an excellent remembrance of *China Afloat*, as he saw it on the Hoangho, or rather on the Yangtse Kiang, that largest sweet-water stream of his experience, by whose banks were so many noble cities, so vast an abundance of gold and silk, and so ingenious a people of artificers,—navigating the river with house and family, just as if on shore, in such number that they seemed to surpass the whole population of Italy[3].

In or near *Campsay*, moreover, Marignolli locates, perhaps from personal knowledge, a wonderful collection of monstrous animals which is probably the very one celebrated by Odoric[4]; in the same *Kampsay* he records a temple of a Virgin-Mother, interesting to Catholics[5]; while his delightful self-importance affectionately recurs to the palanquin[6] in which he was carried at *Zayton*. He declares that Chinese surgeons employed gold or bronze in preference to steel[7]; he has heard of the ancient name of *Cyn* for *Manzi*; and he traces this form in the port of *Cynkalan* or Canton, which (together with *Zayton* or Amoy, *Janci* or Yangchau, *Campsay* or Hangchau, and *Cambalec* or Peking) completes his list of Chinese cities and Chinese reminiscences[8].

But whether John touched at Canton[9] or no, must remain

[1] Ibn Batuta, ii. 357-8; see ch. vii of this volume.

[2] F., 500.

[3] F., 497. Marignolli makes all this apply to the 'Caramora' or 'Black Water,' our Yellow River, but, as in Polo (see above, p. 104), we cannot but suspect a confusion with the Yangtse in such a description.

[4] F., 509-10. [5] F., 587.

[6] F., 507, 'lectulum portatilem, sicut portabar . . . in Zayton et in Yndia.'

[7] F., 581.

[8] F., 495, 507, &c.

[9] F., 507, 'Cynkalan, id est magna India, nam *kalan* est *magnum*, ad differenciam secundae Indiae, quae dicitur Nymbar [Mynibar], ubi est Cynkali, id est parva India.' Cyn-

conjectural: what is clear is his embarkation at *Zayton* on the 26th of December[1] in a year unnamed, but probably 1346. On Palm Sunday[2] following (April, 1347?) he arrived at Kulam in Malabar, the pepper metropolis of the world[3], where a Latin community had probably existed since the first visit of Jordanus, about a quarter of a century before[4]. At the Catholic church of St. George, accordingly, Marignolli fixed himself during his residence of sixteen months[5]; here, as in China, making as much noise as possible for the honour of Rome, ornamenting the church with paintings, and setting up a column of *eternal* marble in this corner of the world, over against Paradise, bearing the arms of the Pope and his legate, and inscribed both in Indian and Latin characters[6].

Of the remainder of his journey, the Bishop of Bisignano gives no consecutive account; his travel-notes are scattered up and down his summary of sacred and profane history; but he does tell us that from Malabar he sailed back to the Thomas shrine and the Madras country; that this voyage began on St. George's Eve[7] (April 22, 1348?) and was a pretty rough experience; that he spent four days[8] at or near the shrine of the apostle; that he then visited the mysterious land and queen of *Saba* (Java or Sumatra?); that from *Saba* he sailed to Ceylon[9], which he reached on the 3rd of May

kali is Cranganor, one of the oldest capitals of Malabar. We may conjecture from this passage that it was visited by Marignolli.

[1] 'A Festo S. Stephani,' F., 496 and 500. On Meinert's impracticable suggestion of Aug. 2 (St. Stephen of Rome), and the whole chronology here, see Appendix.

[2] 'Ad dominicam Olivarum,' F., 496; 'in quarta feria maioris ebdomadis,' F., 500.

[3] 'Columbum, ubi nascitur piper tocius orbis,' F., 496.

[4] Marignolli's leave-taking ('valefaciens *fratribus*,' F., 496) may imply that other friars were settled here.

[5] In one place he speaks of a year and four months, in another of fourteen months (F., 496).

[6] F., 496; on this pillar see Appendix.

[7] F., 500, 'in vigilia S. Georgii.' On this voyage 'tot procellis ferebamur quod sexaginta vicibus . . . fuimus quasi demersi . . . vidimus . . . ardere mare, dracones ignivomos volantes.' See Fa-Hien's similar language about a voyage in much the same parts, *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 485.

[8] F., 508.

[9] F., 497, 500.

(1350?); that he was detained four months here; and that from Ceylon he returned to Europe by way of Ormuz, Irak, Syria, and Palestine, visiting Babylon and Baghdad, Mosul and Nineveh, Edessa and Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem, and perhaps touching at Cyprus on his voyage to Italy[1]. Scattered as they are, Marignolli's Reminiscences, if disentangled and collected, supply a commentary of some interest even upon these latest stages of his travel-history.

Thus, before quitting Malabar and *Columbum*, John discourses of the pepper cultivation, in partial agreement with Odoric, but also with sharp differences, somewhat pointedly expressed, as if against a personal opponent[2]. What is of more interest, he declares the Christians of St. Thomas owned all the pepper gardens of this region (just as they controlled the spice production of the Madras country), and were also masters of the public steel-yard[3], from which our legate derived a handsome salary during his residence in Kulam, and a welcome present on his departure[4].

Here, also, while staying with a Christian chief called *Modilial*[5], the owner of the pepper aforesaid, Marignolli met with an aged Brahman, who, for two years, had navigated the Indian sea and explored the *once unknown* isles of the Indians; who, though an idolater, had led a life of marvellous chastity, temperance, and devotion; who had turned from idols to the Catholic faith; whom John questioned (with wholly negative result) upon the monstrous races located by

[1] See below, p. 305.

[2] F., 496, 'ista oculis vidi et manibus contrectavi mensibus xiv, nec comburitur, ut menciuntur scriptores, nec nascitur in desertis, sed in ortis, nec Saraceni sunt domini, sed Christiani S. Thomae,' &c. Marignolli declares (ibid.) that the *un*ripe pepper was green (for a contrary view, in Odoric, see above, pp. 262-3), the ripe like red wine; it was left to shrivel on the tree till it could be knocked off with sticks and caught in linen cloths; it was *not* roasted to prepare it for market.

[3] If this be the meaning of 'stateram ponderis tocius mundi,' F., 496.

[4] F., 496, 'omni mense fanones de auro talis monetae centum, in fine mille.' In modern money this monthly gift would be perhaps about £36 and the parting offering about £360.

[5] F., 509. 'Modilial' is the Tamil 'mudiliar,' a head-man. See Y., 381.

tradition in these regions; and whose story was interpreted by his own son, an unfortunate sold long ago as a slave to a Genoese merchant, and now, by a lucky chance, brought face to face with his father[1].

And once more, it was at *Columbum* that Marignolli fell into the greatest danger of his life. For such a virulent poison was here administered to him (on the eve of his departure) by rogues who wished to seize his property, that for eleven months he suffered from a dysentery and bloody flux, declared by all to be incurable, until a female physician in *Saba* was found able to save the sufferer by the simple remedies of herb-juices and abstinent diet[2].

As to the Thomas district on the Coromandel coast, the Florentine traveller, who only spent four days in this locality, has not much to say. He does, indeed, record the local wonder of a vineyard, the only specimen in all the Indies, and the important privileges of the local Christians, who from the days of the Apostle had enjoyed a monopoly of the trade in aromatics[3];—but this is all, and it is little enough to supply the deficiencies of Marco Polo, Odoric, and Corvino.

But as to *Saba*, that remote but matchless island, whose queens descended from Semiramis, where women had the mastery in all things, and on whose sacred and almost inaccessible mountain, as men said, the Magi first saw the star, and Elias was hidden by divine monition—the Papal envoy is far more communicative. For one thing, he has some physical

[1] F., 509. Marignolli describes a Brahman's regimen very well here, but otherwise the story, as Yule remarks (Y., 382), sounds rather like a put-up trick. Whether a hoax or not, the mention of Genoese buying slaves in these parts of the world, is noteworthy. And if humbugging the legate, would not these Indians have glutted him with stories of monsters?

[2] F., 583.

[3] F., 508, 'Stateram ponderis piperis . . . et omnium aromatum.' Marignolli's remarks, in the preceding sentence, on the Thomas miracles wrought 'per Thartaros' probably points to a trade of the Madras region with the Mongol world; Polo (see above, p. 139; G., 208) has been supposed (surely by exaggeration) to suggest the same.

and astronomical geography to give us here[1]—in a land where the sun-rising was just *opposite to* that of Europe; where the Arctic pole was six degrees below, the Antarctic just as much above, the horizon; and where at noon the shadow of a man passed *from left to right*[2]. The latitude of *Saba*, its position with reference to the poles, had been made clear to Marignolli by a noble astronomer of Italy, Master Lemon of Genoa[3], who pointed out to the traveller many wondrous things of star-science; but his own knowledge of the country was in no way derived from others. Here he was cured of his Malabar poison; here the ruling queen honoured him with banquets, presents[4], and a chair of state; here he rode on an elephant from the royal stables, of almost human understanding; here he noticed with amazement the feminism of government and society, the utter subjection of man[5]; and here he vainly planned to ascend the Blessed Mountain of Elias and the Magi, on whose upper slopes the atmosphere became so rare that to go further a wet sponge had to be kept over the mouth.

In *Saba*, also, he made certain that no true monsters could be found, though beasts with almost human features did exist; he describes the historical pictures he inspected in the palace, with their exaltation of female superiority; and he even claims to have made a few converts in the island before leaving for Ceylon[6].

Where to find Saba is not an easy question—even presuming, as I think we may presume, that we are to seek for it upon the face of Mother Earth, and not in realms of fancy only.

[1] F., 497, 502, 509, 512, 583.

[2] F. 509, 'ubi oritur sol modo opposito nobis et in meridie transit umbra viri ad dextrum [*sic*] sicut hic ad sinistr*um*. Et occultatur polus articus gradibus sex et antarticus totidem elevatur.'

[3] F., 509, 'dominus Lemon de Ianua, nobilis astrologus.' Cf. Marco Polo and Peter of Abano, pp. 28–9 of this volume.

[4] See F., 583, for a list of these presents, a golden girdle, of which Marignolli was robbed in Ceylon and 150 'pecias integras' of costly and delicate raiment.

[5] Here is the main difficulty in the way of a Javan or Sumatran identification of Saba.

[6] F., 497, 'post fructum animarum, sunt enim ibi pauci Christiani.'

But, on the whole, it seems most nearly to answer to some region of Java or Sumatra, and the Blessed Mountain Gybeit, of which he talks so much[1], corresponds admirably in title and description to the *Great S'lamat*, or 'Hill of Peace,' near the northern coast of Central Java.

But it is upon Ceylon, whose 'glorious mountain' (of Adam's Peak) he introduces to his readers as opposite to, and only forty miles distant from, Paradise[2], that Marignolli dwells with special love and interest. It was at *Pervily*, perhaps the modern fishing-village of Beruwala, that he first touched Cinghalese soil; here he was detained, as we have seen, four months; and here he was plundered of a vast treasure by a eunuch tyrant, an accursed Saracen and usurper, named Coya Jaan[3]. Fully 60,000 marks, John declares wofully, were abstracted by this ruffian, though in the politest manner possible, and under the name of a *loan*: what made things worse was the character of the treasure; for it wholly consisted of gifts from the Great Khan and other princes[4] to the Papal Legates or the Pope himself; and it comprised not only gold and silver, but silk, pearls, gems, musk, myrrh, cloth of gold, and spices of great value[5].

The mountain of Ceylon, though not (as foolishly supposed by some) the actual site of Eden, was yet so close to the Terrestrial Paradise that, as the natives said, one could hear the waters falling from the sacred fount in man's first home[6], and on it still existed Adam's footprint, the garden cultivated by our ancestor *when expelled from Paradise*[7], and the square

[1] F., 583, 'Gybeit, qui sonat mons beatus.'

[2] F., 497, where 'Seyllan' is used as equivalent to the mountain ('Seyllan a glorious mountain opposite Paradise').

[3] F., 500. This 'castratus' was probably the Khoja Jihan or Khwaja Jahan whom Ibn Batuta found all-powerful at Columbo a very few years before Marignolli's visit (see Ibn Batuta, iv. 185, 204, and Appendix to this volume).

[4] Among them the Queen of Saba, F., 583.

[5] F., 500. [6] F., 497.

[7] The native name of 'Zindan Baba,' 'Infernus Patris' (really, 'Dungeon of our Father') clearly implied that this was the place where Adam was placed after the expulsion from Eden, F., 500. The fruits of

tomb-like dwelling which he built for himself, of great marble slabs, without cement[1]. The summit of Adam's Peak was overtopped by Paradise alone; rarely did it doff its cloud cap; but on one memorable day, just before sunrise, Marignolli caught one glimpse of the mountain top[2], glowing, as it seemed, with brightest flame.

From all this we may infer that the legate never ascended to the 'genuine' footmark of Adam, and that what he measured so carefully—imprinted on the rock 'beyond the lake'—and what the Spanish Saracen he met here was also engaged upon[3]—was nothing but a model of the sacred mark, such as both ancient[4] and modern travellers describe. The seated figure which Marignolli notices upon the mountain-side, with its left hand resting on its knee, and its right extended towards the west, is obviously a Buddha, though regarded by John as the statue of a patriarch, if not of Adam himself[5]; while the fount lying upon the same hill-side, in the direction of Paradise, believed to derive its waters *from* Paradise, and furnishing to the native mind such valuable proofs of the real products of Eden (in the leaves, gems, and fruits it now and then threw up[6]), is perhaps the same as the 'deep lake' of Odoric[7], concealing precious stones, and said to spring from the tears of our first parents.

Nor did this exhaust the help given by Ceylon towards

Adam's garden, the 'musa,' 'nargillus,' 'amburanus,' 'ciakebariche,' and 'cedrus,' i.e, the plantain, coco-nut, mango, jack, and citron, are very well described by Marignolli; true he has a fable e.g. about the crucifix traceable in the texture of a cut plantain, and confuses the coco-nut milk with the fermented sap of the tree ('ad modum lactis bulit [*sic*] et fit vinum optimum,' F., 501); but his catalogue of the manifold uses of the 'Indian nuts' is worthy of a more scientific traveller ('de quibus fiunt sportae, sextaria, cooperiunt domos de ligno, scilicet hastas et trabes, de callo sive scorcia faciunt funes, de testa cuppas et vasa, . . . comburitur etiam, et fit . . . oleum . . . et zukara,' F., ibid.).

[1] F., 500, 502.

[2] F., 500.

[3] F., 499. Marignolli's measurement was 'duorum nostrorum palmorum et dimidii plus, scilicet quam media ulna de Praga' (this supports the view that he was writing at Prague).

[4] e.g. Fa-Hien, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 484.

[5] F., 500. [6] F., 500–1.

[7] See above, Od., ch. 25.

the understanding of the Bible and of Man. For the town of Kota, which our chronicler had visited[1], was thought to mark the site of Cain's own city; while in the east of the island was a race of hideous, stinking, goblin-like vagabonds (doubtless a tribe of Veddahs) who called themselves *Cain's sons*, and seemed not unlike what one expected in the posterity of the First Murderer[2].

Upon the Mount of Adam, moreover, religious men of holy life, though without the Christian faith, still carried on the Adamite tradition of simplicity, temperance, and purity; it is an excellent picture, free from all prejudice, which the Roman emissary here gives us of the Buddhist ascetics in Ceylon—of their surpassing cleanliness, of their abstinence in food and drink, of their 'seemliness' in prayer[3], of their work as teachers of the young, and of their blissful avoidance of luxury and earthly care, sleeping upon the ground, walking barefoot, begging their sustenance, keeping no food for the morrow, contented with a dress like the Franciscans, and dwelling in frail houses of palm-fibre, which one could break through with the finger[4].

Fifthly, in the remaining stages of his homeward journey, Marignolli merely alludes to Ormuz as one of the great mart-towns[5] he had visited; but of his overland travels from the Gulf of Persia to the Mediterranean, a fairly detailed picture can be gathered from a careful piecing together of fragmentary references, mostly intended to illustrate the post-Diluvian history of man.

Thus, when he comes to the Confusion of Tongues, he has

[1] F., 504.

[2] 'Exterminatas habent facies . . . tamen mercatores sunt: filios et uxores equelarvas portant in asinis.' They stank so that they could never stay more than two days in any one place, F., 505. But how could they have escaped the Deluge? Here was the rub; F., ibid.

[3] 'Orant mundissime,' F., 502.

[4] F., 500, 502-3.

[5] F., 509, 'Omnium provinciarum Yndorum curiosissimus peragrator . . . plus habui animum curiosum quam virtuosum, volens omnia nosse . . . transivi maxime ubi . . . mercatores conveniunt, scilicet in *insula* Ormes'—one of the earliest European references to the new island-site of the city (see above, p. 60).

somewhat to say of Babel or *Bagbel* (to his mind, so obviously the original of *Bagdad*), where he had made a careful survey of the ground and examined the construction of the Tower[1]. This he found to be of earth, with a casing of burnt bricks and bitumen[2], so firmly set that scarce by any art (as he had seen and felt himself) could the joints be separated. Yet the bricks were being gradually abstracted by the modern squatter, who was thus responsible for the slow destruction of this great monument; nor was John himself quite guiltless. A piece of Babel bitumen he brought home with him[3], among the other relics of his wanderings—like the Indian garment of *camall-cloth* or coco-nut fibre which he wore till he reached Florence[4], or the eastern umbrella[5] in which he found an explanation of the fabled folk who found shelter from the sun in the shade of their one huge foot[6].

And again, though more hurriedly, Marignolli gives us reminiscences of his pleasant fortnight's stay, 'like Jonas the prophet,' in the neighbourhood of ancient Nineveh, sampling the pomegranates[7] and other fruits of this favoured region; of his less agreeable four-days' halt 'in no small fear' at that Edessa to which Christ had once written, situate in *Assyria, the land of Job*[8]; of his passage of the boundless plain of Sennaar, 'near the Euphrates, in Greater Asia,' so rich in orchards and gardens, olives and vines, dates and melons[9]; and of his travels in the desert between Babylon and Damascus[10].

[1] F., 510; the tower's shadow at sunrise he notes as 'longissimam.'

[2] F., 510, 'lateres pro saxis et bitumen pro cemento.' The 'coagulatio' of the Tower he tested well ('sicut ego palpavi et vidi,' F., ibid.).

[3] F., 510.

[4] F., 502, 'de filis camallorum, non camelorum, portavi usque Florenciam et dimisi in sacristia Minorum.'

[5] F., 509, 'Yndi communiter nudi vadunt, portant in arundine . . . papilionem, quem vocant *cyatyr*, sicut . . . habeo Florenciae . . . contra solem et pluvium.'

[6] F., 509.

[7] 'Malogranata,' F., 497.

[8] F., 497.

[9] See F., 510, on the 'campus Sennaar' and its 'habundancia dactilorum . . . peponum . . . melonum . . . cucumerorum,' &c.

[10] F., 502, 'De Babilone Confusionis versus Egyptum.' Here he met with an infinite number of Arabs and camels.

While, in conclusion, among his Palestine wanderings he expressly commemorates a visit to Aleppo, abounding in Christians dressed in the Latin mode, and speaking a sort of French—the French of Cyprus[1]—and does not forget to add a word about his journey in the Wilderness of the Temptation[2], and the view which he caught of the Dead Sea from the dormitory of the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion[3].

Most of what remains for us to notice in Marignolli's *Cronica* relates to the Earthly Paradise, which, as we have seen, he defines as opposite the mountain of Ceylon[4], and only forty miles distant from this same Peak of Adam. Beginning with the fount of Eden, the plash of whose waters could be heard in Ceylon, our geographer naturally passes to the four sacred streams that sprang from it—the Gyon, Phison, Tigris, and Euphrates, whose course he proceeds to trace with astonishing originality. All of them passed through Ceylon[5], but after accomplishing this feat the Gyon (which men supposed to be the Nile) next encircled Ethiopia, the land of Prester John, where now dwelt negroes[6]; and thence descended into Egypt, by a great 'breach' at a place called *Abasty*[7], inhabited by the Christians of St. Matthew. To these Nazarenes, in fear lest they should dam the stream and ruin Egypt, the (Cairo) Sultan paid a tribute[8].

Here is the clearest, though not the earliest, reference we have yet discovered to the African or Abyssinian Prester John:

[1] F., 497, 'Alep, ubi . . . multi Christiani, induti more Latino . . . locuntur linguam quasi gallicam, scilicet quasi de Cipro.'

[2] F., 586.

[3] F., 512.

[4] In F., 496, Marignolli speaks as if Paradise was opposite *Columbum*, just as on F., 497, it is defined as 'ultra Indiam Columbinam.'

[5] F., 497. Marignolli makes the Paradise fountain first descend into the lake 'Euphirates,' then pass through a stagnant ('spissa') sheet of water, and issue in the Four Rivers, which he apparently supposes to enter and leave Ceylon by channels beneath the ocean.

[6] F., 497, 'Gyon, qui circuit terram Ethiopiae, ubi sunt . . . homines nigri, quae dicitur terra Presbiteri Iohannis.'

[7] F., 497. 'Abascy' is probably the true reading, identical with Polo's, and very close to the original 'Habesh.'

[8] See the remarks of Simon Sigoli, ch. iii of this volume.

if we compare Marignolli's words with those of Jordanus[1], we can see at a glance how much clearer had now become the *Ethiopic* conception of the mysterious priest-king; the *Abasty* 'breach' of the Nile is a confused reference to the *fact* of the Cataracts and the *name* of Abyssinia, Polo's *Abasie* or *Abasce*[2]; while in the allusion to St. Matthew, the traditional apostle of Nubia, we have another very natural confusion between the Christian peoples of the Middle Nile lowland, already verging towards utter extinction, and those of the Blue Nile highlands, then as now an unconquered islet of Orthodoxy[3].

As to the Phison, we have noted the delightful ingenuity which converts it, in its middle course, into the Hoangho—endowed with a world of amphibious craftsmen only to be found upon the Yangtse Kiang[4]—; but we have yet to follow the later windings of this marvellous stream, which, after passing through Ceylon, India, and China, was swallowed up by sands on the other side of Kaffa, only to break forth again victoriously beyond Tana and form the Caspian or *Sea of Bacuc*[5]. All this topsy-turvydom is the more strange from one who had seen and crossed most of the great rivers he here combines into one[6]; it is a lesser puzzle that a man who so well remembered his Hoangho as to give its Tartar name (and the meaning of that name) with sufficient accuracy[7], should so evidently associate with it the characteristics of its great southern rival[8]. But something of the same confusion has been already detected in Marco Polo.

Of the Tigris, which he makes come down near Nineveh, 'over against the Assyrians[9],' Marignolli has nothing remarkable to relate (save for its origin near Ceylon, and its passage

[1] See above, p. 231.

[2] See above, p. 151.

[3] F., 497. Cf. above, pp. 174–5, on Monte Corvino's reception of an appeal from Christians of St. Matthew in Ethiopia.

[4] See above, p. 296.

[5] F., 497, 'Ultra Caffa [*sic*] absorbetur arenis ... post erumpit et facit mare Bacuc ultra Chanam' [i. e. 'Thanam,' or Tana, as in Venice MS.].

[6] See above, pp. 291–8.

[7] F. 497, 'Caramora, id est nigra aqua.'

[8] See above, p. 296.

[9] F., 497, 'Tygris ... vadit contra Assyrios et descendit prope Nyneven.'

through that island in its upper course); but as to the lower course of the Euphrates, the chronicler opines that it separated *Syria* as well as Mesopotamia from the Holy Land [1].

The Division of the Earth among Noah's posterity gives John a capital opportunity for a geographical summary, which, as we should expect from him, throws a flood of new light upon time-worn notions. Thus Ararat in the Eastern Caucasus [2]; Palestine in Africa [3]; Ethiopia apparently included in *Great Asia*; and a 'White Sea' beyond Hungary, forming part of the same *Asia Maior*, figure in the legate's mental picture of our world [4].

Noah's grandson Elam, Marignolli notes with a pleasant glow of certainty, was undoubtedly the ancestor of the Alans, that noblest, fairest, and bravest race of the Orient and the world [5], with whose aid the Tartars had won the dominion of the East, and without whom they could never have gained any signal victory;—while another grandson of the patriarch, Sela or Sale, not merely peopled India, but divided it into the three Realms of *Manzi*, *Minibar*, and *Maabar* [6]. Marignolli's Indies therefore consist of Southern China, Malabar, and Coromandel; in the first of these he reminds us of Odoric, whom in several particulars he seems inclined to attack, while

[1] F., 497.

[2] F., 506, 'Ararat in Armenia *Minori* . . . iuxta Portas fereas' [*sic*], i.e. adjoining the Pass of Derbent and the Caspian.

[3] Palestine, like Carthage and 'Turusium,' was in Ham's portion, Japhet having 'Europam, scilicet ab Ungaria citra et Roma, videlicet Germaniam, Franciam, Boemiam, Poloniam, et Angliam, usque ad finem mundi,' F., 507.

[4] F., 507: see especially on 'Africam ubi est Terra Sancta,' and on 'Asiam maiorem a mari albo ultra Ungariam, ubi nunc sunt Olachi' [Walachi?] apparently comprising 'totum . . . imperium Usbec, Katay, Yndias,' and 'Ethiopiam.' Marignolli's 'Turusium,' in this Africa of his, is probably Tunis. His 'Ethiopia' may be conceived, after the manner of Edrisi, as reaching far eastward into the Indian Ocean, and so capable of inclusion in an eastern half of the world. The 'Ungaria' of the text may be the Old or Great Hungaria in (our) Eastern Russia, in the Middle Ural region.

[5] F., 507, 'in oriente . . . maior et nobilior nacio mundi et homines fortiores et pulchriores.' On the Alans and their Christianity see pp. 183-5, 291, 294-5 of this volume.

[6] F., 507.

the last two may be paralleled to a certain extent in Abulfeda; but taken as a whole no mediaeval attempt at Indian definition, coming from an Oriental traveller proud of having travelled with eager curiosity in every Indian region[1], is more farcical than this.

Lastly, as to the monsters which histories and romances had depicted or invented[2] as products of India—Cyclopes, Pygmies, Hermaphrodites, Dog-heads, Shadow-feet[3], and the rest—Marignolli concludes, with rare wisdom, that no such prodigies existed as *races*, though individual examples might be found.

True, he knew of wild men of the woods, naked and hairy, who traded by dumb barter, throwing their goods in the way of passing traders, and waiting in safe cover for the merchants to deposit their price and take away the articles[4]. Yet these were no monsters, but savage men; while the strange beings in the menagerie at Hangchau[5] (who came at a given signal to be fed, but could not endure the presence of a cross) were no men-monsters, as this last trait showed, but sheer brute beasts, like apes[6].

As to those Antipodean oddities[7] whose existence had so often been suggested, our John concludes, with Saint Augustine, that they were inconceivable, or at any rate beyond the ken of man. God did not wish the human race to sail around the world[8], and the writer (who had investigated the marvels of the world with more diligence than *some one else who posed*

[1] F., 509.

[2] 'Fingunt vel pingunt,' F., 508.

[3] 'Skiapodes, Cynocephali,' F., 508. Among the monsters he disputes Marignolli also includes 'ypotamos.'

[4] F., 509. Cosmas Indicopleustes gives a similar account of barter traffic in East Africa (see pp. 138–9 of Montfaucon's edition, and *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 195), and Cadamosto supplies another parallel for West Africa (Beazley, *Henry the Navigator*, pp. 271–2). There are many other parallels; see Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 383–4.

[5] 'Campsay,' F., 510.

[6] 'Monstra homines non sunt . . . sed sicut simiae,' F., 510.

[7] F., 510, 'antipedes [*sic*] . . . quasi homines plantas contra nos tenentes.'

[8] F., 510, 'noluit Deus, quod homo posset circuire per mare totum mundum.'

as a great authority[1]) had learnt by sure experience that fully half the surface of the Ocean was un-navigable[2].

Part III. The Polos' Successors: The Later Exploration of Commerce, Diplomacy, and Adventure.

It is in missionary travel that we find the most picturesque and detailed chapter of European expansion in Asia, after the Polos; but in the enterprises of merchants, ambassadors, and adventurers we have a development of equal if not of greater importance, though unhappily not recorded with the same thoroughness and interest.

The present chapter is concerned only with the leading figures in Asiatic Exploration and the leading works of what we may call Asiatic Exposition. In another section of this volume we shall try to follow the general commercial activities of the European peoples, apart from the primary personages, incidents, and narratives now dealt with[3]: obeying our limitations, we shall examine five treatises, and five only, in this place—the *Secrets* of Marino Sanuto, the *Merchants' Handbook* of Balducci Pegolotti, the *Way-Book* of 'John de Mandeville,' the *Itinerary* of Gonzalez de Clavijo, and the *Travel-Book* of Hans Schiltberger. Such records as those of the English Embassy of 1292 to the Persian Court[4], however interesting, must be left, as being after all of minor importance, to the fifth chapter.

§ 1. *Marino Sanuto the Elder.*

The Crusaders' Manual[5] of Marino Sanuto the Venetian, 'of

[1] F., 509, 'qui plus dedi operam ... quam alius qui legatur vel sciatur, ad investigandum mirabilia mundi.' This is perhaps aimed at Odoric.

[2] F., 510, 'dividendo occeanum [*sic*] in modum crucis, duae quadrae sunt navigabiles ... duae ... nullo modo.'

[3] See pp. 12, 197, 332 of this volume.

[4] See above, p. 197, and below, ch. v.

[5] In full *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, otherwise called *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *Liber de expeditione in Terram Sanctam*, or *Opus Terrae Sanctae* (the last being perhaps

Torcello,' though not primarily geographical, is a work which stands in close relation to the best European Earth-knowledge at the opening of the fourteenth century; it has much to say of the trade and trade-routes of that time, chiefly of course in relation to its central political purpose; and by means of the four maps annexed by the author to his text, it occupies an important place in the history of cartography.

Nor is this all. Sanuto is also prominent in the history of pilgrim-literature; for in various parts of his work, and especially in one section[1], he gives us a detailed and valuable picture of Syria. His life-purpose[2] was the revival of the Crusading spirit; his pet theory was the recovery of the Holy Land, through the overthrow of Moslem power in Egypt, and the total prohibition of Christian trade with the Moslem world. With this object he began, in March, 1306[3], the first part of his *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, the original draught of which he finished in January, 1307, and offered to Clement V as a manual for the use of those true Crusaders who sincerely desired the re-conquest of Palestine[4]. A little earlier (probably before August, 1306) Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Templars, on the very eve of his own ruin and that of his Order, had submitted a memoir of somewhat similar character to the Pope, urging the prime necessity of stopping the commerce of Latin Christendom with Islam[5]. At the same time the great Spanish missionary and scholastic, Raymond Lull, in his book *De Fine*, completed at Montpellier in April, 1305, had expressed views almost identical, not altogether for the first time; a germ of these conceptions

the proper title of the completed work, in three parts or 'books'): printed in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, volume ii, pp. 1–288 [hereafter quoted as B.]. One of the best studies of Marino's *Secreta* and *Letters* is by Friedr. Kunstmann in *Abhandlungen der histor. Classe der bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.*, vii. 695–819 (1855; hereafter quoted as K.).

[1] Book III, part xiv; see below, ch. iii of this vol.

[2] A. D. 1260 [?]–1338 [?]. The last trace of him is on December 30, 1337.

[3] *Secreta*, Prologue (B., 21).

[4] K., 705.

[5] Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. 27 [hereafter quoted as H.].

appears to have emanated from this brilliant Franciscan thinker as early as 1288 [1], three years before the fall of Acre.

To his original work of 1306–7 Marino added largely; and in 1313 a final redaction of the same appeared; two other 'books' or parts were added between 1312 and 1321 [2]; and finally, on Sept. 24, 1321, the completed *Secrets*, magnified into an *Opus Terrae Sanctae*, were presented by the author to Pope John XXII [3], together with a map of the world, a chart of the Mediterranean, and plans of Egypt and the Holy Land [4]. A copy was also presented to the King of France, for whom the secular headship of the new crusading movement was evidently destined by the 'man of Torcello [5].' Marino's an-

[1] K., 721–4: Lull's favourite project in his later years (as expounded in the *De Fine*) was a conquest of Moslem Africa and Spain, beginning with Granada, and thence proceeding to the attack upon the Barbary States. He laid great stress on the trade-prohibition and on the maintenance of a Christian police-fleet to enforce this prohibition, and he urges the resort of Christian merchants to the Persian markets for Indian goods. In six years, Lull prophesied, such a policy would ruin Egypt, and give it an easy prey to Christian invaders. In 1309, in his *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, Raymond again urged the recovery of the Holy Land by a steady Eastward movement of conquest along North Africa, from Ceuta. The plan of 1288 was presented by Lull to Nicolas IV, along with his *Ars Generalis*. Like the Dominican author of the *Directorium* noticed above (see p. 210), Lull was a warm advocate of a renewed Latin attack upon the Greek Schismatics, and a re-establishment of a Latin Empire at Constantinople, a view which Sanuto repudiates.

[2] Sanuto began the Second Book of the *Secreta* in Dec., 1312, at Clarenza in Achaia; he probably finished it (in its original form) in 1313: much was added in subsequent revision; in the final form, offered to the Pontiff in 1321, he speaks of his journey to Bruges, &c. The Third Book, occupied mainly with the history of Syria, brings down that history only to 1313; it was probably written soon after that date.

[3] The unwearied leader of the Church's eastern enterprise from 1316 to 1334.

[4] *Secr.*, Prologue (B., i), 'Ego Marinus Sanutus dictus Torxellus de Venetiis introitum habui ad Papam, cuius sanctitati duos libros super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione presentavi . . . unus co-opertus de rubeo, alter de croceo . . . etiam . . . quatuor mappas mundi,' &c. The *mappemonde* proper was 'de mari et de terra,' in Sanuto's words. As to this, in Mediterranean and other maps of the same author (or of P. Vesconte), and their remarkable merits: see ch. vi (pp. 520–1) of this volume.

[5] In 1312 (Aug. 28) Philip the Fair

cestor, Marco Sanuto, was the representative of the Republic in the negotiations of 1204, which transferred Crete (for a consideration) from the possessions of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, to those of the City of the Lagunes. The same Marco, with a band of his fellow countrymen, also conquered Naxos and most of the Cyclades; he and his heirs governed these islands, with the title of Dukes of Naxos, for over 120 years; and it was obviously a matter of personal concern to the entire house of Sanuto that the Levantine progress of Islam should be checked, and the family's position in the Archipelago secured from Turkish inroads.

In his Dedication to Pope John, Marino refers to his residence in *Romania*, the lands of the Eastern Empire, as having occupied the greater portion of his life: he claims a special acquaintance with the Morea[1]; but we know that he also visited Cyprus and Rhodes, and parts of the Syrian, Cilician, and Egyptian coasts, as well as various regions of Northern Europe, such as France, Flanders, and the German shore-lands both east and west of Denmark, both on the Baltic and the North Sea. Acre, Alexandria, Bruges, Sluys[2], Avignon, Naples, and Constantinople are among the cities of his personal knowledge; it is probable that he also spent some time in certain, if not all, of the more distant Hanseatic ports he mentions with such keen appreciation—Hamburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Stettin[3].

Among his friends and correspondents was a Venetian nobleman, William Bernardi de Furvo[4], who had travelled not only on the Levant coasts, but also in the Upland of

had renewed the prohibition of trade with Moslem lands for his subjects, and Sanuto hopes for a similar policy from his successor, on whom he vehemently urges his crusading projects and the relief of Little Armenia (1321).

[1] 'In Romania maiorem partem . . . vitae peregi: conditionem . . . eius, maxime Amoreae, me opinor bene nosse,' *Secr.*, Prologue (B., iii).

[2] 'Portus Clusae,' *Secr.*, II. iv. 18 (B., 72).

[3] See below, p. 315.

[4] Otherwise 'Fernardi de Fumo,' K., 702-3.

the Saracen world, to Tabriz and Baghdad on one side, to Damascus on another, and to Cairo on a third. To this Bernardi we may add that very Bishop Jerome of Kaffa[1] whom we already know in connexion with the Chinese and Kipchak Missions, and perhaps that Peter of Sevastopolis or Sukhum-Kale in 'Lower Georgia,' who writes so piteously to the prelates of England in 1330[2].

Sanuto begins by an attempt to show how Christians could get the Oriental products they needed, such as cotton and sugar, linen and dates, spices and Indian goods[3], without having recourse to the lands of the Cairo Sultan. In the course of this argument he gives a sketch of the great trade routes which passed through Egypt and Persia, and notices some at least of the chief markets of Southern and South-Western Asia, by direct dealing with which, as he suggests, Europeans might avoid Egyptian middlemen altogether. The diversion of the trade routes from the ports of the 'Soldan,' the development of the harbours of Little Armenia[4], is discussed; and the importance of stopping the export to Egypt of precious metals, provisions, and materials for weapons and ship-building, is strongly urged. A country was not naturally invincible, Sanuto suggests, which depended on others for gold, silver, iron, tin, brass, copper, lead, timber, pitch, corn, honey, wool, cloth, and gum, to say nothing[5] of quicksilver, coral, amber, saffron, and slaves. From the last-named, indeed, were derived the essential supports of Mameluke

[1] A letter of Sanuto's to this Jerome is in B., 299, &c.

[2] K., 817–19, &c., gives the text of this letter; and suggests the possible connexion of the writer with Sanuto. On the bishopric of Sevastopolis in Caucasia (here called Senascopolis), see above, p. 214.

[3] *Secr.*, I. i. 1–3 (B., 22–4, 25–6, 29).

[4] The chief port of Lesser Armenia, 'Laiacio' or Lajazzo (see pp. 45, 46–7, 52, 330, and ch. v of this volume), is described in *Secr.*, II. iv. 26, but Sanuto has no illusions about the unhealthiness of Cilicia ('terra . . . infirma').

[5] *Secr.*, I. i. 2–6 (B., 24–5). The Christian exports to Egypt comprised 'sericum,' 'panni,' 'lanae,' 'bladum,' 'mel,' 'avellanae,' 'amygdalae,' 'crocus,' 'mastica,' 'lignamen,' 'ferrum,' 'pix,' 'argentum,' 'aurum,' 'argentum vivum,' 'stagmen,' &c. The Egyptian exports to Christendom included 'bombix,' 'zucharum,' 'cassia fistula,' 'dactili,' and 'linum.'

power: the army of the Cairo Sultan rested upon the boys[1] which Christian vessels helped to bring to Egypt, just as his arsenals and his navy depended upon the ship-timber, iron, and pitch which the foolish peoples of Christendom exported to the lands of their mortal foe.

It was absolutely necessary, declares Sanuto, to interdict all Catholic trade, not only with Egypt and Syria, but with Tunis and the Barbary States, with the Spanish regions still under Moslem rule, and with the whole miscreant coast[2] of Asia Minor, from *Saleph* to *Annias*,—from Selefkie in Cilicia to Skutari[3]. Those who transgressed this prohibition must be treated as heretics, run to earth, and punished with such rigour as to be a sufficient warning to others. Nor were rulers who aided and abetted such smugglers to escape chastisement[4]. Lastly, for due enforcement of these restrictions, a naval police-force of adequate strength was to be established[5].

In the next place, Sanuto—after begging the earnest attention of Christian States to the relief of the isolated Christians of the East, and especially those of Little Armenia[6], of Nubia, and of Cyprus—proceeds to expound his views of a new Crusade in detail. As to this, we need only say that the Egyptian coast was first to be attacked, conquered, and held by the Christian navy; that a sufficient army was then to be landed and pushed forward to the conquest of the interior; that Palestine was to be invaded from Egypt, after

[1] See esp. *Secr.*, I. iii. 2; II. ii. 7 (B., 27, 43) on the Egyptian purchase of 'pueros et puellas ... Mamuluchos ... de Mari Maiori' [Black Sea] 'a partibus septentrionalibus.'

[2] After all, this was only the revival of an old Church rule, *Secr.*, I. iii. 1 (B., 26). See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 404.

[3] *Secr.*, I. iv. 1–4 (B., 27–9).

[4] *Secr.*, I. iv. 6 (B., 30).

[5] *Secr.*, I. iv. 7 (B., 30–1). Among other things, this navy was to prevent the interchange of presents and war material between the Courts of Constantinople and Cairo, *Secr.*, I. v. 3 (B., 32–3).

[6] In this connexion (*Secr.*, I. v. 2; B., 32) occurs the famous passage about Lesser Armenia being 'in dentibus quatuor ferarum: ab una parte infra terram habet leonem, scilicet Tartaros; ab alia parte ... pardum, videlicet soldanum, a tertia ... lupum, scilicet Turchos, a quarta ... serpentem, videlicet cursarios maris nostri.' See above, p. 52.

the subjugation of the latter; and that the whole was to be carried through with the aid of the Tartars, natural allies of Western Christendom, and of the Nubian Believers, in whose ability Marino appears to repose the strangest confidence[1].

In the execution of this scheme the Venetians were to play a leading part[2]—so much at least of compensation Marino offers to the vanity and cupidity of his countrymen in exchange for the suspension of their Mohammedan trade until the overthrow of Mohammedan power.

No other route was to be suffered for the new Crusade. An advance overland, an attack through Armenia, Syria, or Cyprus, was but to court disaster[3]; only by the Egyptian Delta could the *leopard* be really wounded to the heart. For the provisioning of the Crusading host, the corn, tallow, and hides of the Black Sea, the timber of Servia and other South Slav lands, are especially noticed[4]; the islands of Crete and Melos are suggested, with others, as bases of naval operations[5]; and for a proper supply of good seamen Sanuto looks not only to Mediterranean seaports, but also to the lakes of North Italy and Southern Germany (our Switzerland), to the Netherland, Baltic, and Norwegian coasts, and to the Hanse towns (Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock, Stettin[6], and the rest), with which Venice, as we have seen, was now in communication, and which our Venetian seems to have visited[7].

[1] e.g. *Secr.*, I. ii. 3 (B., 36), also *Secr.*, III. xiv. 12. It was almost at this very time that the last traces of a living Christianity in Nubia were stamped out.

[2] *Secr.*, II. i. 2 (B., 35–6).

[3] *Secr.*, II. ii. 1–3 (B., 37–9).

[4] *Secr.*, II. iv. 13 (B., 68), 'ex Mari Maiori' [here and elsewhere in Sanuto we only get the old mediaeval phrases for the Euxine, no 'mare nigrum' or 'maurum'] 'ex parte Septentrionis. . . bladum . . . sepum, . . . coria boum.'

[5] *Secr.*, II. iv. 13 (B., 68).

[6] *Secr.*, II. iv. 17–18 (B., 71–3). The lakes of Lucerne, Constance, Garda, Maggiore, Lugano, Como, and Geneva are included.

[7] *Secr.*, II. iv. 18 (B., 72), 'sunt autem in Holsatia et Sclavia, *ubi personaliter affui*, notabiles multae terrae iuxta flumina aut stagna multis pinguibus habitatoribus affluentes, Amburg, scilicet, Lubec, Visinar, Rostoc, Xundis, Guspinal, Sectin,' &c. (Here 'Visinar' is of course Wismar, 'Xundis' less obviously Stralsund, 'Guspinal' Greifswald, 'Sectin' Stettin.) Sanuto considers

Finally, after the conquest of Egypt, one other step was desirable—one which would have rendered the Cape route almost valueless, and placed Venice in a position closely analogous to that of England to-day,—the establishment of a Christian fleet in the Indian Ocean, to dominate that sea, and to subjugate its coasts and islands [1].

The power of the Cairo Soldan, in Marino's opinion, had been already weakened by the destruction of the Christian trade-colonies in Syria and by the incursions of the Tartars. It was practically certain that even a systematic interruption of its Christian trade would reduce Egypt to great distress; the conquest of the Delta coast, the establishment of a new Venice in the lagunes of the Nile estuary [2], would probably render Cairo untenable; the occupation of the Pharaohs' country by the Crusaders, so long as they held command of the sea, was quite secure, just as the firm and lasting possession of the Holy Land, following upon that of Egypt, was fully assured upon the basis of a cordial understanding with the Nomade Lords of Asia [3].

To demonstrate more fully the value of a Mongol alliance, and especially of a league with the Persian branch of the great conquering race, Marino towards the end of his work appends a sketch of the history and manners of the people of Chingiz, and of their past intercourse with the Popes and the Catholic nations of the West [4].

Whatever Sanuto's misconceptions may have been (and only five years after the final 'publication' of his *Secreta*, he

that 'maritima Alamannia' was remarkably like Venice, and was delighted with the good seamanship and crusading enthusiasm of these German sea-folk.

[1] *Secr.*, II. iv. 28 (B., 94), addressing the Pope, 'postquam sanctitas vestra ex terra Aegyptia suum velle affuerit assecuta in mare Indiae navigium poterit intromitti, quod dominabitur illi mari, et illarum partium insulas subiugabit, ac in terra firma terras maritimas.' See above, Jordanus' language about Indians expecting 'Frank' invasions, p. 220.

[2] Especially by the seizure of 'Raxetum' island near Alexandria. *Secr.*, II. iv. 27 (B., 90–2). See also *Secr.*, I. ii. 1–2 (B., 26).

[3] *Secr.*, III. xv. 1–25 (B., 262–81).

[4] *Secr.*, III. xiii. 3–9 (B., 190–2).

admitted that his theory of trade suspension was impossible [1]), it must be allowed that his outlook was wide and statesmanlike, and that some of his suggestions have an almost prophetic character. From the coasts and islands of the Indian Ocean to the ports of Northern Europe, from Kish and Ormuz to Riga and Stettin, from Nubia to Norway, from Flanders to the Caspian [2], he surveys the field embraced by Christian trade, Christian government, or Christian ambition. From his pen comes the first distinct anticipation of Christian naval power dominating the Indian Ocean, and dominating it by the most modern route; and the spirit which led him to recommend the Persian trade-avenues (in order to circumvent the Musulmans of Egypt) had already prompted other Italians to seek an unimpeded waterway to the South of Asia. For the thought of commercial and political advantage is always present to Sanuto. It is not merely the recovery of Palestine that he seeks, but the victory of Christian civilization, and the rolling back of the forces which were hemming it in, which had almost expelled it from Asia, which had left it only Gerbi in all Africa, and which still hindered its complete supremacy in Europe.

Was the Church to be driven into a narrow corner of the world? Was Islam still to lord it in Granada, in Barbary, in the Levant? Was the Eastern Schism always to rule in Greece, in Servia, in Bosnia, in Bulgaria, in Russia? Were Christian merchants to be eternally excluded from the Egyptian route to the Indies? To understand the full meaning of Sanuto's thought, we must remember how in his boyhood, Genoese seamen, determined to find an outlet into the wider world, resolved to escape from Mediterranean 'imprisonment,' had made their way to the Canaries [3], and how in the year of Acre's fall other Genoese, yet more daring, had set out to find the ports of India across the Southern Ocean [4].

[1] See his letter in B., 297.

[2] Called 'Mare Salvanicum' in *Secr.*, III. xi. 9, perhaps for Vincent of Beauvais' 'Mare Servanicum' or 'Sea of Shirvan.'

[3] About A. D. 1270. See ch. iv.

[4] A. D. 1291. In 1312 Sorleone Vivaldo had journeyed to Magadoxo (?) in search of his father and the other explorers of 1291 (see ch. iv).

The two great Indian ports for the supply of Western needs, Marino calls *Mahabar* and *Cambeth* [1], Coromandel and Gujerat; the four chief havens which received the maritime exports of India, in his geography, are Ormuz, Kish, Basrah, and Aden [2]; of these the first three were subject to the Persian Mongols; the fourth was purely Saracen [1]. From Aden, situated on an island, almost joined to the mainland of *Africa*, Sanuto then traces the progress of Indian wares through Mohammedan *lands* for nine days' camel-journey to the Nile, and thence from a river-port named *Chus* (our Kus, below Luxor) for fifteen days' boat-journey down stream to Cairo.

Most of the spices and other Oriental wares so coveted in the West once went by Baghdad, Antioch, and Lycia to the Mediterranean; now the greater part followed the Aden route to the Nile and Egypt; but the lighter and more valuable goods [3] still travelled by the Persian Gulf to *Baldac* and Tabriz. On this line of traffic Venetian merchants had great influence [4], and it was the obvious course for all Indian merchandise to follow, if diverted from the purely Moslem channel to the West. It was quite possible, moreover, for Christian traders to go by way of Tartar lands to India, and many had already done so [5]; but to accomplish this through Egypt, was very difficult, the way being absolutely forbidden and jealously guarded by the Sultan and his people [6].

We could not have a better illustration of Sanuto's strength

[1] *Secr.*, I. i. 1 (B., 22). For the 'Maabar' country cf. also pp. 137–8, 164–5, 228 of this volume.

[2] 'Hormus,' 'Kis,' and 'Ahaden' or 'Haaden' are named by S. (ibid.); Basrah is only given as 'in fossia [*sic*] fluminis quod discurrit a Baldac' [Baghdad]. Aden is further defined as 'in quadam insulata quasi in terra firma,' while 'Hormus' is expressly stated to lie 'in terra firma.'

[3] Such as 'Cubebae,' 'spicum,' 'gariofili' [cloves], 'nuces muscatae' [nutmegs], 'maci,' &c.; even though most of the heavier wares, e. g. 'piper,' 'cinziber' or ginger, and 'cannella' or cinnamon, went by Aden, the best quality samples of the two latter articles were imported by Chaldaea and Persia, *Secr.*, I. i. 1 (B., 23).

[4] *Secr.*, II. iv. 18.

[5] *Secr.*, I. i. 1 (B., 23).

[6] 'Soldanus . . . non permittit aliquem Christianum transire, qui in Indiam cupiat transfretare,' *Secr.*, I. i. 1 (B., 23).

and weakness. For while he describes certain sections of the Indo-Egyptian trade-route correctly enough, and often in almost verbal agreement with Marco Polo, and while he realizes the importance of Ormuz and Tabriz, and the ascendency of Venice at many points of the Persian traffic-ways, on the other hand he seems to put Aden in an African island, to be ignorant of the recent transference of *Hormus* from its mainland site [1], to have no exact knowledge of the Indian havens, and entirely to omit the Red Sea navigation from his picture. The inaccurate suggestions of the *Secreta* are fully confirmed by Marino's World-Map, in which *Haden* clearly stands upon the East African shore, on what answers to our Somali coast, separated only by a short land journey from *Chus* upon the Nile.

§ 2. *Mandeville.*

The *Book of Sir John de Mandeville* [2], considered by old Samuel Purchas to be the genuine record of the 'greatest Asian traveller (after Polo) that ever the world had [3],' is now rated at its true value as a compilation from the works of other men, written in French, probably concocted by a stay-at-home (but ingenious and unscrupulous) physician of Liège, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and published between 1357 and 1371. Its popularity soon became phenomenal; it was translated into all the chief languages of the West; in its English version it formed a landmark in the development of

[1] See above, pp. 60, 303, 318.

[2] The references to 'Mandeville' here are made to the chapters of Halliwell's edition of 1839 (and 1866), a reprint, with introduction and notes, of the 1725 edition of the text in the Cotton MS. Titus C. xvi (*Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile reprinted from the edition of 1725, with introduction*, &c., by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1839); the results of the most recent research are admirably presented in G. F. Warner's *Buke of John Maundeuill, being the Travels of Sir John Mandeville . . . English version from the unique copy, Egerton MS. 1982, edited . . . with the French text, notes, and an introduction*, Westminster, Roxburghe Club, 1889. For other editions see Appendix to this volume.

[3] Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, part iii, *Address to the Reader* (at beginning of Polo's text), p. 65; London, 1625 ('And O that it were possible to doe as much for our Countriman, Mandeuil,' &c.).

our island-speech; as a masterpiece of plagiarism it will always deserve attention; but, except for the student of geographical mythology and superstition, it has no importance in the history of Earth-Knowledge. If any section of the *Buke* embodies the independent experience, either of the Liège physician, or of a friend who made the good doctor his confidant, it is that part which deals with Syria and other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, and even here the defendant's case is a poor one.

'Sir John Mandeville' appears to have been, as an inhabitant of this earth, no other than Jean de Bourgogne, also known as Johannes Barbatus, Jean à la Barbe, or John à Beard, who in 1372 died in Liège and was buried in the church of the Guillelmins in that city, having practised as a medical man among the Liégeois from 1343. On his deathbed he 'revealed himself' to the Netherland chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse, as 'John de Mandeville, knight, Earl of Montfort in England and lord of Campdi island and of Château Pérouse,' who in expiation of an unlucky homicide had travelled in the three parts of the world [1]. The truth is probably to be reached by reading this 'confession' backwards; tempted by the success of the *Mirabilia* he had put together under the name of 'Mandeville,' Jean de Bourgogne, anxious to reap a posthumous fame, claims for himself the fictitious name and journeys which were now so famous.

In earlier life the worthy John appears to have visited England, and here he may have come upon representatives, or at least heard the name, of that Mandeville family which in older English history had been of some importance, but had now apparently receded into the background. But in his choice of a *nom-de-plume* he may have been likewise influenced by the *Mandevie* of Jean du Pin, a satire and romance of about 1340, written in much the same spirit as the Sultan's denunciation of Christian corruption in 'Mandeville's' account

[1] See Dr. Stanislas Borman's introduction (pp. cxxxiii-iv) to the *Chronique . . . de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse* in the *Collection des Chroniques belges inédites*, Brussels, 1887.

of Saracen customs and opinions [1], and bearing in other ways a very close resemblance to the *Travels* of the supposed Knight of St. Albans [2].

In the construction of his work, 'Mandeville' follows two principal authorities—the German nobleman William of Boldensel [3] in the Levant, the Italian or 'Bohemian' friar Odoric [3] in the more distant regions of the Orient. But he also draws upon Albert of Aix, Hayton the Younger, Jacques de Vitry, William of Tripoli, and Brunetto Latini [4], for his sketches of the route through Hungary to Constantinople, of the Eastern Rome, of the Greek Archipelago, of Cyprus, Egypt, and Syria, and of Moslem history, custom, and belief —just as in the further East he supplements Odoric by ingatherings from Hayton and Carpini, from Vincent of Beauvais, from the Alexander-Romance and the spurious *Letter* of Prester John [4]. A few surpassing extravagances are apparently due to his own genius. Thus he claims to have reached thirty-three degrees South Latitude (beyond our Natal) in the course of his travels; he professes to have served the Emperor of Cathay in a fifteen months' campaign against the King of *Mancy* [5], a potentate who had finally disappeared before Marco Polo left China; he evidently conceives of the Bedouin Arabs as a people who lived by the *chase* (his intimate knowledge of these folk being derived from his service in the Cairo Sultan's army against this 'foul, felonious, and accursed' race) [6]; and he transforms every country of Further

[1] Ch. 12 (Halliwell's edition).

[2] 'Just as "Mandeville's" readers are taken by him through the material world,' so Jean Du Pin is 'conducted in a dream through the moral world' by that 'noble chevalier nommé Mandevie,' whose home was on a 'blanche montaigne' (Mons Albus, St. Albans?): see G. F. Warner, *Travels of . . . Mandeville*, p. xl. 'Mandeville' professed to have been born at St. Albans, to have left England at Michaelmas, 1322 (Prol gue), and to have written down these Recollections of Travel, to comfort him in his rheumatic gout and the 'wretched rest' of his later years in 1356 (ch. 31).

[3] See pp. 257–87 and ch. iii of this volume.

[4] See footnote to p. 323.

[5] Ch. 20.

[6] Chs. 5, 6.

Asia, even Cathay and Tibet [1], into an *island*, with a liberality that might have satisfied Sancho Panza himself. 'Drake,' says an old English play,

> 'Drake was a didapper to Mandevill,
> Candish and Hawkins, Frobisher, all our Voyagers
> Went short of Mandevill'—

yet with cunning modesty the Prince of British travellers disclaims a personal visit to the Earthly Paradise ('and I repent it not, for I was not worthy') [2]; and though he cannot deny his three delightful draughts of the Fountain of Youth [3], he will not pretend, so careful to the truth is he, to have ever penetrated to the Trees of the Sun and Moon, those speaking marvels, that prophesied the death of Alexander, whose exact position he knew so well [4].

It would be out of place to attempt here a longer analysis of 'Mandeville's' narrative; in a footnote we endeavour to show, very briefly, what were the sources for each section of this marvellous imposture [5]; the main authorities have

[1] Chs. 20, 31. Tibet is *Rybothe* in 'Mandeville.'

[2] Ch. 30. [3] Ch. 15.

[4] 'Fifteen days' journey through the deserts on the other side of the river Beumare.'

[5] Thus for the way through Constantinople and to a less extent for the route across Asia Minor (chs. 1, 11) he copies Albert of Aix; for his sketch of the Greek islands (ch. 4), mainly Brunetto Latini; for the account of the Greek Church and of Cyprus (chs. 3, 4), to a great extent, Jacques de Vitry; for most of his description of Constantinople, Palestine, and Egypt (chs. 2, 3, 4, 5–11), Boldensel, with additions from the *Old Compendium* (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 184), as well as from Hayton the Younger, de Vitry, Pliny, and Solinus (from the two latter probably through Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*), and from William of Tripoli; nearly all his Islamic lore (e. g. ch. 12) comes from the last-named (*Liber de statu Saracenorum*); his list of Egyptian sultans (ch. 5) is mainly from Hayton (*Fleurs des Histoires d'Orient*), with incorrect additions; some details of the Holy Land he seems to derive from the French pilgrim-itineraries of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries, and from the works of John of Würzburg, Theoderich, and the pseudo-Odoric (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 190–5, 195–9, and ch. iii of this volume). His so-called Arabic alphabet (perhaps, like all the alphabets in the *Travels*, an interpolation) is from Aethicus of Istria (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 355–61) and resembles nothing in the world except (to a very limited extent) Glagolitic Slavonic; his 'Persian' or 'Chaldee' and 'Egyptian' alphabets are not recog-

been already noticed; but we require to read them, chapter by chapter, with the compilation of John the Bearded to see how wild and constant is his misunderstanding of what he has read, how in every part of his autobiography he betrays the untravelled copyist, and yet how consistently he strives, by the ingenious piecing together of different guides, and the impudent reiteration of minute personal knowledge, to conceal his ignorance and his brigandage.

nizable at all. In Tartary (from ch. 21) he begins to copy Carpini (probably through the medium of Vincent of Beauvais); he appears to take a little also from Vincent's reproduction of Simon of St. Quentin, as well as from the same compiler's transcripts of Pliny and Solinus, Jerome and Isidore, the Alexander Romance, and the mediaeval Bestiaries. In his Sparrow-Hawk-Castle story (ch. 13) he borrows from the famous Melusine fairy-tale; among the Amazons he takes at least one name (in the Egerton text) from Brunetto Latini; his tale of the loadstone rocks (ch. 27) is from Arabic sea-legend, reproduced e.g. in the Arabian Nights. His Fount of Youth (ch. 15), like his account of the Prester and his realm (ch. 27), is from the forged *Letter* of Prester John; his astronomical and scientific digression (ch. 17) is partly from Vincent of Beauvais, perhaps aided by a hint from Odoric. In his earlier account of the East Indies (chs. 15, 17–19) he follows Odoric closely, as in his account of the Valley Perilous and along the main lines of the whole journey from Trebizond to China and back (chs. 13–end); his additional details on Chinese characteristics, artistic skill, contempt for other nations, &c. (e.g. ch. 20), though given with peculiarly strong suggestion of being inspired by close personal observation, are really copied from Hayton, like part of his account of Chingiz and the Mongol Empire (ch. 21, &c.) and most of his general sketch of Asiatic geography (ch. 25). As to the *two* descriptions of Ormuz, 'the town of Hermes' (chs. 15, 27), one is from Odoric, the other from Hayton. In his final dissertation about islands, one of the most purely fabulous parts of his compilation (chs. 28–30), he copies mainly from Pliny and Solinus, as reproduced by Vincent, from the Alexander Legend, and from the Prester John *Letter*. One passage, on tropical heat, especially at Ormuz (ch. 15), seems taken direct from Marco Polo; one, on Ani in Armenia (ch. 13), from William of Rubrouck; one (ch. 21) on Tartar veneration for the owl, and its reason, from Ricold of Monte Croce. Alexander's imprisonment of the Gog-Magogs (ch. 26) is of course from the Alexander Romance, with perhaps a little from Carpini. The reference to the small polyandrous communities of the isle whose people abstained from flesh of hares, hens, and geese (ch. 28), is ultimately from Caesar's Description of Britain, through the usual medium of the Encyclopaedist of Beauvais. For a notice of the historical English John Mandeville who appears in the Levant at the beginning of the fourteenth century, see *Year Books of Edward II*, 1307–9, ed. F. W. Maitland, vol. i, p. 22, and introduction, p. xxxii.

§ 3. *Pegolotti.*

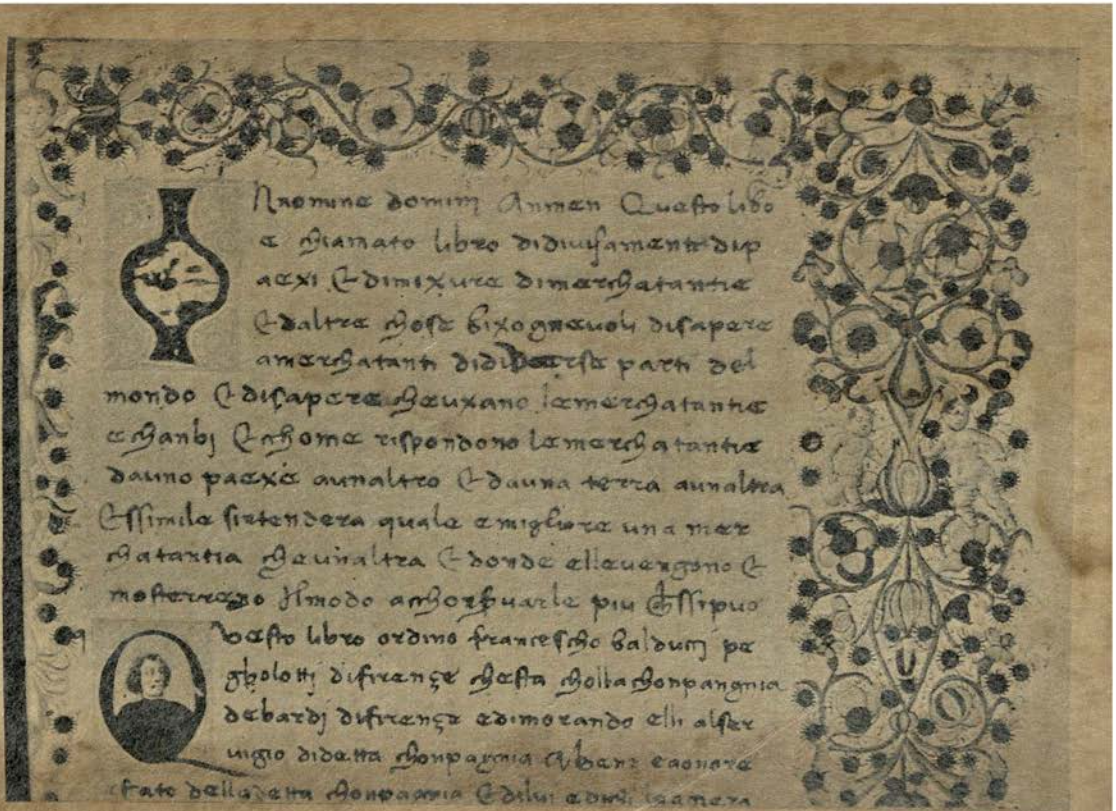
A very different work, a treatise of the most solid character, perfectly unreadable by the general public of any age, mediaeval or modern, now claims attention. The *Libro di Divisamenti di Paesi*[1] of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, usually known as the *Pratica della Mercatura*[2], is a merchant's handbook pure and simple; it is no literary composition; it deals in nothing of non-commercial interest; but it was of supreme value to traders of the fourteenth century; and to all students of mediaeval life, mediaeval travel, and mediaeval traffic, it is beyond price. Beginning with a sort of glossary of foreign terms then in use for every kind of tax or payment on merchandise, and for 'every kind of place where goods might be bought or sold in cities,' it then proceeds to describe some of the chief trade-routes and many of the chief markets known to the Latin world, the imports and exports of every important region, the business customs prevalent in each, and the comparative value of the leading moneys, weights, and measures.

It is not probable that Pegolotti made in his own person those longer journeys—to Central Asia and China—whose course he lays down so carefully. The best part of his life was spent as a factor in the service of the Bardi of Florence[3], and his travels for the profit of that great commercial house

[1] There is only one MS., No. 2441, in the Riccardian Library at Florence, and one edition of the text, in vol. iii of Gian Francesco Pagnini's treatise *Della Decima e delle altre Gravezze imposte dal Commune di Firenze*, Lisbon and Lucca, 1766, really published at Florence [hereafter quoted as P.]. Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 279–308, has translated into English the most interesting sections of Pegolotti, with valuable notes. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. 12, 50, 58, 78–9, 85–6, 112–19, &c., has devoted great attention to Pegolotti, and especially to the tracing of the Lajazzo-Tabriz route, in this helped by Kiepert's admirable study in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Cl. der Berliner Akad.*, 1881, pp. 901, &c.

[2] The name given to it by Pagnini.

[3] 'Francesco Balducci Pegolotti di Firenze che sta colla Compagnia de' Bardi di Firenze,' &c., P., iii.


In nomine domini Amen Questo libo
e ghiamato libro di diuisamente dip
acexi & dimixure di marchatantie
& daltre ghose bixognauoli di sapere
amarchatanti di diuerse parti del
mondo & di sapere ghouxano le marchatantie
e ghanbi & chome rispondono le marchatantie
dauno paexe aunaltro & dauna terra aunaltra
& ssimile si tenderra quale emigliore una mer
chatantia ghe uinaltra & donde ellie uengono &
mosterreno modo amorchuarle piu & ssipuo
Questo libro ordino franceschо baldum pa
cholotti di firenze ghesta ghella ghompangnia
debardi di firenze edimorando elli alser
uigio didetta ghompagnia ghabari eaonore
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TITLE-PAGE OF PEGOLOTTI MS., OF 1471. FLORENCE, RICCARDIANA, 2441

To face p. 324

did not apparently lead him, at furthest, beyond North Persia. We can trace him in Cyprus from May, 1324, to August, 1327, and both here and in Cilicia in 1335[1], when he obtains from the King of Little Armenia a grant of privileges for the Bardi's trade at Lajazzo. That great harbour he must have known well enough, and it is just possible that he may have traversed the whole of that track from the Gulf of Scanderoon to Tabriz, of which he displays so minute a knowledge. In earlier life, as he tells us himself, he had been the Bardi's agent in Antwerp, from 1315 to 1317, and in London, for some time after 1317[2]; but he clearly indicates that his outline of the Tana-China route, from the mouth of the Don to the Pacific, was derived from a secondary source, from the information of the merchants who had travelled that way[3].

Pegolotti wrote his *Libro di Divisamenti*, in any case, after 1335, when the *Libro* itself records his last year of residence in Cyprus[4], and before 1343, when died King Robert of Naples, a sovereign named by our author as still reigning[5]. It was thus probably at the very time of the Bardi's failure (in 1339), through the commercial rogueries of Edward III of England, that the Bardi's servant published his *Book of Descriptions of Countries and of measures employed in business and of other things needful to be known by merchants*[6], 'showing what relation the merchandise of one land or one city bears to that of others, and how one kind of goods is better than another, and whence come the various wares, and how they may be kept as long as possible[7].'

Though not, in all likelihood, a very distant wanderer himself, Pegolotti's work furnishes such a conspectus of

[1] Chs. 11, 17; P., 45, 70-1.

[2] Ch. 61; P., 256-7.

[3] 'Secondò che si conta per gli mercatanti che l'hanno usato,' ch. 2; P., 2.

[4] 'Anno ... del ... Cristo 1335 ... Francesco Balducci essendo nel detto tempo a Cipri per la detta Compagnia,' ch. 11, P., 45.

[5] 'Questo Re Uberto,' ch. 39; P., 186.

[6] *Libro di Divisamenti di Paesi e di misuri di mercatanzie, e d' altre cose bisognevoli di sapere a' mercatanti*, P., iii.

[7] Ibid.

world-travel along some of the greatest international routes that it would be impossible to omit it from this chapter. But as only a small part of the whole[1] is given to the commerce and commercial movements of Asiatic regions and of those East European countries which then lay beyond ordinary Latin knowledge, it will be possible to deal quite shortly here with a treatise which, in mere bulk, considerably exceeds the *Diversities* of Marco Polo.

In his prologue or prefatory note, as we have said, Francesco Balducci supplies his reader with a list of technical terms for dues and markets[2]. He then proceeds to give an outline of the Black Sea road to Cathay, that 'shorter and safer way' which Monte Corvino had recommended for mission-travellers[3], but of which Pegolotti is the first to give a detailed account, and of whose mercantile importance he is the earliest European to write. From the fact that he only mentions the principal stations, at enormous intervals, and that beyond Kulja he merely gives fragmentary indications of the way, we might gather, even without his acknowledgements to others, that he had not been over the ground himself. As far as Kulja it appears to be much the same course as that followed by Pascal of Vittoria, Pegolotti's contemporary[4]; after leaving the valley of the Ili, the indications of our present guide-book are consistent with either of the great Thian Shan routes, the northern or the southern, the Pe-lu or the Nan-lu[5].

From Tana to *Gittarchan*[6], from Azov to Astrakhan,

[1] Only the Prologue and first nine chs. (P., iii, xix–xxiii, 1–42) really concern us here. [2] P., xix–xxiii.

[3] See above, pp. 170–1.

[4] See above, pp. 243–6.

[5] See above, pp. 43, 46, 70, 74–5.

[6] Also spelt 'Gintarchan' by Pegolotti at the beginning of this ch. 1 (P., 1). This was the older 'Hajji-Tarkhan,' best described by Ibn Batuta (see ch. vii of this volume), destroyed by Timur in 1395, and probably identical with the 'Summerkeur' (or -kent) of Rubruquis (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 369–70). A Franciscan house now stood here (see p. 238 of this volume). It is generally supposed to have been slightly further from the Caspian than the present Astrakhan, and it is certainly the 'Azetrechan' of the Laurentian Portolano of 1351 and the 'Agitarcham' of the Catalan Atlas; see ch. vi of this volume.

Balducci reckons more than three weeks with an ox-wagon, but only ten or twelve days with horse-carts: the whole of this section was clearly overland, no use being made of the Don. But from Astrakhan to *Sara* or Sarai, and from Sarai to *Saracanco* or Sarachik (a day's journey in one case, a week's in the other) the Cathay-faring merchant travelled by water[1], up and down the Volga, along the Caspian coast, and up the Ural[2]—while from Sarachik twenty days in camel-carriage, that vehicle whose motion tried poor Pascal so horribly, brought one to *Organci*, Urganj, or Khiva, an excellent market, especially for linen goods, where a man bound for the Far East would do well to supply himself with *sommi* or ingots of silver, the store from which his journeying expenses should be paid[3].

After Khiva, Otrar;—for the journey from the Lower Oxus to the middle of the Syr Daria basin Pegolotti allows five or six weeks[4] in camel-cart; but the whole of this lengthy round by Urganj could be avoided if the traveller had no wares to sell:—in fifty days, all told, such a man might cut across from Sarachik to Otrar. At *Oltrarre* our guide changes his means of conveyance; we hear no more of horse-wagons, ox-wagons, or camel-carts, but only of pack-asses, first over the forty-five days' stretch between the Syr Daria and Kulja or *Armalecco*, and then along the ten weeks' journey[5] from *Armalecco* to *Camexu*, from Kulja to Kanchau, from the capital of the Chagatai Khanate to the beginnings of Chinese civilization. Within the Great Khan's empire the trader once more takes horses, and so in a month and a half comes down from the Innermost Asia of Kansu to a river[6] communicating

[1] He could also go by land (P., 1), but it was more expensive for goods-transport.

[2] Pegolotti evidently thinks the whole way from Sarai to Sarachik was along the course of *one* river: 'viii giornate per *una* fiumana d' acqua,' ch. 1, P., 1.

[3] Chs. 1, 2; P., 1, 3.

[4] 'D'Organci in Oltrarre fia da 35 in 40 giornate di cammello con carro,' ch. 1; P., 1.

[5] '70 giornate d' asino,' ch. 1; P., 1.

[6] 'Di Camexu ... a una fiumana che si chiama [blank left in MS. and P.'s text for name] ... XLV giornate di cavallo,' ch. 1; P., 1.

with *Cassai* or Hangchau, that peerless city of which Pegolotti had heard as 'a very active trading *region*[1]. Here the merchant, willy nilly, must part with his silver and stock his purse with the paper money of Cathay; for on this paper money he must live and trade throughout China, and especially in the two great cities of *Cassai* and *Gamalecco*[2]. The last named, the *Cambalec* of other travellers, the Peking of our geography, Pegolotti fixes at a month's journey[3] from Hangchau; it was the capital of all Cathay[4]; it had a circuit of *a hundred*[5] miles, filled with people and houses; its trade was vast; and in its markets traders from many regions met together.

Now the whole of this great trade-route of the North, from the Azov to Cathay (save only the section from Tana to Sarai), was perfectly safe, by day or night—such at least was the report of those who had been over it—but there were certain things to be borne in mind by the novice. In the first place, he must let his beard grow, and not shave; next, he must procure a dragoman at Tana; thirdly, he must take with him servants who could speak the Kuman tongue; fourthly, he must remember that if he took a woman (and especially a Kuman) in his company, from the start, he would be better cared for than without her[6].

Over the somewhat risky stretch from Don to Volga even the most timid might find safety in numbers; companies of sixty, keeping well together, were never in danger at the most perilous spots[7]; but along the entire route, the Frank

[1] 'Spacciativa terra di mercanzia,' ch. 1; P., 1. The form 'Cassay' is also in John de Cora; see above, p. 208.

[2] Ch. 1; P., 2.

[3] 'Di Cassai a Gamalecco . . . 30 giornate,' ch. 1; P., 2.

[4] 'Mastra città del . . . Gattajo,' ch. 1; P., 2.

[5] This is enormously in excess of any estimate from personal experience in this time (see pp. 95, 279 of this volume); it is probably exaggerated about sixty per cent. (even supposing Pegolotti refers to both Old and New Towns together); and it furnishes additional evidence of our factor's ignorance of China, firsthand.

[6] Ch. 2; P., 2.

[7] Ch. 2; P., 3.

merchant must beware of the anarchy which might break out in these Asian lands on the death of any reigning monarch, and before the complete establishment of his successor. Again, if the trader died upon the way, his goods became the property of the local sovereign; a man could not expect to find provisions on the journey, save at long intervals and at the greater halting-places[1]; and every one must be prepared, on arrival in Cathay, to find his bullion exchanged for yellow bank-notes, stamped with the seal of the Lord of the country. Of these *palisci* or balish[2] there were three kinds or values; they were universally accepted throughout China; and the foreigner would find that with them he could buy as cheaply as with silver[3].

Having thus described the northern road, and given all needful advice concerning it, Pegolotti next proceeds to an account of the weights and measures used at its western terminus of Tana, a reduction of the same to Genoese and Venetian figures, and an enumeration of the chief articles sold at the Azov market, from metals to wax, from ladanum to cheese, from pepper to flax, from oil to ginger, from suet to silk, from saffron to 'coarse spices,' from wheat to pearls, from caviar to gold, from amber to wine[4]. These dry catalogues of Balducci's have a special value. For the old misconception still prevails in some quarters, and men of learning are still found ready to assume that the spice trade was of little or no moment to Latin Christians before the opening of the Cape Route. To all such fallacies the *Pratica della Mercatura*, quite apart from the abundant evidence we have already found in Polo and Odoric, Jordanus and Marignolli, Corvino and Sanuto, should be sufficient answer.

From the northern highways Pegolotti passes to the southern. A dissertation on the weights and measures of

[1] Ch. 2; P., 2.

[2] So in the original MS. (Riccardian Lib., 2441); P.'s text, p. 3, reads *babisci*.

[3] Ch. 2; P., 3–4.

[4] Ch. 3; P., 4–5, 'cera, elandano, ferro, stagno, rame, pepe, gengiovo, tutte spezierie grosse,' &c.

Kaffa and Tabriz and their relation to Italian reckonings[1] leads him to a description of the road from Little Armenia to Northern Persia, from Lajazzo to *Torissi*[2]. Here the minuteness of his notebook, with its list of fully twenty-seven stations between the Cilician plain and the commercial capital of the Ilkhanate, suggests personal experience; and even if Balducci never traversed this route himself, his picture of it is the most detailed and the most valuable that has come down to us from a Christian pen.

From other sources[3] we know that the track ran through Siwas (Pegolotti's *Salvastro*), Erzinghian (his *Arzinga*) and Erzerum (his *Arzerone*); here Balducci merely confirms what we have gathered from Polo or Ricold; the Florentine's *Sermessacalo* is clearly the *Sovisacalo* or *Sorbisacalo* of Friar Odoric[4], between Erzerum and Ararat; but most of the lesser halting-places named in the *Divisamenti* are peculiar to the Bardi's agent, among Western writers.

Starting then from Lajazzo and the mouth of the ancient Pyramus, the route, as indicated[5] by Pegolotti, passes through *Colidara* or Gobidar in the Taurus highlands, enters the dominion of the Mongol Ilkhans at *Gandon*, and runs on through *Casena* or Geuksun, the doubtful station of *Gadue*, and two *gavazeras* or caravanserais, to Siwas, evidently avoiding that Kaysariyah or Caesarea of Cappadocia where many travellers turned in to rest. But even if he does not heed the great city of the middle Halys basin, it is certainly along the course of the Upper Halys that Pegolotti's road must lie for a long way before, as well as after, *Salvastro*;

[1] Ch. 5; P., 6-9.

[2] Ch. 6; P., 9-11. The duties of 'Torisi di Persia' are described in the Preface, P., xx.

[3] Besides the indications of Marco Polo, Ricold of Monte Croce, and others (see pp. 45, 46-7, 49, 52, 192 of this volume), a brief outline of the Lajazzo-Tabriz route is given in the *Conocsimiento de todos los Reynos* (see chs. iv, v).

[4] See above, p. 258. Just before 'Sermessacalo' (P., 10) and immediately after leaving the 'Bangni d'Arzerone,' Pegolotti mentions 'Polorbecch'; this is probably the ancient Armenian *Polorabahag* or 'round fortress,' near the modern *Choban-Keupri* bridge over the Aras.

[5] The best study of Pegolotti's place-names on this route is Kiepert's (see above): his identifications appear both solid and brilliant.

his *Dudriaga* is probably the village of Todorag, one of the last settlements of importance as one nears the sources of the Kizil Irmak.

Thence approaching the border of Northern or Great Armenia, the guide takes us through *Mughisar* and *Greboco*, the latter probably identical with the ancient Roman post of Arauraci[1], to Erzinghian, Erzerum, and the western branch of the Upper Euphrates[2]. Between Erzerum and Tabriz parts at least of the course next indicated appear to correspond with modern trade-paths; the *Calacresti* and *Tre-Chiese*[3] of Pegolotti are certainly the *Karakilisse* and *Uchkilisse* of present-day caravans, west and south-west of Ararat.

Near the town of Diyadin, on the existing Trebizond-Persia route, we may fix Pegolotti's station *Under Noah's Ark*[4], doubtless at a point where the traveller enjoyed a good view of the sacred mountain; the *Scaracanti* of our guide is in all likelihood the modern Karakand[2]; finally the *Fiume rosso* or Red River[5], three stages only from Tabriz, most probably answers to the Kizil Chai (of identical meaning) which flows by Khoi and falls into the Aras at one of the southernmost points of the Russian frontier to-day.

Of the Trebizond-Tabriz route, so far as it did not pass over the country just described, Pegolotti says little, though he gives an estimate of the distance between the Euxine seaport and the Persian market—twelve or thirteen days on horseback, a month or more with a caravan[6]. Nor does he attempt any systematic treatment of the southern trade-paths, converging on the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, any

[1] The 'Agreboce' of the Pizzigani map of 1367.

[2] On the other hand, the three stations after 'Scaracanti'—'Locche,' 'Piana di Falconieri,' and 'Li Camuzoni'—are quite uncertain. We might expect some help from Clavijo (see below, ch. ii, part iii, § 4), but in his account of the Trebizond-Tabriz journey he gives remarkably little confirmation of other authorities.

[3] P., 10.

[4] 'Sotto Larcanoe,' P., 10.

[5] Ch. 6; P., 11.

[6] Ch. 7; P., 11; also see P., 13–14, for more details on Trebizond commerce.

more than of the roads between Tabriz, Central Asia, and China. He has much to say, it is true, of the markets of[1] Cyprus, Egypt, *Gazaria*[2], and the Greek Empire, and above all of those of 'Pera and Constantinople,' where his catalogue of spices and oriental wares includes almost every 'article of luxury[3]' then in vogue among Latin nations; he is moreover an excellent witness to the continuing prosperity of Alexandria and Damietta[4] and the European commerce of these harbours.

Lastly, as to English wool and English markets, Balducci supplies some valuable information and some most curious name-forms; while his details of Italian trade are of course the main feature of his work. But beyond the *routiers* we have already examined he gives us little of primary value for the history of exploration, and it would not be pertinent to this chapter for us to stay longer in his company. For almost all the rest of the *Pratica* is purely concerned with European home-trade[5].

§ 4. *Clavijo.*

The last of the Greater Asiatic travellers who concern us here—Clavijo[6] the Spaniard and Schiltberger the German—

[1] e. g. chs. 16–18; P., 64–91.

[2] Ch. 9; P., 39–42. In Pegolotti the Black Sea keeps its old name and is still 'Mare Maggiore.' On Pegolotti's references to the North Euxine harbours, and especially to those of the Crimea, see also ch. v (and especially p. 488) of this volume.

[3] e. g. indigo, alum, pepper, ginger (esp. from Kulam in Malabar), dye-wood, 'dragon's-blood,' incense, sugar, aloes, quick-silver, cassia fistula, sal ammoniac, cinnamon, cinnabar, ladanum, mastic, amber, coral, silk, saffron, cloves, cubebs, lign aloes, rhubarb, mace, galangal, camphor, nutmegs, spikenard, cardamoms, borax, gum arabic, turbit, buckrams, velvets, damasks, cloth-of-gold, and canvas; ch. 8; P., 14–38.

[4] e. g. chs. 14–15; P., 56–63.

[5] We shall, however, find some more help from Pegolotti when we come to speak of Italian commerce in the Black Sea, see ch. v of this volume.

[6] The best edition of Clavijo's narrative is Sancha's *Historia del Gran Tamorlan, e Itinerario y Enarracion del Viage . . . en la Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha*, Madrid, 1782 [hereafter quoted as Sa.], a reprint, with additional matter, of the original edition of Gonçalo Argote de Molina, dedicated to Antonio Perez, Philip II's famous secretary of state (*Historia, &c. . . . Viage*, as above, Seville, 1582: in both editions the actual text commences with the sub-title *Vida y Hazañas del Gran Tamorlan, con la*

both belong to the fifteenth century. both carry us beyond the Mongol period of world-history. For although Clavijo sees Timur the Chagatai in all his glory, Timur's empire is no substitute for that of Kublai and his vassals; the age of the 'Nomade Peace' has gone for ever with the overthrow of the *Yuen* in China and the Islamising of the Western Tartars. That extraordinary freedom of international intercourse which for more than a century (1245–1368) had bound together the most distant lands of sunset and sunrising was really over when the Castillian envoy journeyed to Samarcand (1403–4); his expedition we can now recognize as an anachronism; in Schiltberger's wanderings through a desolated, divided, fanatical, and barbarized Levant (1396–1425), we have a truer reflection of the new age. With all his momentary omnipotence, Timur does nothing of permanent value for civilization; at his death a truculent anarchy breaks out again over Higher Asia, abruptly ending for a time the long and fascinating history of Christian trade and Christian missions beyond the Euxine. On the other hand, the Chinese Orient remains permanently closed to Western enterprise from the revolution of 1368–70 to the appearance of the modern European—the Portuguese, the Hollander, the Frenchman, or the Briton—on the Pacific coast, when the treaty-port-merchant and the Jesuit missionary of the sixteenth century make their own discovery of Cathay by the long sea-route. Quite as pro-

Descripcion de las Tierras de su Imperio ...). The Spanish text has also been published with a Russian translation in vol. xxviii (pp. 1–455) of the *Publications of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences (Section of Russian Language*, &c.). edited by I. I. Sreznevski. An English version, by Sir Clements Markham, was issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1859 (*Narrative of the Embassy of R. . G. . de Clavijô to the Court of Timour*; hereafter quoted as H. S.). In spite of the title prefixed by editors to his work, Clavijo (Sa., p. 99) tells us expressly that 'Tamorlan' is an insulting allusion to Timur's early sheep-stealing, wounds, and lameness ('ca es nombre que le llaman en denuesto'), 'Tamur bec' or 'Señor de Fierro' being his true designation. Mariana (*History of Spain*, book XIX, ch. ii) and G. F. de Oviedo, chronicler to Ferdinand and Isabella, both describe this embassy, the latter telling of Ruy Gonzalez' Spanish boasts at Timur's court, which being *all of them true in a sense* (see an example in note 3, p. 335) were undetected by the Conqueror's magic ring.

longed is the obstruction of the Nearer East by the spread of the Turkish Ottomans; the steady degradation of the Kipchak and Chagatai Tartars, balanced by the growth of a vigorous and progressive Russian Christian state, is of less importance[1].

Just as the Christians of the thirteenth century hoped to find in the Empire of Chingiz Khan an all-powerful ally against Islam, and a matchless field for missionary enterprise, so now the men of the West hailed with joy the victory of the Chingizide Timur, stern Musulman though he were, over the nearer, and so more dangerous, Ottoman. The battle of Angora had given to Constantinople a fresh breathing-time, and (however little intended by him) the Lame Conqueror had dealt a shrewd blow at the onward march of his own faith; the only gainers from his victory were the 'Polytheists.'

When the envoys of Henry of Castille[2] witnessed the overthrow of Bajazet[3] in 1402 and experienced the politic kindness of the victor, the Osmanli had come within an ace of complete dominion on the Bosphorus. First from Brusa, then from Adrianople, these new leaders of Turkish hordes, latest and most evil product of a race so long the chosen scourge of Eastern Christendom, had well-nigh finished strangling their victim in Stambul. For three-quarters of a century (1326–1402) the torture had already lasted, and it was to last till death. Timur's victory did but delay the end for fifty years (1402–53). It was to an Eastern horizon which grew darker and darker, to an Asia yearly becoming more impenetrable by Christian enterprise, religious or mercantile, adventurous or scientific, that the Castillian king, closely observant of all

[1] At the same time the increasing brutality and lawlessness of these Northern Tartars (especially from about 1361) gradually ruin the great routes from the Black Sea to Central Asia and China, e. g. that detailed by Pegolotti from Tana (Azov) by Astrakhan and Sarai, to Khiva, Otrar, Kulja, &c.

[2] Enrique III, King of Castille and Leon, 1390–1406.

[3] 'Ildrin Bayacit' in Clavijo (Sa., 26).

that might affect the Musulmans of Granada, sent Pelayo de Sotomayor and Fernando de Palazuelos[1], as spectators of the struggle between Turk and Tartar. But with the victory of the latter the sky appeared to brighten; the Spanish envoys were kindly received and richly entertained by a conqueror who fully appreciated the value of a Christian ally, and whose passion for things remote, obscure, and subtle, for knowledge of distant lands and races, for information of customs differing from his own, was quite as marked as Henry's own. Sotomayor and his companion returned to their sovereign with flattering messages from Timur, with an ambassador of 'the lord's,' one Mohammed Al Kazi, and with some Christian captives rescued from the harem of Bajazet[2].

It was in answer to this embassy that Henry now sent his famous mission direct to Timur's court under Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, a nobleman of Madrid[3]. Gomez de Salazar and the theologian Alonzo Paez de Santa Maria were associated with Clavijo; while Timur's envoy returned to his master in the company of the Spaniards.

This earliest important venture of the Spanish people overland started from St. Mary's port near Cadiz[4] on May 22, 1403; it kept to the sea route as far as Trebizond; the rest of the outward journey was continental; the return way presented but small variation from that already traversed.

From the first Clavijo had determined to keep a detailed

[1] In Clavijo, 'Payo de Sotomayor' and 'Hernan Sanchez de Palazuelos,' Sa., p. 26.

[2] e.g. Angelina, daughter of Count John of Hungary, afterwards the wife of Diego Gonzalez de Contreras of Segovia, and the beautiful Greek Maria who married the envoy Sotomayor. Both ladies were famous in early Spanish poetry.

[3] *Hijos de Madrid*, by J. A. A. y Baena, iv. 302 (Madrid, 1791), notes the antiquity of his family in the city 'built on water' (springs) and 'walled with fire' (flint), as Clavijo described the future Spanish capital to Timur. After returning from his great journey Ruy Gonzalez was chamberlain to Henry III till the king's death in 1406–7; he then retired to Madrid, busied himself with a religious foundation, and died April 2, 1412.

[4] 'Cerca de Cadiz,' Sa., p. 27.

journal, and we owe much to his resolve[1]; for though his narrative is sometimes wanting in logical order and abounds in small tautologies, in its matter we have ample compensation for any defects of manner. It is the work of a keenly observant and intelligent man, and there are few among the shorter mediaeval travel-narratives more illuminating and suggestive.

Opening with a brief definition of Timur's realm, the Castillian knight well-nigh doubles the extent of this *imperio*, including in it *all Mongolia*, besides the more legitimate possessions of Khorasan and Khiva, Persia and Media, Little Armenia and Kurdistan, together with 'Lesser India,' the 'lordships' of Rey and Ghilan, the 'empire' of Tabriz and Sultaniyah, and the lands of Derbent, Erzinghian, and Erzerum[2].

On his Mediterranean voyage Clavijo passes by the Balearics, where tradition still pointed to the Tower of Avicenna[3]; by the mouth of the Tiber, where Ponza island had once boasted grand buildings of Virgil's erection[4]; by Terracina, only twelve leagues from Rome, yet still a sufferer from the raids of Barbary corsairs; by Cape Matapan, 'on land belonging to Venice'; and by Rhodes, where all ships now touched on their way to Alexandria *or Jerusalem*, and where the envoys fruitlessly sought for news of Timur[5].

[1] Because the mission was arduous and distant ('embajada . . . muy ardua y a lueñes tierras,' Sa., 27).

[2] In Clavijo 'toda tierra de Mogalia,' 'imperio de Orazania,' 'Tagiguinia,' 'Persia,' 'Media,' 'Armenia la menor,' 'Curchistan' (apparently conceived as forming part of Little Armenia—'que se contiene en la dicha Armenia'), 'la India menor,' 'señorio de . . . Rey,' 'señorio de Guilan,' 'imperio de Tauris e de Soltania,' 'tierra de Darbante . . .' 'Arsinga,' Aseron,' Sa., 25-6. The Spaniard evidently thinks of 'Mongolia' as the lands of the Chagatai Khanate merely, while his 'Lesser India' refers to regions lying between the Oxus and Hindustan (see below, p. 346). Formerly, he thinks, this *India Menor* had even included Termit, north of Oxus (Sa. 138).

[3] 'Torre de Avicena,' Sa., 29.

[4] 'Grandes edificios . . . que fizo Virgilio,' Sa., 30.

[5] Sa., 29–39. Clavijo also gives the legends of St. Andrew's head at Amalfi and of St. Agatha's volcano-

As nothing but rumour was forthcoming, based on the talk of pilgrims from the Holy Land, Clavijo and his friends seem to have altered their course. They had probably hoped to find the 'Great Lord' near the coast of Asia Minor; they now determined to seek him in his favourite winter camp of Karabagh [1] 'in Persia.'

With this object, accordingly, they left the Island-fortress of the Hospitallers, skirted the shore of *Turkey* (or Asia Minor), threaded the *Gullet of Romania* [2] (our Dardanelles), and on October 24, landed at Pera, a 'lordship of *Genoa*,' the Latin suburb of Constantinople [3].

To *Escomboli* [4], as the Greeks called it, once of all towns the most renowned, but now everywhere in decay, with hostile Turks swarming around its walls [5], Ruy Gonzalez devotes some of his best pages. He compares it to Seville [6]; he declares that its harbour of the Golden Horn was the best, the safest, and the fairest in the world; he dwells long and tenderly on the relics and churches, the obelisks and columns, the cisterns and ramparts, the cornfields and orchards of the World-City [7].

stilling veil in Lipari; he adds a wonderful story of the ruined temple on 'Cetul' or Cerigo which Paris destroyed when *Priam sent him to make war on Greece*, and he seized Helen and *broke the idol* ('quebrantara el Idolo al tiempo que . . . Priamo lo enviara facer guerra en la Grecia'), Sa., 33, 36 (12, 15, H. S.).

[1] 'Carabaqui,' Sa., 39, in the lower Kur basin, near the extreme south-west of the Caspian.

[2] 'Boca de Romania,' Sa., 48.

[3] Sa., 50, 69, &c.

[4] This (Sa., 69) is pretty near the modern 'Istambul,' or 'Stambul,' but Schiltberger (see p. 364) gets closer still with 'Stambol' and 'Istimboli.'

[5] Twice, Clavijo adds, had the Turks assaulted it; but they had never stormed a single suburb, which proved they were no good fighters, Sa., 70.

[6] Pera *or* Galata answered to Triana, the suburb of Seville across the Guadalquivir (Sa., 69; 47, H. S.). 'Galata,' built about ninety-six years since, i. e. circa A. D. 1307 (Sa., 71; 48, H. S.), meant 'the milk-yard,' 'el corral de la leche,' and it was the Greek name for the Genoese 'Pera.' This derivation is on a par with the 'Colossus' of Rhodes from St. Paul's 'Colossians' (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 144). We shall meet with it again in the pilgrim-travellers (see below, p. 400).

[7] Few Latin writers of the Middle Age have given better descriptions of the Hippodrome, of St. Sophia, and of the Serpent-Column, Sa., 56-61; H. S., 34-9, &c.

The next stage was the voyage to *Trapisonda*. On November 14, 1403, the envoys made their first start on a Genoese galliot, but a storm wrecked their vessel, and it was not till the twentieth day of the next March that they finally cast off upon their Euxine navigation[1].

The *Great Sea*[2] (for Clavijo, like Pegolotti, clings to the old-fashioned name, and knows nothing of a *Mare nigrum*) was very dangerous because it was round in shape; because it had only one entrance, 'the strait near Pera'; because it was surrounded by high mountains; because many huge rivers fell into it; because one might easily miss its exit at the Bosphorus; and because within its vast circuit of 3,000 miles the most terrible storms could be engendered[3].

The Knight of Madrid writes as a landsman, with an evident dread of stormy waters, and with some experience of past calamity; but fortune now favoured him, and he arrived in safety at Trebizond on Friday, April 11, at the hour of Vespers, finding lodgement at the Genoese castle outside the city walls[4].

On his way he notices, among other havens of less importance[5], the famous calling-stations of Sinope and Samsun[6], which like the rest of north-eastern Asia Minor had recently transferred their homage from the Ottomans to Timur; while of Trebizond itself—standing by the sea, with a wall crowning heights of rock, and on the top of all a castle and a streamlet—he draws the best picture[7] we have yet had, from a Latin traveller, of the 'haven of Pountz[8].'

[1] Sa., 73–8.

[2] 'Mar mayor,' Sa., 73, &c.

[3] Sa., 77–8.

[4] Sa., 83. Clavijo reckons 960 miles from Pera to Trebizond; the distance is really about 600.

[5] e. g. 'Samastro' (Amastris or Amasera), Sa., 80. On the more obscure Euxine harbours and 'castles' here mentioned ('Sequel,' 'Portoraquia,' 'Rio,' 'Quinoli,' 'Hinio,' 'Leona,' 'Tripil,' &c.) see H. S., 56–60, and Sreznevski's Annotated Index (cf. p. 333, note).

[6] 'Sinopoli' and 'Simiso' in Clavijo, 81–2, Sa.

[7] Sa., 84.

[8] 'Mandeville,' ch. 13. Clavijo (Sa., 83; H. S., 61) also describes his reception by the Emperor 'Germanoli' (Manuel II) and his son 'Quelex' (Alexis), who wore tall hats ornamented with martens' skins, golden cords, and cranes' feathers ('som-

The strength of the Table-City, however, was more in show than in reality; on the land side it was firmly gripped by Tamerlane, and from the sea it was dominated by Italian mariners; two strong coast-castles held by Venetians and Genoese represented in this outlying corner of Christendom the naval power of the West[1].

On April 27, 1404, after a fortnight's stay in Trebizond, the ambassadors started on their great overland journey[2]. For a long time their route lay along the Trebizond-Tabriz trunk-line, so often noted, a track which at or near Erzinghian met the Lajazzo-Tabriz highway, and thus united the caravans from the Mediterranean with those from the Pontus. In this junction-town of *Arsinga*, ranking with Erzerum as the chief city of Old or Great Armenia, and lying in a fertile plain watered by the Paradise-born Euphrates, Clavijo spent eleven days; and of its teeming population, fine streets, terraced houses, fair mosques and temples, abounding trade, and encircling orchards, cornfields and vineyards, he has much to say[3].

Leaving Erzinghian on May 15, and toiling over lofty mountains amid falling snow, sometimes passing cornfields and villages, sometimes the outlying pasture-lands of the Turcomans, 'a Moorish nation allied to the Turks[4]'—the travellers, after the best part of a week's hard riding, reached *Aseron*, our Erzerum[5], once a possession of Armenian Christians, and the richest city in all this country, but now decayed, a mere possession of one of Timur's Turcoman chieftains.

The road next led them into the basin of the Aras—a river which our Spaniard confuses with the Kur (under the name of *Corras*) and conceives as traversing the whole of Great

breros altos con unas vergas de oro . . . arriba, é encima unos castillejos con unas plumas de grullas, é en los sombreros unos chapirotes de cueros de martas').

[1] Sa., 84. [2] Sa., 86.

[3] Sa., 91, 94. Erzinghian was a foundation of Armenian Christians, adds Clavijo, as was shown by the sign of the cross cut on many parts of the walls.

[4] 'Nacion de Moros que son allende de los Turcos,' Sa., 100.

[5] May 20, Sa., 100.

Armenia—past *Naujua* or Nakhichevan[1], and that *Calmarin*, perhaps our Echmiadzin, which was 'the first city in the world after the flood, and was built by the lineage of Noah.' Nor was this the only marvel of that region. For, two days after leaving *Calmarin*, the wondering Franks were at the foot of the Mountain of the Ark (May 31, 1404). Near the highway were the ruins of a deserted city, another claimant for the place of Noah's first foundation, while at a distance of six leagues only the snow-capped summit of Ararat, emerging with uncommon graciousness from its cloud-curtains, suddenly revealed itself to the strangers, as they rested by a fountain near an arch of stone[2].

Clavijo says nothing of the Latin bishoprics—at Trebizond, at St. Thadaeus, or at Nakhichevan—which at this very time were maintaining the cause of Papal Christianity in Armenia; but at *Macu*[3], a day's journey beyond Ararat, he does commemorate the survival of a Dominican house, the centre of a little oasis of Armenian Catholicism, a vigorous branch of those 'Persian' missions whose gallant struggles and slow decline we have already traced throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

And so our Castillians approach the plain of Tabriz. On June 5 they enter *Hoy* or Khoi; where even then, as now, one fixed the frontier of Persia; where was a great camp of Timur's soldiers; and where the European visitors met with a travelling companion, destined to ride with them over many a weary mile,—an ambassador from the Cairo Sultan, the lord of Egyptian Babylon, laden with presents for the lord of

[1] From Clavijo's dates (cf. Sa., 101-2) it is evident this cannot be the well-known Nakhichevan, far down the valley of the Aras, and a great way south-east of Ararat. On 'Naujua' and 'Calmarin,' Rubruquis' 'Naxua' and 'Cemanum' (?), see Sreznevski's Annotated Index (cf. p. 333, note; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 372).

[2] Clavijo (Sa., 103) distinguishes the Greater and Lesser Ararat very clearly, with the saddle between them.

[3] Sa., 104. On the lesser stations of Clavijo's Trebizond-Tabriz route ('Pilomazuca,' 'Pexic' river, 'Sigana,' 'Cadaca,' 'Dorile,' 'Xabega,' 'Pagarrix,' 'Patir Juan,' 'Ischu,' 'Delularquente,' 'Vasit-calaside,' 'Alinga,' 'Caza,' 'Chauscad,' &c.) see Sreznevski's Annotated Index (cf. p. 333, note).

Samarcand. Among these offerings was a *jornufa* or giraffe, with hoofs like a bullock, ears like a horse, buttocks like a buffalo, and neck like a stag, a beast of amazing height, which filled Clavijo with astonished interest[1]. On the last section of the Euxine-Tabriz road lay the great salt basin of Lake Urmi, reckoned by our *Descripcion* as 100 miles in circuit. Two days after this the party entered the metropolis of Azerbaijan, without any attempt, apparently, to find Timur in the plain of Karabagh, and doubtless guided by true information of his whereabouts.

Tauris or *Tuus*, according to Clavijo, still contained more than 200,000 inhabited houses, though men said it had been even more populous. Its trade was immense; vast quantities of cloth, silk, cotton, and taffetas passed through it every day. Its mosques were only eclipsed by those famous baths, of which we have already heard, then reputed the finest in the world. But Ruy Gonzalez and his company were not suffered to luxuriate in Tabriz long. After a stay of nine days only (June 11–20)[2] they were hurried on to Sultaniyah, where Timur's eldest son was impatiently expecting their arrival[3], and where they once more had opportunity to note the operation of a great overland commerce[4]. For hither every year came merchants from India with cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, *manna*, mace, and other spices and precious goods, which did not go to Alexandria. Hither also came the silk of Ghilan, made near the land-locked Sea of Baku[5], the silken cloth, cottons, and taffetas of Shiraz *near India the Less*[6], the cotton thread and cotton cloths of Khorasan, the pearls and gems of Ormuz and of Cathay. From Kaffa and Trebizond, from

[1] Sa., 107-8 ('ancas . . . como bufano . . . rostro . . . como de ciervo . . . orejas como de caballo,' &c.).

[2] Sa., 109-11. In Tabriz, like Odoric (see above, p. 258), Clavijo places the 'arbol seco' or 'dry tree' (Sa., 110).

[3] Sa., 111-13. On the way they passed 'Sanga' or Zengan, almost wholly deserted, but formerly one of the greatest Persian cities (Sa., 112).

[4] 'Soltania . . . non es grande como Tuus; pero es mayor escala de mercadurias,' Sa., 113. As to this and in Sanutan maps, and their connexion with Pietro Vesconte, see ch. vi of this vol.

[5] 'Guilan . . . cerca del mar del Bacu,' Sa., 114.

[6] 'Xiras . . . cerca de la India Menor,' Sa., 14.

Turkey and Syria, the traders of the West, 'aye of Venice and of Genoa[1],' flocked to this mighty market, which on one side touched Italy, and on another, China[2]; whose bazaars, caravanserais, and streets all witnessed to an overflowing prosperity; but which the irony of Fate had recently subjected to a frantic despot[3].

June, July, and August were the favourite months for the arrival of caravans; from Ormuz such caravans took sixty days; from the Caspian (which Clavijo thoroughly understood, as altogether surrounded by land, and not connected with any other sea[4]) the journey was of six days only.

A far more distant goal lay before our Franks as they rode out of *Soltania* on June 29, with their faces set towards Samarcand. And no sooner had they left behind them delightful, unhealthy Teheran and the majestic ruins of Rey, no sooner had they reached the Elburz highlands[5], than sickness broke out in their company, and seven of the most infirm had to be left behind, while the rest were galloped pitilessly eastward at the top of their speed. For the journey now resolved itself into a chase of Timur himself.

[1] Sa., 115, 114 ('de Cafa e de Trapisonda . . . é aun Genoveses e Venecianos'). See above, p. 318, for Marino Sanuto's references to these Persian markets and trade-routes, the Venetian influence in the same, and the duty of increasing their Latin commerce in opposition to Egypt.

[2] Sa., 113–15. Clavijo notices in detail the pearl trade of Ormuz, the Indian Ocean navigation from Cathay to the Persian Gulf, the use of ships without iron in the southern seas, the *rubies* of Cathay, and the *diamonds* of the Caspian or 'Mar de Baçu.'

[3] 'Mirassa-Miaxa' (Miran Mirza), Timur's eldest son, who here received Clavijo, had compelled his father to depose him. Thirsting for fame, as the first-born of the 'greatest man alive,' he had ordered the wholesale ruin of famous buildings, 'that men might say, Miran Mirza did nothing himself, but he commanded the destruction of the world's noblest works' (Sa., 116).

[4] 'Mar de Bacu . . . en medio de la tierra, que non llega a otro mar ninguno,' Sa., 115.

[5] The 'land of Rey' in Clavijo (cf. Sa., 25) includes 'Xahareán' and Teheran (Sa., 118); his 'Xahariprey' or 'town of Rey,' once 'la mayor ciudad . . . en toda esta tierra' (Sa., 119), is not described by any other Latin traveller of the Middle Ages; it is perhaps (?) the 'Xaharica' of Sa., 202. The Elburz Mts. are the 'montañas de Car' (Lar) of Sa., 120.

At one point[1], near the south-east angle of the Caspian, 'Tamurbec' was but fifteen days in front of them, but he would not wait; it was his pleasure to make his visitors race madly after him to *Samarcante*, just as Kuyuk and Mangu had urged Carpini and Rubruquis post-haste over the boundless steppes of Northern 'Tartary.' So on and ever on, more dead than alive—until for very pity the local rulers gave them soft pillows for their saddle-bows—often travelling at night to avoid the burning heat of day; past Damghan[2] and its twin towers of human heads, reared by the cruelty of Timur, swept by blasts as hot as hell, and lit at night (men said) by mystic lights; past Nishapur, where Gomez de Salazar gave up the ghost, and where *Media* was left behind,—to that great province or 'Empire' of Khorasan, which stretched, in the geography of Ruy Gonzalez, from 'India to Tartary'[3].

In all his misery and weariness, Clavijo, like older wanderers in Tartar lands, found time to notice and admire the Post- and Courier-system of a great Mongol ruler[4]. For at the end of each day's journey, all the way to Samarcand, were horses and inns, alike in desolate and populous places; and for the service of any one on his way to 'the lord,' Timur's own son or wife must give a mount if such were needed. On every road were messengers to bring news rapidly from the provinces to court; and he who travelled fifty leagues (and killed two steeds) a day[5] was in higher favour than the man who saved his animals and took three days to do those fifty leagues.

At Nishapur, the embassy was near the modern Russo-Persian frontier, and it was not long in passing within the 'Trans-Caspia' of the present day. Evading an invitation to

[1] 'Á un castillo que se llama Perescote,' Sa., 121.

[2] Damogan,' Sa., 122, 'Damogen,' Sa., 201; Nishapur is 'Nixaor,' Sa., 127.

[3] For the whole of this section see Sa., 121-9. On the lesser stations ('Yascal,' 'Iagaro,' 'Zabrain,' &c.) between Sultaniyah and Khorasan, see Sreznevski's Annotated Index.

[4] Sa., 124-6.

[5] i. e. twenty-four hours, 'entre dia y noche,' Sa., 126.

visit *Herey* or Herat[1] (where Shah Rukh[2], another son of Timur's, now his Vicegerent in Khorasan, afterwards his partial successor in empire, was eager to welcome them), and pushing rapidly on through Meshed[3], and over the mountains which here form a natural frontier between Iran and Turan, the weary Spaniards entered upon the worst stage of their journey. In the arid steppe-land south of Merv matters began to grow desperate; on Friday, the ninth of August, they rode all day and night without finding an inhabited spot; and just before they arrived at the Murghab[4], the end of all things would have come, had not one of the escort, with a final spurt, reached a stream and brought back to his dying comrades some drops of life-giving water in his soaking garments.

Food and drink might have been had more easily, but that the country people, so often fleeced and flayed to satisfy the behests of Timur's messengers, ran away at the first sight of the party, as though the devil were at their heels, screaming *Elchi, Elchi*[5], 'as if knowing well enough, that with the envoys there would come a black day[6] for them.'

The travellers had now reached the river of Merv; before them lay the Black Sands of the Kara-Kum, and here Clavijo stops a moment to describe the tent-dwelling nomades of Timur's own race, whose camps, first encountered in Armenia, became ever more frequent as the visitors approached the Heart of Asia. These were the *Chacatay*[7] or Chagatai Tartars of Western Turkestan, men so burnt by the sun that they looked like folk just come from hell; who wandered over the

[1] Sa., 129. This lay, adds Clavijo, a good thirty miles off his road, 'towards India.'

[2] 'Xaharoc Mirassa,' Sa., 129.

[3] 'Maxaque Horanza Zeltan' (Sa., 129). Here they stopped to visit the tomb of 'Horanza Zeltan' (the Imam Riza), 'nieto del Propheta Mahomad': from this saint, Clavijo suggests, came the name 'Horazania' (Khorasan).

[4] 'Morga,' Sa., 133.

[5] Sa., 131. So Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was called 'the great Elchi' (ambassador) at Constantinople in 1841-58.

[6] 'Negro dia,' Sa., 131.

[7] Sa., 133, &c.

plains, winter and summer alike; who possessed many sheep, camels, and horses, but few cows; and who marched, when summoned, in the wake of their Lord's army, with flocks and herds, women and children;—a folk of great valour and excellent horsemanship, skilled archers, and inured to every hardship, cold and heat, hunger and thirst, better than any people in the world.

In summer they sowed their cotton, millet, and melons, by the banks of the streams which gave water to their cattle. If meat were lacking, they subsisted on a mess of sour milk, water, and flour, made into a sort of cheese: if no food at all were forthcoming, they endured its absence, as no other men could do. It was small wonder that with such a following Timur had performed many a deed and conquered in many a battle[1].

And now the mission traversed the well-watered valley of the Murghab, full of gardens and vineyards, and crossed the great plain of *Tagiguinia*[2], Khwarezm, or Khiva, between Merv and Oxus, struggling through sand-storms, and sometimes through wind-blasts as hot as fire, till at last they checked their horses by the banks of the Amu Daria (Aug. 21, 1404).

This mighty river, the *Viadme* or *Biamo*[3] of our Spaniard, 'near which Alexander defeated Porus,' was a league wide where the travellers struck it, and flowed 'from Paradise,' like the Euphrates[4], with a strong, muddy current through the plain: it descended from the mountains, crossed the lands of Samarcand and 'Tartary,' and fell into the Sea of Baku. Its last passage by Timur was still famous, and the envoys

[1] Sa., 132-3, 135-6. For fuel to cook food they depended, like their modern descendants, on 'el estiercol de las bestias y de los ganados,' Sa., 133.

[2] Here 'Tagiquinia,' Sa., 135. On the stations mentioned in this portion of the route, from Meshed to the Oxus ('Buelo,' 'Ancoy,' 'Ux,' &c.; Sa., 129, 134-7), see Sreznevski's Annotated Index.

[3] 'Viadme,' Sa., 137, &c.; 'Biamo,' Sa., 199 (on return journey).

[4] The Viadme was 'the other river that comes from Paradise': 'el otro rio que sale del Parayso,' Sa., 137-8.

crossed by the very same bridge of boats which the conqueror had made for his host[1].

And here they were not far from the goal of their wanderings. For, once arrived in Termit on the other side of Oxus, they were in a region which, *though in former days a part of India the Less*, was now reckoned as the beginning of the realm of *Samarcante* proper, of that country called *Mongolia*, whose language was not understood by the Persian-speaking folk on the hither bank of the *Viadme*[2].

To cross this Jordan into Mughalistan was easy enough, for it was Timur's darling wish to people and enrich the metropolitan district and city of his empire, and his own native province. But to go the other way was allowed to none who could not show a passport[3]. No bridge was suffered to remain upon the river long; the normal mode of transit was by ferry-boat, guarded by many troops and heavy tolls; for Tamerlane had swept more than one hundred thousand foreigners into the land of Samarcand, and it was a constant object of his vigilance that none should hie them back again[4]. As far as in him lay, he would make the Amu Daria a dividing sea.

As he passes through Trans-Oxiana, Clavijo finds few things more noteworthy than the Pass of the Gates of Iron[5] beyond Termit, where a deep and narrow passage threaded a tremendous ravine. The defile was so clean that it looked as if cut by art, and indeed, at one time it had been strengthened by art, being fortified with vast iron-shod gates, from which the gorge was named. Throughout the neighbouring mountain-range there was no other passage; thus it guarded Samarcand on the side of Lesser India, and all merchants coming from that *India Menor* here paid duty to Timur[6]. Even so did the other Gates of Iron, which faced

[1] Sa., 138.

[2] Sa., 138. The 'tierra' is *Mogalia* in Clavijo, the 'lengua' *Mugalia*, the 'letra' or script, *Mogali*. We have already noticed (p. 336) his restriction of Mongolia to Mughalistan, a sign of late mediaeval authorship.

[3] 'Sin que muestre carta ó recado donde es, ó á donde va,' Sa., 138.

[4] Sa., 138–9.

[5] 'Puertas del Fierro,' Sa., 140–1.

[6] Sa., 140.

the Sea of Baku, near Derbent[1], 1,500 leagues away, guard the empire of the *Señor* on the side of Tartary and Kaffa. For by these alone could the men of those parts enter Persia, and of these, too, he held the keys[2].

The way now ran through cheerful, verdant, beauteous Kesh[3], by cornfields and gardens, vineyards and orchards, melon-grounds and cotton-fields, under shady trees, over smiling pastures, right up to Samarcand itself. Everywhere was paradise, for everywhere was water; on all sides the plain was traversed by canals, on all sides nature responded to the rills of the Zarafshan[4].

For the first week of their stay, Timur lodged his guests in the outskirts of his capital, in tile-encrusted chambers decked out in gold and blue, standing within an orchard-park rich in game and fruit-trees[5]. From this elysium, after eight days' repose, he summoned them to his presence on Monday, September 8, 1404[6].

It was in another royal residence outside the city proper that Clavijo and his friends came before 'the lord.'

Timur sat cross-legged on silken carpets, propped among pillows, in front of the entrance of a fair palace; before him was a fountain with red apples playing in the water; his dress was of silk; his tiara was crowned with a 'balass' ruby[7]; the approach to his person was guarded by six castle-bearing

[1] 'Darbante,' Sa., 141.

[2] Sa., 141.

[3] In Kesh, or 'Quex,' the 'Shehr Subz,' or 'Verdant City,' of Timur and Baber, Clavijo (Sa., 142) notices some of the 'Señor's' great buildings, e.g. a mosque, some palaces on which men had been working twenty years, and a mausoleum, for whose endowment Tamerlane gave twenty boiled sheep daily 'por el alma de su padre e de su fijo que alli yacian.' This son was 'Ianguir' or Jehangir, Timur's first-born, who died in 1372.

[4] Sa., 141-2, 147. While stopping at 'Quex' Clavijo treats the reader to a short history of Timur's early life, of the origin of the Tartars, and of the house of Chingiz (the latter with names corrupted, except for 'Chacatay,' beyond all recognition), &c., Sa., 144-6.

[5] Sa., 147-8. The Cairo ambassador was lodged here also, with the Castillians.

[6] Sa., 149.

[7] 'Sombrero blanco alto, con un balax encima,' Sa., 150.

elephants, and by knights who gripped the envoys at the arm-pits (lest they should prove assassins[1]), and so led them to his feet[2]. Along with the Spaniards came Tamerlane's own envoy returning from the west, dressed in the fashion of Castille, and moving the whole court to laughter by his new and strange appearance. The visitors were led close up to the half-blind Amir, who peered at them from under heavy, drooping eyelids, and exultantly welcomed and blessed[3] the envoys of his 'son' the King of Spain, mightiest lord of that great people the Franks, living at the end of the world. When, on leaving his presence, the Castillians were seated in the audience-chamber *below* the Chinese envoy[4] (come to demand the yearly tribute that had been paid of old)[5], the 'Lord's' sight was not so dim that the mistake escaped him: in his name the Cathayan was promptly and pleasantly bidden to give place to men who had come, not from a thief and a rascal like *his* master, but from the son and friend of Timur. It was as delegates of a most favoured nation, and in the height of luxurious ease, that the envoys of the *Son and Friend* now wandered from palace to palace in the suburbs of Samarcand, witnessing the heavy drinking of this easy-going Moslem court, and shuddering at the 'execution of justice[6].'

[1] For the Ottoman parallel to this, see Busbecq, *Epistolae*, i; Gibbon, vii. 33 (Bury).

[2] Sa., 149–50.

[3] For the especial benefit of various princes of the Chagatai blood-royal, and of a son of Tokhtamish ('Totamix,' 'Tortamix,' Sa., 151, 148) who stood by. Timur, when the Spanish ambassadors arrived, was busy negotiating with a mission from Tokhtamish, whom he had crushed and driven from the Kipchak sovereignty, but not utterly destroyed, in 1395–6.

[4] Sa., 152.

[5] By Timur, adds Clavijo (192, Sa.), but really dating from the time when the Chagatai Realm was a part of the Mongol Empire, and the Mongol Suzerain reigned at Peking; see above, pp. 33–5.

[6] Thus the 'chief magistrate' (*alcalde mayor*) of Samarcand, who had misbehaved in Timur's absence, was hanged, with a councillor of state who had begged for the *alcalde's* pardon, and another 'great man' who had abused a trust; some dishonest butchers and shoemakers were beheaded (Sa., 167–8). At another time the Despot, enraged with Clavijo's interpreter, ordered his nose to be bored, a rope to be passed through it, and the victim to be dragged through the army; this sentence, however, was remitted (Sa., 154–6).

Characteristic and laughable is the picture that Clavijo draws of Timur's chief sultana vainly pressing wine upon him with her own hand, while courtiers were falling down dead drunk before her, mistress and followers alike believing there could be no true jollity without drunken men[1]. Not less curious is his sketch of the ambassadors who now appeared at Samarcand from a land bordering on Cathay and formerly subject to the Cathayan Emperor:—whose offerings were falcons, sables, and marten-skins; whose faith was *Christian, after the manner of Cathay*[2]; whose dress was of skins; whose headgear was of quaint, outlandish sort[3]; whose whole appearance was like blacksmiths; and in whom we have probably the representatives of a South-Siberian tribe[4].

In the intervals of feasting and receiving embassies, Timur played at chess; sometimes great festivals were organized for the traders of Samarcand, when—to combine instruction with amusement—many gallows were set up where the shopmen pitched their tents, each craft meanwhile 'playing a game and going through the Horde to delight the people[5].' Of the festivals by which Timur gratified his *Ordo* in the plain of Samarcand; of the presence of distant princes from the ruby country of Badakhshan and the sapphire land of Fergana[6]; of the streets of shop-encampments, where every necessary could be bought; of the lofty awnings of white linen which

[1] This princess was the famous 'Caño,' Sa., 166.

[2] 'Christianos á la manera de los del Catay,' Sa., 159. 'French after the fashion of Stratford-atte-Bow.'

[3] 'En la cabeza un sombrero pequeño, é un cordon en el peto,' Sa., 159: this 'sombrero' was almost too small for the head. Here something Korean seems suggested, but the rest of the description is decisively against this identification.

[4] Sa., 159. The embassy came to ask for a grandson ('nieto') of Tokhtamish as their ruler.

[5] Sa., 167.

[6] The Lord of 'Balaxia' city, our Badakhshan, 'where the rubies are got,' and the Lord of 'Aquivi,' perhaps Akshi in Fergama, 'que es adonde sacan el azul' (*lapis lazuli*), 'é desta peña de que se face el azul se fallan los zafies.' From 'Aquivi' to Samarcand was the same distance ('otras diez jornadas') as from 'Balaxia' to the capital; 'é era eso mesmo facia la India, salvo que era mas baxo que Balaxia,' Sa., 183.

screened from sun and yet gave air; of the *Señor's* pavilions of silk and gold and lace; of the silk and satin walls that enclosed the Court, with main gate, tower, and turrets; of the gold thread, the silken-net windows, and the cane-doors in the palaces of Timur's wives; of the deep potations, gross feeding, and rough horse-play of the Tartar banquets; of the golden tree and birds, the jewelled fruit, and other treasures in the tents of Queen *Caño*; of the famous gates of St. Peter and St. Paul from the Turkish treasury at Brusa; of the priceless sables with which one tent was partly lined; of the jugglers and performing elephants that amused the crowds; of the races between horses and men, and the intelligent monsters Timur had brought from India; of the gaily-painted castles these monsters bore upon their backs; of all these[1] and many another detail of Timurid luxury the Knight of Castille gives us a glimpse worth remembering. Never has there been a stranger mingling of barbaric vigour, hoarded wealth, and ancient skill, than in the Samarcand of 1404, and only in Clavijo do we find it adequately painted by a Frank observer, within the lifetime of Timur himself.

For Ruy Gonzalez did not merely witness the passing splendours of a court of tents; when the Spaniards reached *Samarcante*, Tamerlane was just completing those princely buildings which make it still the cynosure of Central Asia; and our *Descripcion* passes from the nomade festivals, without the walls, to the mosques, streets, palaces, and commerce of the permanent city within, a place 'a little larger than Seville[2].'

Hither, from every land that Timur had wasted or subdued, captives had been driven like cattle, to swell the population, improve the skill, and increase the wealth of the oasis: and here accordingly one found the silk-weavers, potters, glass-workers and armourers of Damascus; or the masons and silversmiths of Turkey. For what with Turks, Arabs, Moors, Armenians, Greek Catholics, Jacobites, and *those Christians*

[1] Sa., 160-4, 168-70, 175-7. [2] Sa., 189.

of peculiar tenets who baptized with fire in the face[1], our envoy reckons 150,000 persons gathered from the ends of the earth to *Cimesquinte*, a multitude too vast for the city to hold, so that many lived in caves and under trees[2].

Along with its vast population went as vast a trade—too great, indeed, for the capacity of the city shops[3]. Russia[4] and Tartary sent linen and skins; Cathay, silks and satins, musk and rubies, diamonds and pearls, rhubarb and 'other most precious merchandise'; while from India came nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger and other spices which never reached Alexandria[5].

But even as the wares of *Catay* were the best and of the greatest value, so to the men of this far land belonged a matchless skill in handicraft which gave them the right to boast, with calm Celestial arrogance, how they alone had two eyes, while the Franks could show but one; and the Moors were blind[6].

From Timur's capital to *Cambalec*, Cathay's chief town, was a journey of six months (two of them consumed in the traversing of desolate pasture-land); this *Cambalec* was near the sea and twenty times as large as Tabriz; it was therefore twenty leagues across, and of all cities the most huge[7]. So much Clavijo ascertained from the camel-drivers that came with the Peking caravan to Samarcand, in the June of this

[1] Sa., 172, 190–1, 'Christianos que se señalan de fuego en el rostro, é han opinion otra que non los otros,' . . . 'los que se bautizan con fuego en el rostro . . . Christianos de ciertas opiniones que en la ley han.'

[2] Sa., 189-91, 'Cimesquinte,' which he apparently regards as the true form of Samarcand, Clavijo derives from *Cimes*, 'great,' and *Quinte*, 'town' ('aldea gruesa,' 190, Sa.).

[3] To cope with this, a new bazaar had just been driven through the town, with the same furious haste as was shown in the erection of the mosques, men working night and day with noise like devils, Sa., 189. Great as it was, Samarcand had only a 'muro de tierra.' The suburbs contained a denser population than the city proper, Sa., ibid.

[4] 'Ruxia,' Sa., 191.

[5] Sa., 184, 191.

[6] Sa., 191. The 'Moors' naturally preferred their own epigram, 'Wisdom has descended upon three things—the tongue of the Arab, the brain of the Frank, the hand of the Chinese.'

[7] Sa., 192–3.

year. Eight hundred camels were in the convoy, and with one of their attendants, a fellow who had spent six months in *Cambalec*, the Spanish visitors had much talk[1]. From the same veracious source may have come those Amazons, so faithfully recorded by Ruy Gonzalez, living fifteen days' journey from Samarcand in the direction of Cathày, now subject to Timur, but once to the Cathayan Emperor, Christians of the Greek Church, and of the lineage of the Amazons who were at Troy[2].

As to that Cathayan Emperor, whose armies were of so incredible a size, and among whose lords no one might mount a horse unless he had a thousand followers[3], it was pleasant to be able to record the conversion of so great a monarch: though once a Gentile, the Lord of China[4] had now come over to the same faith[5] as that professed by the *Christian Lord of India*.

It is a curious form of the Prester John story that we have in the Knight of Madrid. He does not know the Prester's name; he gives no hint of a union of regal and priestly functions in his person; and he connects him exclusively with the career of Timur. From the *Señor de la India* the restless Chagatai had torn away all the lands adjoining the empire of Samarcand; and over them he had put his grandson Pir Mohammed[6], so that the latter, who mostly lived at *Hormes*[7] or Ormuz, was often called the Sovereign of India the Less[8]. Whereas the true master[9] of that rich and hilly country belonged to the Greek Church, like his people, and

[1] Sa., 193.

[2] Sa., 194. [3] Sa., 193.

[4] This was really Yung-la, third emperor of the 'Ming' Dynasty, A.D. 1403–25. He is, of course, the 'Chuyscan' of Clavijo, the 'Tangus,' or 'Pig Emperor,' of the Chagatais, naturally infuriated at his demand of tribute from Timur (see above, p. 348), Sa., 152.

[5] Sa., 193.

[6] 'Piyr Mahomed,' Sa., 170.

[7] Sa., 171-2.

[8] 'Señor de la India menor,' Sa., 171.

[9] 'Rey e Señor natural de la India es Christiano, e ha nombre N. [evidently a blank was here left, in the original MS., for the name],' Sa., 171.

kept Moors and Jews in wholesome subjection to the true believers[1].

Last of all, from among the historical gossip he picked up at Samarcand, Clavijo gives a version of Timur's wars with Tokhtamish the Khan of Kipchak, of Ydigu's[2] revolt from Tamerlane and march on Kaffa, and of the typically Oriental correspondence between treacherous master and wary rebel[3].

And now[4] the time had come for the return. Timur's life was drawing to a close, and though, in defiance of the approaching winter, he was resolutely preparing to carry his devastating fires over the China that had insulted him, there were other destroyers who would stop his path. Before the Spanish envoys had quitted Samarcand, his life had been repeatedly despaired of[5], and no European visitor could think lightly of what might happen when the Lord of Iron[6] relaxed his grip. After Tamerlane, the deluge. Death, slavery, torture, robbery—any or all of these might befall the rash Frank stranger in the anarchy that all men feared.

Three months before Timur's career was ended by the icy blasts of Otrar, six weeks before the doomed conqueror began his march on Cathay[7], Clavijo quitted *Samarcante*. Gomez

[1] Sa., 172. Among these Christians was the fire-branded sect (Sa., ibid.); see above, p. 351.

[2] 'Ediguy,' Sa., 196, &c. Schiltberger (see below, pp. 361-3, 373) tells us much more of this same Ydigu, who had 'known Timur for twenty years, and all his tricks' ('sabia . . . todas sus maneras' Sa., 197).

[3] Sa., 195-7.

[4] Before leaving Samarcand, Clavijo gives some interesting details on Timur's administration of justice in his capital (Sa., 194-5); the Spaniard's account of Timur's army-system shows the continuance of old Mongol decimal arrangements noted by Europeans from Carpini's time (1245-7, cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 288): 'tiene capitanes de cien omes, e otros de mil omes, e otros de diez mil omes,' &c., Sa., 197-8.

[5] See Sa., 188, 'el Señor era muy flaco, é avia perdido la fabla, é estaba en punto de muerte.'

[6] 'Señor de Fierro,' Sa., 99.

[7] Timur started from his capital on Jan. 8, 1405, in a snowstorm, crossed the Syr Daria on the ice, and died at Otrar, Feb. 17. Ibn Arabshah, with a fine exercise of Oriental imagination, pictures the despot's last struggles with the spirit of winter, and the latter's scorn of his human

de Salazar was no more, but Alonzo Paez, master of theology, still kept him company; the Cairene ambassador, and five other emissaries[1] from West Islamic lands left with the Castillians (Nov. 21, 1404). The departure was hurried and informal; there was no farewell audience,—the *Señor* was too ill for any business; the great men of the court, convinced that their master was at the last gasp, were only anxious that the foreigners should not be able to publish the news of his decease upon their homeward way: go they must, and at once[2].

The first stage of the return journey offered one notable variation from the outward route, a visit to Bokhara[3]. During the week they passed in the Noble City, whose fine buildings and great commerce are briefly noticed in the *Descripcion*, snow fell heavily (Nov. 27—Dec. 5); and midwinter was already approaching when they left *Boyar*, and re-crossed the Oxus[4] (Dec. 5–10). Once more they marvelled at the sandy waste upon the banks of the Amu, a waste moulded by wind in ever-shifting forms of hill and valley; once more they traversed the desert of the Kara Kum, sparsely sprinkled with low shrubs of saxaul, and even at this time of year extremely hot—wherein the track was well-nigh waterless, and never traceable by foreign eye, unversed in local signs—till at the winter solstice they reached the foot of the snow-

rival: 'If thou art a fiend of hell, so am I. We are both old, and our work is the same, that of subjugating slaves. How long wilt thou carry flames over a wretched world? Go on with thy task: extirpate mankind, and make chill the earth; yet wilt thou find my blasts are chillier. Thy bands destroy right well, but my cold days are good destroyers too, and all thy fires shall not save thee from the icy tempest.' This is quoted in Malcolm's *History of Persia*, paraphrased by Goethe and translated into Latin by Sir William Jones.

[1] Sa., 198: these were 'Alaman Olglan, hermano de un gran señor de la Turquia,' two envoys from 'Altologo' (Ephesus), one from Sebaste (Siwas), and one from 'Palatia.'

[2] Sa., 187–8; 198.

[3] 'Boyar,' Sa., 198–9.

[4] Probably at or near Charjui, where the Russian railway bridge now crosses the Amu Daria; but the text (Sa., 199) gives no precise indication.

clad Persian range, where chilly and unwalled *Baubartel* marked the beginning of the Iranian table-land [1].

The rest of the way to Trebizond, usually running along much the same course [2] as that already followed, through Damghan, Sultaniyah, and Tabriz, is relieved by digressions to some hitherto unvisited cities and districts of the Ilkhanate. In *Casmonil* or Kazvin, once ranking after Tabriz and Samarcand, but now mostly in ruins, the snow was heaped so high that the envoys could not walk the streets (Feb. 3–7, 1405) [3]. But in the plains of Karabagh [4]—where Clavijo had once expected to find Timur, and where in the March of 1405 he witnessed some of the quarrels of Timur's descendants, those riderless foals who had lost their trainer—rice, millet, and fruit grew most abundantly in early spring, along the banks of Kur and Aras.

By this time the news of Tamerlane's death was ringing through Asia; rebellion was breaking from the ground like subterranean fire that had long been smouldering; the Georgian king [5], on one side, a Turkoman chief, upon the other, were sweeping over Armenia; the Spanish travellers were detained nearly six months in Tabriz [6]; west of *Turis* they were glad to travel with a Brusa caravan, for fear of robbers; often they left the high road to avoid the Turcoman raiders. It was on one of these detours that they seem to have visited Erivan [7].

[1] Sa., 199-200. 'Baubartel, es ya tierra del Emperador de Horazania,' may answer to the modern Askhabad.

[2] Sa., 200–19. [3] Sa., 202.

[4] 'Carabaque,' Sa., 204–5.

[5] Georgia is 'Gargania' and 'Gurgania' in Clavijo (Sa., 211, 217, 218). Its people are described as of the Greek Church, of peculiar language, and of handsome physique ('de buenos cuerpos, de fermosos gestos . . . su creencia es a la Griguesca, su lengua es apartada'). 'Turcos' and 'Turcomanes' are both dismissed as 'una gente de Moros' (Sa., 216).

[6] 'Cinco meses y veinte y dos dias,' Sa., 215. They had already once left Tabriz and gone on to the 'Campos de Carabaque,' Sa., 204–5, but had been sent back. Incidental to this detention at 'Turis' is Clavijo's lengthy account of the dynastic wars in Timur's empire after the death of the 'Señor.' For his notice of the Genoese in Tabriz under Sultan Oveis, A.D. 1357–74 (Sa., 109), see ch. v, p. 480.

[7] 'Aumian,' Sa., 217.

Their progress, accordingly, was but slow; almost a year[1] was consumed in retracing their steps from the Soghd to the Euxine; nor were their movements facilitated by the polite spoliation they suffered from their 'protectors[2].'

But release came at last. On September 17, six miles out of Trebizond, they boarded the Genoese craft of Nicolas Cojan, bound for Pera[3]; at the Golden Horn they found a carrack, likewise Genoese, plying between Kaffa and Italy[4]; and after many weeks of weary sailing they reached their country at San Lucar (March 1, 1406). Three weeks later they stood once more in the presence of their sovereign at Alcala de Henares[5].

§ 5. *Schiltberger.*

The last of the great Asiatic travellers with whom we are concerned in this place, belongs, like Clavijo, to Timur's Orient. Hans or Johann Schiltberger—on his own showing a captive and slave, first of the Ottoman Sultan's, then of that Sultan's conqueror, and after Tamerlane's death for many years a hapless bird of passage, tossed by capricious winds from side to side of the West Tartar world,—was a German of good family, whom ill fortune at Nicopolis fight delivered over to heavy and unchristian bondage among infidels for nearly two and thirty years (1396–1427).

According to one tradition[6], he was born on May 9, 1381—at any rate some time in 1381[7], according to his own account; in 1394[8] he left his home in Central Bavaria for the theatre

[1] Nov. 21, 1404—Sept. 17, 1405.

[2] Especially from Timur's grandson, Omar Mirza ('Homar Mirassa'), Sa., 210, 214.

[3] Sa., 219.

[4] Sa., 219. On the lesser stations of the homeward journey ('Cenan,' 'Sanga,' 'Alesquiner,' 'Tarcon,' 'Bustan,' 'Vatami,' 'Vicer,' 'Aspir,' 'Lasurmena,' and 'Xaharica,' Sa., 201–3, 216–19), see H. S., 182, 184, and Sreznevski's Annotated Index (cf. p. 333, note). 'Xaharica' is possibly the 'Xahariprey' of Sa., 119, i.e. Rey near Teheran. Cf. p. 342, n. 5.

[5] Sa., 220.

[6] Recorded in a marginal note in a copy of the *Reisebuch* at the Library of Wels in Upper Austria.

[7] He tells us he was not yet sixteen at the time of Nicopolis fight (Sept. 28, 1396); see below, p. 359.

[8] See below, p. 359.

of war in south-eastern Europe; he probably dictated his travel-record after his return to the ancestral property at Hollern near Lohhof, between Munich and Freisingen[1]. In later life he appears as Chamberlain and Commander of the Body-Guard to Duke Albert III[2].

The modern family of Schiltberg trace back their pedigree through Hans to the twelfth century at least[3], and among all the famous members of this house, there is none of greater fame than the author of the *Reisebuch*[4]. For in his work, whatever its imperfections, we have the first important contribution of a German to the literature of European expansion; from his own experience he unquestionably heads the list of early Teutonic travellers; no non-Russian European precedes him as a Christian explorer in Siberia proper—the valley of the Ob-Irtish; the name of *Sibir*[5], like the true burial place of Mohammed[6], cannot be found in any 'Frank' writer of older date.

It is possible, moreover, though far from certain, that Hans was the first of his race to visit the holy places of Arabia, of which he gives us so curious a glimpse. It is certain, at all events, that his acquaintance with Islam and its traditions was much in advance of that possessed by most Catholics of the Middle Ages, even by most of those who had journeyed in the Levant.

But when Karamzin[7] complains of the confused and meaningless statements which so often perplex one in these Recollections of Captivity and Wandering, he is unfortunately justified. It is obvious that Schiltberger's narrative is the

[1] Langmantel's edition of the *Reisebuch* [hereafter quoted as L.], p. 112.

[2] Thurnmaier 'Aventinus,' as cited in the Introd. to the Hak. Soc.'s trans. of 1879 [quoted as H. S.], p. xvi.

[3] See *Monumenta Boica*, iii. 170; vi. 532, 538; vii. 137; viii. 150, 504; ix. 93, 577; and H. S., p. xvi.

[4] *Hans Schiltberger's Reisebuch, nach der Nürnberger Handschrift herausgegeben von Dr. Valentin Langmantel* [L.], being No. clxii in the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Tübingen, 1885. For other editions (e.g. Neumann's of 1859, Bruun's of 1866, or Penzel's of 1813), and the MSS., see Appendix.

[5] See p. 363.

[6] Medina, see p. 375.

[7] *History of Russia*, vol. v, note 215; vol. ix, note 644 (Russian ed. of Einerling, St. Pet., 1842).

work of a man of imperfect education, with little idea of logical order, of precision of statement, or of style, whose intelligence was very cramped, whose opportunities of information, despite his long residence in the East, were most defective, and who was at times the sport of the professional story-tellers of the East. I hesitate to think that he deliberately suggests an untrue picture to his reader, but certain portions of his record undoubtedly appear calculated to mislead. His time-reckonings are repeatedly of the highest inaccuracy, but as to the more doubtful facts of his experience, it is easier for him to find refuge in mere obscurity, it is easier for us to suppose he has been the victim of misunderstanding. On occasion, however, his observation surprises us by its keenness; now and then he shows an accuracy and thoroughness of knowledge characteristic of Germanic work at its best; beneath crude spelling and simple phrase he conceals some of the qualities of an ethnologist and a geographer. Up to a certain point, then, Von Hammer justly congratulates Bavaria on the production of this 'priceless monument of mediaeval history and topography,' even though Germans may beware of taking his advice too literally, and trying to recognize in Schiltberger a northern Marco Polo.

In one particular, indeed, the comparison will hold good. For whereas most narratives of mediaeval exploration represent only the experience of a period comparatively short—of less than thirty months for Carpini, Rubruquis, or Hayton the Elder, of less than forty for Clavijo, of twelve for Ascelin or Simon of St. Quentin, of two or three years for most of the pilgrim-travellers—both the Teuton soldier and the Venetian merchant embody, in material of very different value, the pleasing and perilous observation of one-third of a century. Both authors, again, seem to have composed or dictated from memory, at least to a great extent; both may be caught tripping in matters of chronology; both think too much of supplying their readers with attractive marvels: but whereas Polo usually fails to discriminate his actual experience from his second-hand knowledge, Schiltberger, like

Odoric, at least professes to tell us, in most cases, when he had seen, and when he had not seen, what he describes.

Yet, from what has been already said, it is clear that no general parallel between the Bavarian *Reisebuch* and the *Livre des Diversités* can possibly be maintained; neither in the bulk nor in the quality of its information, neither in the mental qualities of its author nor in the advantages enjoyed by him, does the former approximate to its great prototype. For a certain part of the difference in value, the difference in circumstance offers an explanation. In one case we have a man whose entire life had been successful, whose worth had been everywhere recognized, whose abilities had been fostered by the most suitable employment, whose coffers had been filled by prosperous trading and the patronage of the great. On the other side is an unfortunate who from his sixteenth to his forty-eighth year had been a slave, and that of a poor, mean, hard-driven type; who had consorted only with the lower elements of Oriental courts and camps; whose one business had been to keep himself alive, and when possible to dash for freedom.

In 1394, Sigismund, King of Hungary, afterwards Emperor, famous for the royal word whose value was tested by John Hus, appealed to Christendom for aid against the Turks on the Hungarian frontier; and Schiltberger, at the ripe age of fourteen, was among those who responded to the appeal [1].

At the Nicopolis disaster of September 28, 1396, young Hans, who had been serving as a runner in the suite of a German noble, Lienhart Richartinger by name [2], was among the boy-prisoners, under twenty years of age, whom the Turks spared from the general butchery [3]; but for his wounds Bajazet would have sent him as a present to the Mameluke Sultan of Cairo [4]; as it was, he was taken into the Ottoman service when he had recovered the use of his feet. For six

[1] L., 1, 2.

[2] L., 4, 'Linhart Reychharttinger.'

[3] Sch.'s 'chönig soldan,' see L., 8. On Bajazet's disposition of his Nicopolis captives see also L., 7–8.

[4] L., 6, 'do was ich kaum xvi jar alt,' adds Sch.

years, as he declares, he ran, and for six (or seven) more years[1] he rode, before that *Weyasit* who in reality, after his triumph at *Nicopoli*, only afflicted humanity for one-half the time here estimated (1396–1402).

While an Osmanli page, Schiltberger, doubtless holding life and limb by profession of Islam, may have been forced to witness and take part in the second Ottoman siege of Constantinople (maintained intermittently from 1396 to 1402); he apparently claims to have accompanied the troops of *Ilderim* to certain parts of Asia Minor, and to Egypt.

But the whole of our German's account of his life under Bajazet, as under Timur, is confused. It is not unlikely that he went with Turkish troops to Iconium in Karamania, to Sebaste in Cappadocia, to Samsun on the Black Sea coast, to the Upper Euphrates, to the land of the White Tartars, (perhaps the 'Tartaros blancos' of Clavijo[2], somewhere in the borderlands of Syria and Asia Minor), to Pamphylia, and to Cilicia[3]. Yet it is unquestionable that the Ottoman conquest of *Caraman* (1392), of *Sebast* (1395), and of *Samson* (1393), in all of which we might suppose, from his own language[4], that Schiltberger took part, preceded the battle of Nicopolis.

Far more directly, but without confirmation from other sources, Hans claims to have accompanied an expedition of *Weyasit's* troops to Egypt in support of the legitimist candidate for the Mameluke throne, one 'Joseph[5],' whose name cannot be made to fit the context, but by whom Schiltberger may have intended to signify Abu Saadat Faraj, 1399–1412, the successor of Sultan Barkuk, the 'Warchoch' of the *Reisebuch*[6].

[1] L., 8–9; three MSS. read 'VI' or 'sechs,' one (Nürnberg, hereafter quoted as N.) 'sieben (jare).'

[2] Sa., 97; cf. L., 21.

[3] Sch.'s 'Adalia' is probably a misnomer for 'Adana,' L., 21 (cf. H. S., 123).

[4] L., 9–20, 24 ('und das hatt sich als [alles] ergangen, das vorgeschrieben steett, die zeitt und ich pey dem Weyasit pin gewesenn').

[5] L., 22.

[6] L., 22. Faraj succeeded at the age of thirteen, and would suit the expression of L., 78 ('mitt einem jungen chönig,' &c.). Chronologically, the nearest Yusuf among Mameluke sovereigns is one of 1438.

When Bajazet lost empire and liberty, at Angora [1], the man's fortunes followed his master's, and Hans, now a prisoner of Timur's [1], went with the victor's host to the victor's own land of Samarcand [2], and perhaps also to Armenia and Georgia, to the Abkhasian region of the Caucasus, and to the lower valley of the Kur and Aras—that favourite winter camp of Tartar generals, the plain of Karabagh. But Schiltberger's account of *Themurlin* and his wars is misty and rather fabulous [3]; as in the case of *Weyasit*, he seems to double his time of service—six years for three [4]; and even as to Tamerlane's last march towards China, a matter of which we might expect him to have good knowledge, his version is quite inaccurate [5].

When the Lame Destroyer was no more, his German runner passed to his son Shah Rukh [6], the best of the earlier Timurids; but a little later, after the struggle between the Turcoman hordes of the Black and White Sheep had ended in the overthrow of the former, our poor captive again changes his captivity. For a time he is attached to Miran Shah [7], a brother of Shah Rukh; then to Abu Bekr, a son of Miran Shah [8], whose court and camp roam up and down Armenia: in this chapter of his life Hans tells of raids on Irak and on Erivan [9], preludes of one far more distant and remarkable—an excursion to Siberia [10].

It was through Ydigu, the famous leader of the Nogais, of whom we have heard something from Clavijo, that this development came to pass. *Edigi* had summoned *Zeggra*

[1] L. 23-4. Sch., though he refers to Timur's sack of the Turkish treasury at Brusa, says nothing of the 'iron cage' of Bajazet's captivity; he only tells us the simple truth, 'Themurlin wolt . . . Weyasit mitt haben gefürt in sein landt; do starb er auff dem weg' (L., 24).

[2] L., 24.

[3] Cf. L., 32-3, for the story of Timur's spirit howling in the tomb at night for a whole year, till the prisoners he had taken were released.

[4] L., 33.

[5] L., 31-2. Sch. also translates to Ispahan ('Hyspahan') a terrific incident of Timur's 'thorough' policy in Asia Minor, when he trampled down thousands of children under his horses' hoofs (L., 30-1).

[6] Sch.'s 'Scaroch,' L., 33.

[7] L., 34-5.

[8] L., 36-7.

[9] 'Erei' and 'Erban,' L., 37.

[10] L., 37-40.

or Chekre[1], a Tartar prince living in Abu Bekr's horde, to come and rule 'Great Tartary' under his guardianship. Chekre had consented, and with him travelled an escort furnished by Abu Bekr: of this escort Schiltberger was one.

The *grosse Thartaria* for which they were bound must have included great part of Kipchak (between the Euxine and the Aral), a region now fading altogether from West European knowledge; in his passage of *Strava*[2] or Hyrcania, of *Gursey* or Georgia, and of *Schurban* or Shirvan[3], Schiltberger recalls Rubruquis[4] and anticipates Jenkinson; till Muscovite power reaches the Caspian in the middle of the sixteenth century, this country drops almost wholly outside the ken of Christian politics, trade, or travel.

The road of Chekre and his followers lay, of course, through Derbent and the Iron Gate, the *Temurcapu* of our author[5], and thence ran up through the *Stzulet* highlands which probably answer to Northern Daghestan, where the Christian settlement noticed by Schiltberger, with its bishop, its friars, and its Tartar liturgy[6], connect his narrative with the history of Western missions in the Caucasus[7]. The mention of one locality, however, is a more troublesome matter. Between the Pass of Derbent and this *Stzulet*, and apparently to the South of 'Great Tartary,' as one approached it from the Iron

[1] L., 39, also written 'Zegra,' 'Tzeggra,' 'Czeggra,' in the MSS. (see L., 39, 41, 42).

[2] L., 37, 'Strauba' on L., 58.

[3] L., 38. The Donaueschingen and Heidelberg MSS. [hereafter quoted as D. and H.] read 'Gursey,' N. has 'Gurscy.' In either case Schiltberger's form answers to 'Grusia,' the Russian for our 'Georgia.' In 'Schurban' the *Reisebuch* locates important silk industries, which exported not only to Kaffa, Brusa, and Damascus, but even to Venice and Lucca ('Luka').

[4] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 370–1.

[5] 'Das ist genant in Thatriss Temur-capu' ('Temur-tapit,' D., H.; 'Temirapit,' St. Gall MS.) 'und das haist das Eysnen Thor,' L., 38. Immediately south of the Iron Gates, whose 'Tartar' name ('Demir-kapu') he gives with remarkable accuracy, Sch. places the land of 'Sawram' or Shabran, noticed by Ibn Haukal in the tenth century. See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 451–5.

[6] L., 38 ('haben ain pistumb ... die priester sein parfüesen ordens ... chunden kain Latein ... singen oder lesen in der thatrischen sprach'); in this connexion Sch. gives, fairly well, a Tartar version of the Lord's Prayer ('also spricht der Thatrisch *pater noster* ...').

[7] See above, ch. ii, part ii, §§ 2, 4.

Gate, Schiltberger fixes a certain *Orgens, Orgentz* or *Origens*, which in name suggests nothing so closely as Urganj or Khiva; he adds that it was in the middle of the *Edil*[1]. Elsewhere we find him giving the name of *Tigris* to the Kur[2], and the mere application to the Oxus of the Turkish name for the Volga (repeated in another passage of the *Reisebuch*[3]) is not in itself a stumbling-block; but to place Khiva at the point required by the itinerary is a much harder task. The identifications that have been attempted[4] (with Astrakhan, with Azov or Tana, supposed to represent the *Ornas* sacked by the earlier Mongols, or with Anjak, a Caspian port located by some near the mouth of the Terek) are all unsatisfying; the simplest explanation, that Schiltberger is here the victim of his bad memory and confused outlook, and that he refers in truth to Khiva, but has got it hopelessly out of place, is probably the whole truth.

In any case the *Wis-sibur*, *Wussibur*, or *Ibissibur*[5], to which Ydigu and Chekre (after uniting their forces in Great Tartary) now set out; which lay two months' journey from their meeting-place[6]; which Schiltberger claims to have visited in their company[7]; whose great sledge-drawing dogs he notices[8]; and whose hills of *Arbuss* (or the Ural?), inhabited only by wild beasts and hairy savages, are believed by him to stretch for a full month's journey, as far as the desert at the world's end[9], is plainly the original *Sibir* or Siberia, answering to part of the modern provinces of Tobolsk and Tomsk. Almost at the same time (c. A.D. 1430–50) *Ibir-sibir* first attracts the notice of Russian annalists, but nowhere save in Russian sources can we find a clear anticipation of Schiltberger.

[1] L., 38. [2] See below, p. 374.

[3] L., 62. As 'Edil' is also a general Turkish designation for 'stream,' it is easy to see how this mistake arose.

[4] e.g. by Bruun in Hak. Soc. version, pp. 136–8; see also Bruun's *Geographische Bemerkungen zu Schiltbergers Reisen* in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Bayer. Akademie*, Munich, 1869–70.

[5] L., 39, 40, 62.

[6] L., 39. [7] L., 40.

[8] L., 40, 'hüntt die ziehen in den charren und in dem winter in den schliten.'

[9] L., 39.

After the conquest of this far land, of whose manners and religion Hans gives an account[1] pretty evenly divided between fact and fiction, his new masters, turning westward, fell upon *Bolar* or *Waler*[2], that Old Bulgaria of the Middle Volga, whose place was soon to be taken by the Khanate of Kazan[3]. Here too they were victorious, with or without the help of the Tartar Amazons who, as the *Reisebuch* declares, were lent them by a revengeful princess[4] in one of their campaigns. A return with Chekre and his Protector to 'their own country,' apparently the more southern lands of 'Great Tartary[5]'; a fresh change of servitude on Chekre's overthrow[6]; fresh wanderings to the Crimea[7], to Circassia[8], to Abkhasia, to Mingrelia[9], perhaps even to Egypt, with this last heathen lord *Manshuk* or *Mannstzuch*; and finally escape from the neighbourhood of Batum[10], concealment at *Istimboli*, *Stambol* or Constantinople[11], and a safe return to Bavaria by a devious route—through Kilia and Akkerman, Lemberg and Cracow, Breslau and Meissen[12]—such are the closing episodes of Hans' own story.

[1] L., 40.

[2] L., 41, 62.

[3] Founded in 1438.

[4] 'Sadurmelick,' L., 43.

[5] L., 41. [6] L., 42, 43.

[7] Especially to Kaffa, L., 43; see also L., 63.

[8] L., 43; see also L., 63, 97.

[9] L., 44 ('Abasa' and 'Magrill').

[10] L., 44.

[11] L., 45, 47 ('Constantinopel hayssen die Chrichen *Istimboli* . . . die Thürcken . . . *Stambol*,' L., 45). Here Sch. lay *perdu* three months in the care (and house) of the Patriarch, lest the Turks should claim him; but he went about the city with the Patriarch's servants, and got to know it quite well. His description is among the best from a Frankish pen, during mediaeval times (e. g. 'Die stat trieckatt, die zway tayl hatt das mer umbfangen; . . . gegen . . . über ligt Pera . . . die Kriechen hayssentz *Kalathan* . . . zwischen der zweyer . . . ein arm von dem mer . . . drey wellisch meyl langk . . . ein halbe . . . preytt [Golden Horn],' &c.). He mentions the Turkish 'urfar' (i. e. 'ufer') opposite Constantinople at 'Schuter' or Skutari; he also gives a good sketch of St. Sophia, of the long walls, of the Hippodrome, of Justinian's bronze equestrian statue (*foolishly supposed by some wiseacres to be made of leather*), and of one of the 'Chayser's' palaces. But when he tells us that Alexander the Great made the Hellespont, a cutting which enabled the 'Great' *or* 'Black' Sea to pour itself into the other, we follow him less confidently.

[12] L., 111–12; Kilia is 'Gily'; '. . . do . . . fleust die Thonau inn das mer'; Akkerman is 'Weysstadt inn der Walachei,' or perhaps 'Aspasery,'

But in the *Reisebuch* Schiltberger has not only left a record of his own travels, and a sketch (however faulty) of various chapters of contemporary Eastern history; a good half of his work he devotes to an account of countries, and of countries (for the most part) where he had been himself, reserving abundant space for a description of local manners and religions.

Beginning with Bavaria and Hungary, he first undertakes a summary of those lands this side of the Danube, where he had travelled; next follow the countries between the Danube and the sea, now subject to the Turkish king; after this we hear of the Ottoman dominions in Asia; last come the other regions oversea, from Trebizond to Russia, and from Egypt to India, visited by or reported to our traveller.

In his notice of Wallachia, with its capitals of *Agrisch* and *Türkoisch* (Ardshish and Bukarest), of Transylvania[1] and Hermanstadt, and of *Wurzenlandt*, Burzenland, or the Kronstadt district[2] now reckoned in Transylvania, Schiltberger records otherwise unknown travels of his in cis-Danubian lands[3]. In trans-Danubian regions he likewise adds to the history of his wanderings, claiming to have visited no less than three southern *Pulgreys* or Bulgarias[4], the regions of Viddin, Tirnova and Kaliakra[5], together linking the frontier of Hungary with the Black Sea coast.

By *Greece* Schiltberger apparently conceives something very different from most men of the Middle Age; it would not be easy to find another such location of its chief city—at Adrianople; nor is his term of *Welsh Sea* for the Aegaean (like his *White Sea* for the Caspian)[6] a common one[7]. It is

which immediately follows; Lemberg is 'Lempurgk... ein haupstadt in clain Reyssen'; Cracow, 'Krokau, haupstadt in Polandt'; Breslau, 'Presslau . . . in der Schlesy ain haupstadt'; and Meissen, 'Meychsen.' Sch. also passed through 'Sedschopff,' our Suczawa in the Bukowina, which he calls 'chlain Walachei.'

[1] 'Sibenpürgen,' L., 52.

[2] On 'Casau,' or 'Bassaw,' which Sch. gives as the capital of 'Wurtzenlandt,' see L., 52; H. S., 144-5.

[3] L., 52.

[4] L., 52.

[5] 'Pudein,' 'Ternau,' and 'Kallakrea,' in Sch. (L., 52).

[6] See below, p. 369.

[7] L., 53.

curious that while he places *Salonick* or Saloniki 'pey dem *wälschen* mere[1],' the Dardanelles fortress of *Kalipoli* or Galipoli, in his geography, stands upon the *Great* Sea[2]. From this last he takes his reader across to *Gross Türckey* or Asia Minor, where Brusa or *Wurssa*, the Ottoman capital, with its eight hospitals and its 200,000 houses, a city four times greater than Adrianople, boasted of a supremacy over many a famous place, over Ephesus and Myra, over Magnesia and Angora, over Iconium and Samsun[3], over Caesarea and Sebaste, and over others which, like all those he has named, Schiltberger *had seen for himself*.

Having now given us a rough description of the Osmanli realm, its limits and chief possessions, the *Reisebuch* passes to the regions east and north-east of Bajazet's empire. Beginning with Trebizond[4], that good, fruitful, and well-protected little kingdom on the *Black* Sea[5], abounding in grapes, Hans next proceeds to tell us of Kiresun[6], between Samsun and Trebizond; of vine-growing Lazica[7] or Colchis; of a *northern* Armenia the Less, with its capital at Erzinghian[8]; of Baiburt[9] on the Trebizond-Tabriz highway; and of Kemakh[10], the ancient Ani[11], on a height overhanging the Euphrates; and defines the course of this Eden-springing river, with fair accuracy, as partly Armenian, partly Persian,

[1] L., 53.

[2] L., 53.

[3] 'Effes,' 'Ismira,' 'Maganasia,' 'Engury,' or 'Angury,' 'Gonia,' 'Sampson,' 'Gassaria,' and 'Sebast,' in Sch. (L., 53–4). Sch.'s detailed knowledge of Asia Minor is remarkable; we may note e. g. his 'Eydin' and 'Asia' as names for the Ephesus district.

[4] L., 55 ('Trabasanda, ein clain gut verschlossen landt, fruchpar an weinwachs,' &c.).

[5] Sch., here and elsewhere, regularly employs the new term whose use we have traced from Jordanus.

[6] 'Kureson,' L., 55. Here Sch. inserts his form of the Sparrow-Hawk Castle story (L., 55, 56).

[7] 'Lassa,' L., 56.

[8] 'Ersinggan,' L., 56.

[9] 'Baywurt,' L., 56.

[10] 'Kamach,' L., 57.

[11] On this place, so long a centre of Fire-worship and a burial-place of the Parthian Arsacidae, and the notices of it in the Middle Ages, see above, *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 372–3, and H. S., 150–1.

and partly desert; the only extravagance he falls into is the *total* absorption of the stream by the sands of the waste[1].

Hans now moves on to *Hammit*, Amida, or Diarbekr on the Upper Tigris, and that *Black Turkey* of which it was the capital[2]; and after a notice of *Bastan* or Bistan, chief city of *Ckurt*-land or Kurdistan, of Mesopotamian *Merdin* or Mardin, of Caucasian Abkhasia and Mingrelia, and of Georgia[3] (the last known to him as a country of warlike Christians, with a language of its own), brings us to Persia. The truth of his references to the malaria and hygienic headgear[4] of *Abkas*, to its chief town of *Zuchum* or Sukhum-Kalé, the Byzantine Sevastopolis, and to *Loathon*, *Bothan*, or Batum in *Orthodox*[5] Mingrelia, well sustains his pretension to a personal knowledge of these localities[6].

In the next, the Persian, section of his Gazetteer he is less precise in defining his own experience, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he was, at one time or other, in many of the Iranian cities and regions he describes. Through the great market of Tabriz, that converging point of West and South Asian routes of commerce and war, whose revenues, he declares, exceeded those of *any* Christian monarch[7], he must have passed at one time or other; in all probability he made several visits to *Thabres*[8]. As to *Soltania*, merely noticed as a Persian 'kingdom' and city, without any further detail; Rey[9], where men did not believe in *Machamet*, but in a certain redoubtable persecutor of the Christian faith named *Aly*;

[1] L., 57.

[2] L., 57.

[3] 'Abkas,' 'Megrel,' and 'Gursy,' in Sch. here, L., 57.

[4] 'Tragen . . . viereckett platten auff dem haupt . . . des ungesunds wegen,' L., 57.

[5] 'Halten sie kriechischen glauben,' L., 57. Sch.'s notice of Batum (L., 57, 44) is perhaps the first in any Latin traveller of the Middle Age: on its classical history and customary assignment, not to Mingrelia, but to Lazica, see H. S., 153-4.

[6] 'In den obgeschriben landen pin ich gewesen,' L., 57.

[7] Odoric says they surpassed those of the French king; see above, p. 258.

[8] So on L., 58, 'Thawres' on L., 34, 35.

[9] 'Rei,' 'Nachzzvon,' 'Maragare,' 'Gilan,' and 'Gesss,' in Sch., L., 58.

Nakhichevan[1], *upon* the mount of Noah; Maragha[1], of whose Latin mission, probably extinct by this time, the *Reisebuch* says nothing; Ghilan[1], where one found rice and palm-oil, and where the natives wore knitted shoes[2]; Gez[1] (at the other, or eastern, corner of the South Caspian littoral), famous for its good silk stuffs—Hans may have touched all, can hardly have avoided visiting some, in the course of his service with Timur and the Timurids. But in the absence of the regular *da pin ich gewesen*, it is impossible to say more.

Nor can we be certain that Schiltberger ever visited (to the south of Ararat) that mountain city of Maku[3], seat of a Roman bishopric, whereat he so strikingly confirms Clavijo's record of a Dominican mission, with Armenian liturgy[4]. And the same uncertainty rests upon North-Persian Mazanderan[5], girt about by *impenetrable* forests; upon Ispahan[6], where Timur trampled down the little children beneath his horse's hoofs; upon Armenian *Glat*[7] or Khelat, north of Lake Van; upon *Kirna*[8], perhaps that Gharny, east of Erivan, once famous for the 'Throne of Tiridates'; upon Herat[9], the capital of Khorasan, conceived by our author as a vast city of 300,000 houses; upon Shiraz[10], *a market closed to all Christians*; upon Kish by the sea[11], where pearls grew; upon Kerman[12], on the table-land behind Ormuz; upon *Horgmuss* itself[13], of whose Indian trade and shipping Hans knows something; upon Antioch, dyed red with Christian

[1] 'Rei,' 'Nachzzvon,' 'Maragare,' 'Gilan,' and 'Gesss,' in Sch., L., 58.

[2] L., 58. Thinking that Sch. ought not to omit the renowned silk of Ghilan, mentioned by Marco Polo under *Georgia* (see above, p. 54), the Hak. Soc. editor reads 'Resht,' the Ghilan capital, for 'Gesss,' but there is no authority for this.

[3] 'Magu,' L., 58.

[4] L., 58, '. . . ein pistumb do und halten die römischen glauben, und die prister sein prediger ordens und singen und lesen nur in armenischer sprach.' For Clavijo, see above, p. 340.

[5] 'Masanderan . . . vor holtz mag im nymandt zu,' L., 59.

[6] 'Hyspaan,' L., 59; see also L., 30–1.

[7] L., 58.

[8] L., 58.

[9] 'Here,' L., 59.

[10] 'Schires,' L., 59.

[11] 'Kesschon pey dem mere,' L., 59.

[12] 'Kerman,' L., 59.

[13] L., 59, 'Horgmuss . . . pey dem mere, do man in die grossen India [i.e. the Deccan] fert über mere,' &c.

blood[1]; and upon Badakhshan[2], whose gems, hidden in the lofty unicorn-breeding hills, none could procure, save when washed down by rain, so terrible were the serpents and wild beasts.

But as to *Strauba*[3] and hot, unhealthy, silk-growing Shirvan[4], the case is different; through these west-coast regions of the Caspian we know Schiltberger passed on his journey to Great Tartary and Siberia—if not through Sheki[5], by the *White* or Caspian Sea; the plain of Karabagh[6], the lower valley of the Kur, he appears to have visited with Shah Rukh's army; while in the realm of Babylon, called *Wagdatt* (or Baghdad)[7] in heathenish speech, he repeats his definite claim of personal experience—'there have I also been.'

What he says of *Babilonien*, however, both Old and New, save only for his mention of the *Schat* or Shatt[8], and perhaps of the Baghdad *Thiergarten*[9], is not very noteworthy; he apparently copies from Herodotus some of his measurements for the walls of *Nemrod's* city[10], while in his account of New Babylon *on the Shatt*, with its date-palms and its serpents, there is an obvious confusion between Basrah and the *Abode of Peace*[11].

By the South-East Schiltberger now works round into the North; by way of Hindustan he brings us to Tartary and Russia. It is somewhat startling to find him suggesting a visit to the Delhi region ('I have been in *Little India*, and

[1] L., 59.

[2] 'Wolachschon,' L., 59–60.

[3] L., 58.

[4] 'Shurvan,' L., 59.

[5] 'Scheckchi . . . pey dem *weyssen mer*,' L., 59. This is a Georgian phrase for the great inland basin.

[6] 'Karabag,' 'Charabach,' L., 35, 99.

[7] 'Wagdatt,' L., 60; 'Wadach,' L., 67.

[8] 'Neu Babilon . . . auff ainem wasser, das haisset Schat; . . . merwunder . . . chomen auss dem Indischen mere in das wasser,' L., 60.

[9] L., 60–1.

[10] L., 60; 'der thuren zu Babilon . . . vier und füfftzig *stadia* hoch,' &c. The 'wälsche meyl' into which he translates the *stadia* is the Italian mile.

[11] All that he says of 'neu Babilon,' except for the 'gartten' with 'allerlay thiere,' applies really to Basrah.

the capital is called *Dili*[1]'), but we need not create a difficulty out of nothing. It is hard to imagine when Hans could have reached the Ganges valley; but, in his own mind, he may, like Clavijo, bring *Lesser India* right up to the middle Oxus; and the north-western portions of this strange land—as queer a conception as any of the mediaeval Inds—he may well have seen, when he 'ran with' Timur or Shah Rukh. The marvels of this land were plentiful—elephants and parrots and many another bird and beast—but the only one of which the *Reisebuch* attempts a sketch (and that with very fair success) is the stag-like *suruafa* or giraffe[2].

We are helped to a better understanding of Schiltberger's *Chlain India* by his account of India the Great, a region where he had never travelled, but which certainly comprised, in his mind, the pepper land of Malabar. In his account of the town of *Lambe*, and the wood hard by, with its two cities and its Christian inhabitants, where the pepper grew on trees like wild vines, something like the sloe when green, it is probable that he is making some use of standard works such as Odoric's; but it is evident that he had tried at least to get an independent notion of the most famous export of the Deccan. For he knows about the three kinds of 'long,' 'white,' and 'black' pepper; he dismisses as a fable the notion that the last-named was merely darkened with smoke; and his own story of the natives washing their hands with the juice of an *apple called lemon* is not wholly destitute of truth[3].

And so we come to *Zekathey*, Chagatai, or Trans-Oxiana, whose chief city was the mighty *Samerchandt*; whose warlike people, half Tartar and half Persian, spoke a language of their own and ate no bread[4]; and some of whose provinces, at least, Schiltberger had traversed in Timur's company.

[1] L., 61.

[2] L., 61.

[3] L., 79-80. Sch. adds that the ripe pepper was green: his information about this 'Great' or Southern India, he declares, was derived from eye-witnesses ('ich han es wol vernummen von den haidnischen landtfarern, die es gesehen haben,' L., 79).

[4] L., 61.

Beyond these countries which he had seen were certain others, likewise subject to the great conqueror, where he had never wandered[1]—but with Great Tartary or the Land of the Red Tartars[2] our Bavarian claimed a somewhat intimate acquaintance. For he had not only penetrated to Siberia and the old Bulgaria of Kazan; he had also journeyed in the regions on all sides of the Caspian—in *Horosma*[3] or Khwarezm, to the east, where lay *Orgens* town in Edil stream, where, as we should say, Urganj stood by Oxus bank—in hilly Bestau[4], to the west, marked by its chief city of *Zulat* on the Terek—and in *Hatzitherchon* or Astrakhan[4], to the north-west, in the Volga delta. Nor does this exhaust his knowledge of *Grosse Thatrei*, comprising (in his page) the whole of the old Kipchak Khanate, with Sibir and Russia. For he had been at Sarai[5], seat of the Tartar king, and at Tana-Azov[6], from which galleys full of fish sailed to Venice and to Genoa; he had also seen the corn-growing land of *Kepstzach*[7], whose centre he places at Solgat on the South Crimean coast, and which in his conception evidently included but a fraction of the former Kipchak Empire.

In the great city of Kaffa[8], likewise dependent on Great Tartary, lying upon the Black Sea, supreme over four coast-towns, surrounded by a double ring-wall, and containing 6,000 houses within the narrower, or 40,000 within the wider, of these defences, Schiltberger once spent five months with Mannstzuch his lord; and no place in all the northern realms seems to have interested our poor slave so much. For here was an outpost of Christendom on the shores of the heathen world; here were six kinds of religious faith[9]; here were four types of Christianity, Roman, Greek, Armenian, and Syrian; here were three bishops, a Latin, an Orthodox, and an Armen-

[1] L., 61.
[2] L., 61-4.
[3] L., 62.
[4] L., 62.
[5] 'Sarei ... do ist des tatrischen chönigs stul,' L., 62.
[6] 'Asach ... die Christen heyssens Ala-thena, und hatt ein wasser ... Tena,' L., 62.
[7] L., 63, 'Kepstzach ... die hauptstadt ..., Solchat, und in dem land paut man allerlay trayd.'
[8] L., 63; see also L., 43.
[9] 'Sechserlay glauben, L. 43.

ian, ministering to Italians, Greeks, and schismatic Orientals; here were two sects of Jews; and here were many infidels with their own temple.

But Hans' Crimean travels extended even beyond Kaffa and the Solgat country. For he knew *Karkery*[1] or Chufut Kalé, that famous Jewish fortress in the far south of the peninsula, to which he seems to assign a Christian population and flourishing vineyards; and he has heard of *Serucherman*[2], where St. Clement was thrown into the sea, though perhaps he never stood himself at the traditional place of the martyrdom, on the site of ruined Kherson, by the quarantine harbour of our Sevastopol.

A few words on Russia and Circassia conclude Schiltberger's sketch of Tartar and Tartar-conquered lands. Of *Reyssen*[3] he merely says that it was tributary to the Nomade Khan, but of *Czerckas* or *Schärchäs*[4], whither he fled with Manshuk from Kaffa, over an arm of the Black Sea, and where he had lived 'a good half-year,' he tells us more. Yet there was little good to record. Its people indeed held the Christian faith, but they were an evil race, of peculiar speech, who sold their children to the heathen, stole the offspring of others for a like shameful purpose, and were adepts at highway robbery.

So much for the regions of the north. But before passing to Egypt and the home lands of Islam, the *Reisebuch* attempts a rough ethnology of the Mongols and a hasty drawing of their character and habits[5]. The Great or Red Tartars, as fierce a folk as any that lived among the heathen, who planted no corn, ate no bread, and drank no wine, but sowed millet, devoured horses and camels, and for their beverage used the milk and even the blood of their animals, were not in reality

[1] L., 63. On the terms 'Sutti' and 'That' employed by Sch. for the Karkery district see H. S., 176.

[2] L., 63. For this term ('Serucherman in haidenischer sprach') see H. S., 176–7.

[3] L., 64, 'Reyssen... auch zinspar dem tatrischen chönig.'

[4] L., 63–4; see also L., 43–4.

[5] L., 61–2, 64.

one tribe, but three. Under the *Krat* of our author, it is probably safe to recognize the Keraits; by the *Magull* he must intend the Mongols proper or *Yeka-Mongols*; by the *Jabu* it is possible that the Emboluk class of the Nogais, settled in the valley of the Emba, between the Caspian and the Kirghiz steppes, may be understood. The numerous Christians of Schiltberger's Tartary, like the Christian *Uygiurs* of his Siberia, who held the faith of the Magi [1], were perhaps, for the most part, Buddhists; but we have seen too much of the fourteenth-century activity of Catholic Missions in the heart of Asia to deny the possibility of a considerable Nazarene community here and there even in these remote tracts of *Thatrey* and *Sibur*; and, for the rest, Hans' account of nomade life is almost unimpeachable. For he is perfectly right in noting the frequent appearance, in the Tartary of his day, of such an *obman* or king-maker as Ydigu; in picturing the incessant movements of a pastoral race without fixed dwellings; and in describing the funeral customs, the coronation ritual, the hard travelling, the remarkable endurance, of these children of the great plains [2].

With his Egyptian section Schiltberger transfers much of his attention from the lands and races to the religions of the East. Eleven chapters are given to an exposition of Islam, three to the Armenian Church, two to the creed and ritual of the Greeks; some excellent remarks are made on the various languages of Oriental Christianity; a somewhat detailed survey of the holy places of Sinai and Jerusalem is furnished; a good stock of very childish legends, mainly of Armenian origin, is thoughtfully supplied for the intelligent reader; but there is little more of interest for the history of discovery and earth-knowledge.

Although Hans unmistakably reckons Egypt among the regions he had visited, and although he even makes a certain pretence of special and intimate knowledge of this country [3],

[1] L., 40. [2] L., 61-2; see also L., 40. [3] L., 64, 67.

the fabulous and pseudo-scientific element in his record, so frequently noticeable, is here unusually apparent. For while he makes *Missir* or *Cair* (as *Christians* called it [1]) the capital of *Arabia*, he assigns to it 12,000 streets, with 12,000 houses in every street (a true 'Grand Cairo') [2], repeats the customary balsam-tale of the Sultan's garden [3], and professes to transcribe an official letter from one of these Cairene Sultans [4] which breathes the very atmosphere of the *Thousand and One Nights*. In the same way, the *Reisebuch's* concluding sketch [5] of the geography, history, and manners of that Armenia where Schiltberger had spent so long a time, and with whose people he had conversed so intimately, is full of difficulties. The name of the *Tigris*, applied (as an alternative) to the Kur [6]; Tiflis made one of the three Armenian kingdoms [7]; the former Armenian domination of Babylon;—are all perplexing. And equally unintelligible is the Musulman conquest of the Cilician Armenia in *1267* [8]; the Slav term of *Nimitzsch* as an *Armenian* appellation for Germans [9]; the extreme truthfulness asserted of the Armenian character [10]; the obedient Papalism attributed to Gregory the Illuminator [11]; and the contrast of Armenian Bible-restrictions with the noble freedom of the Latin Church [12].

On the other hand, Schiltberger grasps the true position of

[1] L., 78; see also L., 25, 64, 82, which on one side give the names of *Missir* or *Misser* ('nach haidenischer sprach'), and on the other supply the forms of *Alkkeyr*, *Kair*, and *Cair*; Sch. of course speaks (L., 78) as if entirely ignorant of the Arabic origin of the latter.

[2] L., 64.

[3] L., 78, 'der balsam wächst . . . nyndert mer, dann doselbst und inn India.'

[4] L., 66–7. On this letter from 'Solomander, almächtiger von Cartago,' at whose daughter's wedding Sch. claims to have been present, see also H. S., 184–91.

[5] L., 99, &c.

[6] L., 99, 'Kurman, es haist auch Tigris.'

[7] L., 99, 'Tifflis . . . Siss . . . Ersingen,' the capitals of Georgia, of Cilician Armenia, and of a western province of Great Armenia in the north, respectively.

[8] L., 99. The true date of the permanent Egyptian conquest of Sis is 1374: in 1266 and 1275 the Moslem occupation was only temporary.

[9] L., 99. 'Nyemetsi' of course is still the regular Russian for 'Germans.'

[10] L., 111.

[11] L., 100–3.

[12] L., 108.

the Mameluke sovereign, that strange lord of Heathenesse, who *could not be King-Sultan unless he had been sold*[1]; he is quite at home with the impalements, sawings-in-sunder and other tortures of Egyptian court-revolutions[2]; and it would seem that in his reference to the *First Prester John of Enclosed Rumoney*[3], as in his allusion to pilgrimages from the land of Prester John to the tomb of Christ[4], he really hints at Abyssinia and the Negus. His account of Alexandria and its trade with Genoa and Venice[5]; of the Red Sea, so named not from the colour of its waters but from that of its shores, in certain places[6]; and of various pilgrim sites of the Arabian desert and the Holy Land[7], is fairly satisfying. And his sketch of *Machmet's* life, and of the creed, scriptures, temples, ritual, and manners of Mohammedans, most numerous of all sects among the heathen[8], in spite of all deficiencies, and apart from the unique knowledge shown of the Prophet's sepulchre[9], is a remarkable performance[10].

Not less memorable is Schiltberger's analysis of Eastern Christianity and its divisions. He gives an indecently accurate sketch of Georgian and Alan marriage-customs[11]; he shows an excellent knowledge of Armenian and Constantinopolitan ritual[12] (along with some grotesque misconceptions of Greek belief)[13]; besides the official tongue he recognizes Russian,

[1] L., 64.

[2] L., 65, &c.

[3] 'Des ersten priesters Johann in der verschlossen Rumoney,' L., 67.

[4] L., 73.

[5] L., 80. To this he adds (L., 81-2) his version of the Mirror story, fairly corresponding with Benjamin of Tudela's (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 261-2).

[6] L., 70.

[7] See ch. iii of this volume.

[8] 'Der mainst tail der haiden glauben an ainen hatt gehaissen Machmet,' L., 84.

[9] N. reads 'Mächka,' but D., H., 'Madina.'

[10] L., 84-97. For some further estimate and criticism of this sketch of Mohammedanism, Sch.'s account of the 'four' other 'heathen' sects, the Shiites, Fire-worshippers, &c., see H. S., 219-22.

[11] L., 98-9.

[12] L., 47-51, 104-8. We must also put to Sch.'s credit his knowledge of Greek and Armenian words, e. g. the phrases of the Greek service on L., 51, and the 'kathagaes' and 'takchawr' (Katholikos' and 'Takavor') of L., 103.

[13] e. g. 'Die Chriechen glauben nicht an die heylligen Trivaltigkaitt,' L., 47.

Wallachian, Georgian, and Arnaut among *Orthodox* languages, as well as the Ossetian, Circassian, Mingrelian, and Abkhasian dialects of Caucasian speech[1]; and in the 'heathen' or Turkish names for Byzantine and Muscovite[2] he preserves forms of historic and present interest. For is not *Rum* or *Urum* still a term over great part of Asia for Constantinople; and is not *Urus* still employed to describe a Russian from the Bosphorus to Peking?

The experiences of Hans Schiltberger are alone sufficient evidence of the failure of that Latin *Drang nach Osten* whose fortunes we have followed throughout this chapter and in a previous volume. Into an Orient so anarchic and so perilous as the Upper Asia of the fifteenth century it is vain to attempt entrance; neither for commerce nor proselytism do the vast regions once subject, directly or indirectly, to Kublai Khan offer any longer a sufficient inducement for European penetration. The last semblance of a universal empire in Turan, of a central power able to ensure order and safe transit over Western 'Tartary,' has disappeared with the death of Timur (1405); nearly a generation before that event the infusion of Moslem bigotry into the Turco-Tartar mind has been successfully accomplished in most of the regions to the west of the Pamir and the Thian Shan.

To the east of the great divide, as we have noticed again and again, a revolution not less momentous is signified by the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty from China (1368–70). The Celestial world, free from the internationalism of the *Yuen*, is able once more to revolve serenely in its own orbit, to keep all profane and foreign novelties at a safe distance, to restore the purity of the institutes of the Central Flowery Land. The

[1] L., 97.

[2] 'Urrum' and 'Orrus.' Sch. (L., 97) gives 'Urrum' and 'Arrnaut' as 'Turkish' for 'Kriechen' and 'Winden Sprach'; 'Orrus,' 'Wullgar,' 'Yffach' [i.e. 'Yfflach'], 'Asss,' 'That,' 'Scerckas,'' Apkas,' and 'Kurtzy' as 'heathen' for 'Raussen,'. 'Pulgren,' 'Walachen,' 'Yessen,' 'Churin,' 'Sigum,' 'Abuckasan,' and 'Gorgiter Sprach,' i.e. Russian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, Ossetian, Crimean Gothic [?], Circassian, Abkhasian, and Georgian.

race of Chingiz, thrown back upon the Mongolian steppes, is condemned to permanent obscurity in Eastern Asia, just as in Western Asia its nobler qualities are sapped by fanatical spirit and internecine hostility, and its unity is broken into a hundred warring fragments, owning no suzerain save Allah, welcoming no culture save a theological, dreading any breath of infidel life, and even jealous of the gain-bringing merchant of the West. The age of free commerce across the main continental land-mass, the possibility of regular communication between the Mediterranean and the Pacific, between the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf, or even between the Black and Caspian Seas, has practically ended.

The last great power thrown up from the volcanic activities of that Turco-Tartar world, before the close of the Middle Age, the only Asiatic state which for many years to come would affect Western Europe materially and directly, that of the Ottomans, is one whose profound and natural antagonism to Christian interests is no less obvious than its essential enmity to the higher Moslem civilization on whose ruins all Turkish dynasties had risen. We know, only too well, how, in the lifetime of Timur[1], the Osmanlis have already undermined the chief Eastern bulwarks of Christendom, have planted an alien faith and an alien domination over the Balkan Peninsula, and have begun fatally to affect the Euxine avenues of trade.

But even if Europeans realize, by Schiltberger's day, that the Nearer East is being shut against them, they still hope, by other ways, or in other times, to resume their intercourse with Cathay and the Indies. They do not realize how deeply China has altered since the days of the Polos and Corvino, of Odoric and Marignolli; and they are perfectly right in supposing that vast rewards still await those pioneers who should open an unimpeded route to India, whether that India be the 'Greater,' the 'Lesser,' or the 'Middle' Ind.

[1] A. D. 1335–1405.

It is, indeed, high time to seek fresh lines of expansion, when on the side of the Levant even the political limits of the Christian world show so unwelcome a retrogression; the situation is in some ways more alarming than at any time since the mediaeval Renaissance began with the beginning of the Second Millennium; but the crisis brings forth the men. While Schiltberger is still 'running' with Bajazet and with Timur, French adventurers are planning and commencing, under the patronage of the Spanish Crown, the conquest of the Canaries, the plantation of the first of modern European colonies in the Atlantic; and before the poor prisoner of Nicopolis has returned to his Fatherland, the Portuguese have begun their permanent advance into the unknown both to south and west, both along the Sahara coast and out into the Sea of Darkness, beyond Marocco upon one side, to the Azores and the Madeira group upon the other.

It would be easy to paint a gloomy picture of Christendom, both Eastern and Western, at the opening of the fifteenth century, and to expatiate in the customary manner on the decadence of the later Middle Age and its painful contrast with the Crusading or Central Mediaeval time. In a measure this attitude is justified by the history of European expansion, as well as by that of constitutional reaction. But in essentials the development of Western energy is not arrested; everywhere new life springs from the decay of older forms; everywhere the modern world begins to appear beneath the mediaeval.

The central Catholic realm, if realm it could still be called, has again, as when the Polos started on their travels, fallen into conditions practically anarchic; for thirty years after the death of Charles IV (1378–1410) imperial authority is almost in abeyance; but if the Holy Empire itself is dying, a vigorous offspring is rising in its place. Brandenburg, Austria, the Swiss and Hanseatic Leagues, are all struggling, with varying success, with varying degrees of persistence, skill, and courage, but with the same underlying vitality, towards the creation

of new nationalities, towards new expressions of national life and national character. Never has the German people shown greater capacity of race-extension, or greater aptitude for trade-empire, than in the *Hansa* of the fourteenth century, the first great assertion of German maritime instinct.

France and England, though now again (from 1415) concentrating their forces on the brutal and exhausting war of the Hundred Years, have both been able to give some attention to those common European interests which are bound up with the progress of exploration, the widening of commerce, and the colonial extension of our civilization. Englishmen have fought with the Teutonic knights in Prussia, if they have not sailed to Madeira; French *condottieri* have embarked upon the momentous enterprise in the Canaries (1402–25), even if French seamen have not traded to Guinea (1364–1410)[1]. The decision of youthful misunderstandings would show that both powers, their separate spheres now clearly defined, are capable of better things than mutual recrimination, are only at the commencement of a splendid manhood.

The two leading Spanish kingdoms, Castille and Portugal, both far advanced towards their complete continental development, both displaying increased vitality as the mediaeval chapter draws to a close, are already turning in the direction of their true future. They have co-operated with Italian pioneers in the memorable ocean venture of 1341; the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1415 marks the commencement of the heroic age of *Lusitania*; we shall see in another place how great is the significance of the still earlier Iberian movements seawards and southwards. The mediaeval attempts of the Castillian kings to force back their Western neighbours into the vassalage with which the Portuguese County had begun, are definitely closed by the war of 1383–6 and the battle of Aljubarrota; an unimpeded activity is secured for Henry of Viseu and his followers,—Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco

[1] I assume (see below, ch. iv) that the story of Macham's discovery of Madeira, like that of the fourteenth-century Dieppese voyages to the Gold Coast, cannot be implicitly relied upon.

da Gama, and the rest. As in the Anglo-French struggle, the definite severance of interests proves of infinite benefit to both combatants. But, for the free extension of Leon and Castille, one obstacle has still to be removed: Moslem Granada has yet to be conquered.

Italians had led the thirteenth-century outgoings of Latin Christendom both in the Eurasian Continent and in the Atlantic Ocean; throughout the fourteenth they remain the most active of European pioneers in both directions; even if Genoa (by 1400) has grown feebler, and Pisa has been effaced, Venice and Florence have reached the acme of their fortunes. The City of St. Mark does not, in the fifteenth century, produce another Marco Polo; but it furnishes, under Portuguese auspices, a discoverer for the Cape Verde islands (1456); one of its citizens is the first Catholic to enter Abyssinia (c. 1450); between the death of Tamerlane and the final emancipation of Moscovite Russia from Tartar supremacy (1405–80), during the slow working out of the African Cape route, the chief explorers of Southern Asia and Eastern Europe are still Venetians [1].

In other parts of Europe the same continuity of force, however changed in form, is undeniable. The Scandinavian kingdoms in 1397, by the union of Calmar, seem to promise a renewal of that primitive activity which had once carried 'Northmen' over so much of the known world and within the borders of the Unknown; Poland and Lithuania, dynastically united from 1386, compose a new power of the first rank, not really represented by anything in twelfth-century Europe; Hungary, though already feeling the ill-omened pressure of the Turks, still maintains, and will preserve, till the death of Matthias Corvinus [2], a place in the forefront of Christian states.

At the extreme east of the *Terra Christiana*, the Russian people, long before its final deliverance from infidel subjection, is steadily re-forming itself around the new Muscovite centre

[1] e. g. Nicoli Conti in the Indies, &c., before 1444; Ambrogio Contarini in Russia, 1475–6.

[2] A. D. 1490.

in the Upper Volga basin. Soon the empire of Ivan Kalita[1], Ivan the Great, and Ivan the Terrible, which in 1382 had for the last time crouched obediently before the too powerful Mongol[2], would take up the work of Asiatic conquest by the northern overland ways all other Europeans had abandoned. Even before Schiltberger journeys to *Sibur*, Novgorod, saved by its swamps from the overlordship of the Khans, is building up a trade-dominion in the far north, is sending its trappers and its merchants, and sometimes its tax-collectors, to the coasts of the White Sea and of Lapland, to the Northern Ural and beyond, into the basin of the Ob-Irtish, the modern province of Siberian Tobolsk.

[1] The first founder of Muscovite greatness, 1328–41.

[2] When Tokhtamish sacked Moscow, only two years after Dmitri Donskoi's defeat of the Tartars at Kulikovo (1380).

CHAPTER III

THE PILGRIM TRAVELLERS, 1260–1420

ONE section of Asiatic travel remains to be noticed, one other aspect of the eastward overland movement of the Later Middle Age. Christian pilgrimage, whether to the Syrian sites or elsewhere, has now almost wholly lost its older importance; it is no longer the chief, it is not even a prominent, manifestation of European expansion; it is merely an appendix to the great Oriental outgoing of our race which we have followed from the Mediterranean and the Euxine to the Yellow Sea, and from the Polos to Schiltberger. Yet the number of pilgrim-records is greater than ever; in mere bulk this literature would be impressive enough, if we did not remember the tendency observable from the twelfth century to multiply plagiarisms, to reproduce, with ever greater servility, the words and ideas of a few standard textbooks. This tendency now becomes well-nigh overwhelming; only in a few of the post-Crusading pilgrims shall we find anything of independent value. Among these exceptions some of the Russian palmers deserve special notice; in Burchard of Mount Sion, Marino Sanuto[1], Simon Sigoli, William of Boldensel, and some other Western devotees we may also discover passages of a certain novelty and interest—sometimes, as in reference to the course of trade or the progress of knowledge[2], passages of real value; not the least curious development is that of a Palestine-description based on rude compass-mapping or a kind of elementary survey.

In the last forty years of the thirteenth century there are

[1] I refer, of course, only to the Palestine sections of the *Secreta*; see pp. 310-11.

[2] As in Sigoli's allusion to Abyssinia and the African Prester John; see p. 403.

only two[1] Latin Palestine visitors worth more than a cursory reference, Burchard[2] of Mount Sion and Ricold of Monte Croce. With the latter we have already made acquaintance upon a wider field; the former, a priest from the city or neighbourhood of Magdeburg[3], is simply a devotee who follows in the ordinary pilgrim tracks, but with unusual thoroughness of observation, with uncommonly fruitful curiosity, and with a geographical and biological interest, and a capacity for acquiring and digesting information somewhat remarkable in his class, and creditable for his time. His attempt at a scientific subdivision of Syrian regions marks a new epoch in Western descriptions of the Levant, and his method is imitated (often with a wearisome reproduction of his very words) by many of his successors.

On the other hand, we must remember that, if Sanuto and others copy Burchard, he, in his turn, explicitly acknowledges his debt to Jacques de Vitry[4] and frequently echoes the thought and language of John of Würzburg. The common element in the two German pilgrims is probably derived from one of those (now lost) *Compendia* of Sacred Travel which had passed into general use, and whose effect upon Burchard's predecessors we have already traced[5].

Burchard was not only a priest but a friar: even before he first went to the Levant in 1232, he had entered the Dominican Order; yet his religious profession did not prevent him from

[1] For a notice of others see below, p. 390.

[2] 'Burchardus de Monte Sion,' sometimes spelt 'Brocardus,' 'Brocartus,' 'Borcardus,' 'Burgardus,' &c. I quote from the edition by J. C. M. Laurent in *Peregrinatores Quatuor* [here cited as *Per. Quat.*]. As to other editions (e. g. W. A. Neumann's, Geneva, 1880, the English version made for the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 1896, &c.), see Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 56–60.

[3] Cf. the curious dedication in some MSS., 'Fratri Burchardo in Magdeburg, Frater Burchardus de Monte Sion,' the author's use of the distance 'from Magdeburg to Barboy' as a measure of distance, and his comparison of the size of Jerusalem with that of Old Magdeburg: 'Ierusalem amplior multo sit et longior quam antiqua civitas Magdeburgensis, quam includit murus circuiens de S. Ambrosio usque ad novam civitatem exclusive'; see *Per. Quat.*, pp. 63–4, note 431.

[4] *Per. Quat.*, p. 23.

[5] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 184, 188, 189, &c.

exhibiting a tolerance and candour equally remarkable and refreshing. Nor is his reading merely ecclesiastical; for, besides Church Fathers such as Jerome and Eusebius, and sacred historians such as Josephus[1], he has some knowledge of Classical poets and philosophers such as Horace and Plato[2]. At the same time his work gives us a true reflection of the credulous gossip, the confused history, and the misunderstood topography which clung, like inevitable parasites, to the most enlightened of pilgrim wayfarers.

Originally he may have hailed from Strassburg[3]; but, as we have said, he was apparently settled at or near Magdeburg when he compiled this record of his journeys in Syria, Egypt, Cilicia and other parts of the Near East, some time after the year 1282.

His title 'De Monte Sion' is traditionally derived from his long residence—certainly of two, possibly of ten, years—in the Holy Land[4]. He refers to events of 1253-60, 1263, 1268, 1271, and 1274, and perhaps to the Ten Years' truce between Moslem and Christian concluded in 1282; but no satisfactory allusion to later events, such as those of 1285, can be deduced from his narrative[5], and the date of 1283, assigned to the work by an early scholiast[6], is probably correct.

There are two forms of this *Description*. The earlier and briefer was circulated privately, as a letter to friends, accompanied by a map; the success of this led to a revised and enlarged copy being issued later[7]. In both redactions the

[1] iii. 6; *Per. Quat.*, p. 32. Josephus, to Burchard, settles the question of the true source of the Jordan, at Phiala, 120 stadia south of the Jordan springs of pilgrim tradition.

[2] Prologue; *Per. Quat.*, p. 19.

[3] See *Burchard* in the Publications of the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, p. iii.

[4] *Per. Quat.*, pp. 4, 35-6.

[5] See ch. ii, §§ 8, 10, 23, 29; ch. vi, §§ 7, 8; ch. xiii, §§ 4, 8 of the *Descriptio*; *Per. Quat.*, pp. 26, 27, 29, 30, 47, 89, 90-1. From the reference to Sidon (*Per. Quat.*, 27), it is clear that Burchard was not aware of some important developments of Syrian history subsequent to 1260.

[6] *Per. Quat.*, 4. It has been suggested, however, that Burchard made additions to his *Descriptio* as late as 1295.

[7] The first redaction may be found in Henr. Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, vi. pp. 295-322 (1604); and in the

text of Burchard is, to a great extent, merely an exposition of this design, whose main peculiarity[1] is the selection of a centre at Acre (the Syrian city best known to Latin Christians at this time), and the construction from this centre of a Levant topography:—the whole of the Nearer East being first divided into four principal quarters, corresponding to the four cardinal points, and then subdivided into twelve smaller parts, answering to the twelve winds of heaven.

To the entire region between Egypt and the Tigris, including Arabia and Mesopotamia (as he conceived them), Burchard applies the name of *Greater Syria*; but while on one side he extends *Syria Mesopotamia*, properly lying between Tigris and Euphrates, to the Red Sea, on the other he brings *Arabia Prima* up into Bashan[2]. Palestine, in his system, answers to the fifth part of Syria, Damascus and Lebanon to the fourth; to the Holy Land he gives the orthodox triple subdivision of Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria; while his threefold Arabia apparently corresponds to the Hauran, Moab and Ammon, and the Hejaz, the last with a northern extension as far as Moab[3]. For in *Great Arabia* he places not only Mecca with the sepulchre of 'infamous Machomet[4],' but also that Montreal 'called Krach' which he identifies with Petra in the Wilderness, to the *east* of the Dead Sea[5], and in whose great fortress, built by King Baldwin of Jerusalem, the Mameluke Sultan now stored his treasures[6].

Nor is this Burchard's only allusion to Crusading Syria.

Thesaurus Monumentorum of Basnage, iv. pp. 1–26 (1725); the best edition of the second is in Laurent, *Per. Quat.* (see above).

[1] Prologue, *Per. Quat.*, 21. On Burchard's map and the semi-cartographical treatment of Syria, &c., in his text, see Laurent, *Per. Quat.*, 3, 21, &c.

[2] Ch. i. §§ 2, 4; *Per. Quat.*, 21–2. The true Bashan is 'Bostrum . . . nunc Busereth, . . . olim Bosra' in Burchard, who puts the 'regnum Og, regis Basan' in the Second Arabia of Moab and Ammon.

[3] Ch. i, §§ 1–4; *Per. Quat.*, 21–2.

[4] 'Mecca, civitas sepulturae detestabilis Machometi' (the ordinary Christian blunder), i. 4; *Per. Quat.*, 22.

[5] 'Mons regalis qui Krach dicitur . . . olim . . . Petra Deserti, super mare mortuum,' ibid.; the supposed position, 'in littore orientali' [maris mortui], is given in vii. 42 (*Per. Quat.*, 58–9); where we also have the form 'Mons real.' Burchard has confused the Edomite and Moabite 'Krachs.'

[6] vii. 42; *Per. Quat.*, 58–9.

He gives a brief though vivid sketch of Acre and its fortifications, especially those maintained by the Military Orders[1]: and he refers to the Templars' lost citadels of *Belfort*[2] in the Leontes valley and *Sephet*[3] or Safed, overlooking the Sea of Gennesareth; to the Hospitallers' relinquished strongholds of 'Crac des Chevaliers[4],' to the north of the Lebanon, *Belvoir*[5], near the mouth of Kishon, in the Bay of Acre, and Arsuf[6] on the coast between Caesarea and Jaffa; to *Montfort*[7], north-east of Acre, where the Teutonic Knights had one of their proudest fastnesses; and to the defences of Christian Sidon[8], partly the work of *German* pilgrims. In the same way he commemorates the palace-fortress on Mount Tabor[9], destroyed in 1263; the city of Caesarea, ruined by Bibars in 1268[10]; and the *Château Pèlerin* or *Castrum Peregrinorum*[11], between Carmel and Caesarea, which still served as one of the chief bulwarks of the decaying Christian power in the Levant.

In his measurements of distance, as compiler of a reliable guide-book to the Holy Land, Burchard is perhaps the first of all mediaeval pilgrim-writers; the close accuracy of his itinerary and descriptions has made him in many instances the guide of modern scholars[12]; but the fancy, the pedantry, and the traditionalism of his class are not altogether absent from his page. Thus the extreme loftiness of Mount Gilead is a necessary deduction in his mind from the text which declared it the *head* of Lebanon[13]; while the Dead Sea is of course 'Hell's chimney[14],' which wasted with its *smoke* all the

[1] e.g. ii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 23.

[2] ii. 8; *Per. Quat.*, 26. Belfort was held by the Temple from 1240 to 1268.

[3] iv. 5; *Per. Quat.*, 34. Safed was betrayed in 1266.

[4] ii. 23; *Per. Quat.*, 29. This northern 'Krach' fell to Bibars in 1271.

[5] 'Belveir,' vi. 9; *Per. Quat.*, 48.

[6] 'Assur' in Burchard, x. 5; *Per. Quat.*, 83. B. confuses Arsuf and Antipatris, Gaza and Gazara.

[7] iii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 31.

[8] ii. 10; *Per. Quat.*, 26.

[9] vi. 9; *Per. Quat.*, 47.

[10] x. 4; *Per. Quat.*, 83.

[11] x. 2; *Per. Quat.*, 82-3.

[12] Especially d'Anville.

[13] iii. 9; *Per. Quat.*, 33.

[14] 'Sicut caminus inferni,' vii. 46; *Per. Quat.*, 59.

rich vale of Jericho, and on whose banks grew the fruit of dust and ashes[1]: it is not so easy to tell why he elevates the Shiloh heights (of 'St. Samuel') into the loftiest mountain of all Palestine[2], why he invents a second Kishon flowing to the Sea of Galilee[3], or why he brings the course of Jordan right through the Asphaltic Lake, only to be swallowed by the earth a little way beyond[1]. On the other hand his own wide experience and unusual good sense keep him straight on many a point. He merely notices, without approving, the favourite legend of the twin Jor-Dan sources of the sacred river[4]; and as to rainless Gilboa, the sharp lesson of one St. Martin's day, when he had been soaked to the skin upon that highland, had taught him not to construe King David's curse too literally[5].

To Jerusalem, as to Hebron[6], Burchard devotes an elaborate, accurate, and useful section[7], abounding in first-hand reminiscence; his allusion to contemporary doubts of the identity of some of the holy sites[8], and his recognition of such facts as the raising of the city level, through the destructions and deposits of centuries[9], are very noteworthy at so early and uncritical a time.

As to the size of the Land of Promise, his notions are

[1] vii. 41, 46; *Per. Quat.*, 58, 59-60. Burchard declares that he witnessed with his own eyes the devastating effect of the Dead Sea 'vapor' (*Per. Quat.*, 59). Many said the Jordan was lost in the ground *before* it touched the 'lacus aspalti,' but from Saracen informants the pilgrim learnt 'quod intrat et exit, sed post modicum spacium ab exitu a terra absorbetur' (*Per. Quat.*, 58, 60).

[2] 'Silo quae Rama dicitur,' vii. 30, ix. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 57, 76.

[3] 'Cison dupliciter currit, aliqua pars . . . contra orientem ad mare Galileae, aliqua . . . contra occidentem ad mare magnum,' vii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 48.

[4] iii. 5, 6; *Per. Quat.*, 32 ('non est verus ortus Iordanis').

[5] vii. 15; *Per. Quat.*, 52 ('non verum est quod nec ros nec pluvia veniat super montes Gelboae').

[6] viii. 22-5; *Per. Quat.*, 81-2. Here, at the 'sepulchrum Patriacharum' he saw for himself the great stones, measuring 26-30 feet, in the ancient wall, and gathered some of the famous red earth from which Adam was created.

[7] viii. 1-5; *Per. Quat.*, 63-75.

[8] Though he indignantly repudiates these 'fabulae,' viii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 63.

[9] e. g. viii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 64, 65, 67-8.

moderate and sensible. He does not fancy that because of its surpassing sanctity, it was therefore the largest of countries; and he puts down its length, 'from Dan to Beersheba' as only about ninety leagues, while its breadth from Jordan to Mediterranean was nowhere more than forty[1].

Yet, though not the largest; Burchard considered Palestine (in spite of ignorant detractors, active even in his day), to be emphatically the best of lands, very fertile in grain and cotton, flowers and fruit, honey and oil, sugar and wine; abounding in all the good things of this world[2]; but as to inhabitants producing only criminals so vile that it was marvel the earth should endure them. And of all these wretches none were so evil as the pilgrim's own people from the Latin West—thieves and murderers who masqueraded as penitents, and changed nothing but the scene of their wickedness, evil fathers who begot worse children, and were succeeded by most sinful grandchildren, treading upon the holy places with polluted feet[3].

Hardly less infamous were the Saracens, stained by unnatural vice, or the Syrian Christians, disfigured by meanness and treachery[4]: the continued schism of the Greeks, the offensive pride of the Catholic prelates, the infinite variety of Oriental sects (Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and the rest) were equally to be deplored[5]; only in the vast preponderance of Christian population, however debased, does Burchard find any comfort. For, in spite of ill-informed persons who declared the contrary, his own conviction was that except in Egypt, Arabia, and the Turcoman-settled districts of Cappadocia, the whole East, even to India and Ethiopia, acknowledged Christ[6]. But the unwarlike character of these Oriental Christians, who, as he thinks, outnumbered their Moslem

[1] xi. 1–12; *Per. Quat.*, 85–6. On the other side of Jordan, from the north end of the Sea of Galilee to the brook Arnon, Palestine was barely 47 'leucae' in length (*Per. Quat.*, 85). Burchard's 'leuca' is an hour's march, on foot.

[2] xii. 1–8; *Per. Quat.*, 86–8.

[3] xiii. 1; *Per. Quat.*, 88–9.

[4] xiii. 2–3; *Per. Quat.*, 89. Burchard's notice of the Moslem 'effebiae' is uncommon and remarkable.

[5] xiii. 4–5; *Per. Quat.*, 89.

[6] xiii. 8; *Per. Quat.*, 90.

enemies by full thirty to one, made them subject to men of other creeds. Thus at the Court of Little Armenia, where our pilgrim had once stayed for three weeks, all were Christian, save a few Tartars; yet these infidels represented the suzerain power[1].

For the Jacobites, Georgians, and other Eastern heretics or schismatics of whose tenets he had learnt something, Burchard makes a notable apology. They were not really heretics at all, he declares, but men of simple and devout life, possessing archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and calling them (with one exception) by the same names as in the Catholic hierarchy[2]. Only in the case of the Nestorians was there a notable peculiarity; their chief prelate had the title of *Iaselich*[3]; and this potentate was far too important to be passed over. For the Oriental regions of his jurisdiction (as Burchard had learned for certain) were of greater extent than all the territories of the Western Church[4]. As to the Patriarch of the Armenians and Georgians, the *Catholicus* of Sis, the writer had once spent a fortnight in his company, with great edification. For this man, though rich and powerful beyond measure, and reverenced with dutiful humility by the king and court, was dressed only in an old worn tunic and coarse sheepskin pelisse, not worth five shillings sterling[5]. Those who sneered at the subject Christians of the East, Burchard almost hints, might do well to take a lesson from their humility.

Elsewhere our Dominican refers to journeys not only in Syria and Cilicia, but also in Egypt, where by the Sultan's order he was taken to view the famous balsam-garden near Cairo[6]; of the Christian and non-Christian sects in the Lebanon (including the Maronites and Assassins), he has much to tell[7]; with a certain elementary notion of orographical

[1] xiii. 8; *Per. Quat.*, 90–1.

[2] xiii. 8; *Per. Quat.*, 91.

[3] See Marco Polo and Ricold of Monte Croce, pp. 56, 200 of this volume.

[4] Ibid.

[5] 'Nullo modo valebant v solidos sterlingorum,' xiii. 9; *Per. Quat.*, 91.

[6] vii. 53; *Per. Quat.*, 61.

[7] iii. 12; xiii. 7, 8; *Per. Quat.*, 34, 90–1. Burchard alludes to the *Persian* origin of the Assassins, their 'senex de montanis,' so-called 'non proprietatis, sed ingenii maturitate,' and their recent negotiations with the Church of Rome.

system he ventures to consider all the highlands of Palestine as forming one great range, though called by various names in various places, 'as one may see any day in the Alps between Germany and Lombardy'[1]; while in his account of the Midianites, Bedouins, and Turcomans[2], those tent-dwelling shepherds who now filled all Syria, but were especially to be found about Tortosa and in the Jordan valley, he preserves for us an excellent picture of the changed conditions of Palestine life since the victory of Nomadism[3].

Passing by nearly forty minor works[4] of pilgrim-literature, such as the 1281 *Letter* of Sir Joseph de Cancy to Edward I of England, and the French *Devise des Chemins de Babiloine*, we come back to an old friend in Ricold of Monte Croce, who in certain parts of his *Itinerary*[5] and *Epistles* has described to us those earlier wanderings of his in Syria (about 1286–7) which preceded his more extensive Eastern travels.

Starting from Acre, Ricold seems to have crossed Galilee to the lake of Tiberias; thence returning to the Mediterranean coast, he probably made his way from the great Crusading fortress down to Jaffa and so up to Jerusalem, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea; finally, he quitted Palestine by this very same coast-route, continued northward through Tripoli and Tortosa into Cilicia, whence he set out upon his main undertaking, the journey to Tabriz and Baghdad.

In Syria he has the same woful tale of churches profaned, Christians insulted, and Moslems triumphant, as in other parts of the Levant; at Magdala and Mount Sion he found the sacred buildings of his faith transformed into stables; in Jerusalem Saracen bigotry even forbade him entrance, on one occasion, to the Sepulchre of his Lord[6]. But, for the rest,

[1] iii. 8; *Per. Quat.*, 33 ('sicut palam est videre in Alpibus, quae separant Theutoniam et Lombardiam').

[2] 'Torcomanni et Madianitae et Bodwini,' ii. 23; *Per. Quat.*, 29.

[3] ii. 23; xiii. 6; *Per. Quat.*, 29, 89-90.

[4] For a complete list of these see Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 53–65.

[5] See e.g. chs. i–vi of the *Itinerary*; pp. 105–13, *Per. Quat.*; and *Letter* . . .

[6] *Itinerary*, ch. iv; p. 108, *Per. Quat.*

Ricold's survey of 'God's Land' has little for us to linger over; all of real value in his contributions to history and geography we have already noticed in tracing his progress from Lesser Armenia into Persia; and the 10,000 Christian catechumens whom he saw at the Epiphany-baptism in the Jordan[1]; the Assassins or sons of Ishmael[2] in the Lebanon, to whom death opened the delights of eternal life; the marvel of the sweetness of the Sea of Galilee, fed by so many foul, bitter, and sulphurous streams[3]; and the rich beauty of the plain of Jericho, as seen from the Mountain of the Temptation[4], however quaintly they are pictured here, may be paralleled in many other mediaeval writers. It is not as a pilgrim that Ricold wins the reputation which a candid criticism will yet concede to be his due.

Fourteenth-century Palestine descriptions open with the *Secreta* of Marino Sanuto. But in the elaborate dissertation on the history and geography of the 'holy promised land' which fills the fourteenth part of his Third Book[5], Sanuto has little original matter to give us, apart from the curious and valuable maps of Palestine, of the Levant coasts, of Acre, and of Jerusalem. The only noteworthy part of his text is the exposition of his Palestine chart, which is constructed according to a rude scheme of latitude and longitude[6], twenty-eight 'spaces' from north to south, and eighty-three from east to west, being delineated, and the positions of places then defined by reference to these *spatia*[7].

Otherwise, Marino's treatment of the sacred country is almost entirely based upon earlier work—mainly upon the

[1] *Itinerary*, ch. iv; *Per. Quat.*, 109.

[2] *Per. Quat.*, 113. The confusion of Ismailians and Ishmaelites is common enough in Ricold's time.

[3] *Per. Quat.*, 106.

[4] *Per. Quat.*, 109.

[5] In Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 243-59: see also B., 85-7, 142-3, 159-60, 173-89, for other Syrian passages in Sanuto's *Secreta*.

[6] Not that these space-defining lines are really markings of a scientific character; they are simply aids to the finding of places.

[7] See also ch. vi of this volume. Sanuto illustrates his map-system by 153 instances in his text, iii. xiv. 3 (B., 246-9).

Bible, the Crusading historians, and Burchard [1]; to a less degree upon Arculf and Bede [2], John of Würzburg and Theoderich, the *City of Jerusalem* and the Anonymous Pilgrims [3].

What remains is mostly connected with Sanuto's great purpose—the preaching of a new Crusade. From the desolate condition of Palestine in the fourteenth century he points his moral: from the heedlessness of Christian 'shepherds' in the thirteenth he adorns his tale. For if they, like those of former days, had only watched their flocks, then perchance a *lion from the forest* had not slain them, nor a *wolf of the evenings* laid them waste; nor had a *leopard*, swift to do evil, taken under his cruel care the cities they had deserted [4].

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the number of Palestine pilgrims and Palestine treatises shows a certain decline; but, besides the *Secreta* of Sanuto, we can still reckon over twenty works of this type between 1300 and 1350. Among these are the *Book of the Holy Land* [5], commonly, though perhaps falsely, attributed to Friar Odoric, and in any case written about 1310–30, *The Journey to the Sepulchre of the Lord* [6] by Antony de Reboldis of Cremona (1327), the *Description* of Palestine [7] by John Fedantiola (1330), the *Pilgrimage-Book* [8] of James of Verona (1336), and the *Oversea-Record* [9] of Nicolas of Poggibonsi (1345); but we shall not attempt to treat these in any detail. The vain repetitions of this literature become yet vainer as we move

[1] The loans from Burchard will be found mainly in iii. xiv. 3–7, 11 (B., 249–53, 258).

[2] iii. xiv. 6 (B., ii. 252).

[3] Especially from the Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth of the *Innominati*; see iii. xiv. 8, 9, 10 (B., ii. 253–7), and cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 203–7.

[4] *Secreta*, iii. xiv. 11 (B., ii. 259): the 'leo' is Saladin; the 'lupus' Bibars, Sanuto's 'Bendocdar'; the 'pardus, velox ad malum et praeceps,' is 'Melek Messor,' i. e. the 'King of Egypt,' a title evidently mistaken by Marino for the name of a Mameluke Sultan.

[5] *Liber de Terra Sancta.* On this and the other treatises mentioned in this paragraph see Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 68–89.

[6] *Itinerarium ad Sepulchrum Domini, anno* 1327.

[7] *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae.*

[8] *Liber Peregrinationis.*

[9] *Libro d'Oltramare*: on all these and the other Latin pilgrim memoirs of 1300–50, see Röhricht, 68–89.

further away from the Crusading Age; and the only examples of Catholic pilgrim-narrative, from the first forty years of the Avignon Captivity (1309–50), which it will repay us to examine with any minuteness, excluding the memoir of Messer Marino, are the *Hodoeporicon* of William of Boldensel, and the *Way Book*[1] of Ludolf of 'Suchem.'

The chief interest of Boldensel's treatise[2] lies in 'Sir John Mandeville's' obligations to the same. For in the Nearer East, as we have seen, the arch-deceiver of Liège relies mainly upon the Itinerary of the German nobleman who visited Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, in 1332–3.

At other epochs of his life Boldensel appears as a partisan of the Emperor Ludwig V, as a deserter from the Imperial to the Papal camp, as a prominent Dominican, and as a client of that Cardinal Talleyrand-Périgord who tried in vain to mediate before the battle of Poictiers (1346). His journey to the Levant was perhaps the result of a commission from the Cardinal aforesaid, representing the supreme authorities of the Church; his real object may have been a fresh examination and description of the Holy Land, in view of a projected revival of Crusading activity, such as Sanuto and others[3] had preached so passionately. Whether as a pretext for a semi-political undertaking, or no, Boldensel (probably in the spring of 1332) obtained pontifical licence to make the Syrian pilgrimage for his soul's health; in May, 1333, he reached Jerusalem; and in 1336 he compiled his report[4], thus providing material and suggestion for the Crusade preached by

[1] See below, pp. 309–16.

[2] *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam*; my references are to Basnage's edition in *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum*, vol. iv, pp. 331–57 [hereafter quoted as Ba.]. On other editions (e. g. Canisius' and Grotefend's, of 1604 and 1855), on the various forms of Boldensel's name (otherwise written 'Baldensel,' 'Boldensele,' 'Boldensleve,' 'Bodensele,' 'Bolensele,' &c.), and on his disuse of his proper name of Otto von Nienhues (or Rienhuzz), see Ba., 332–3; Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 73.

[3] See above, pp. 309–19.

[4] Boldensel's work, called by him also a *Tractatus de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus*, &c., Ba., 357, was in any case compiled 'ad instantiam Thalayrandi Petragorici . . . Cardinalis,' Ba., ibid.

Benedict XII in that very year. Considerable importance was attached to his narrative, from the first: it was translated into French by Long John of Ypres, the Hakluyt of the Middle Ages, in 1351 [1]; and it was as a standard work of Levantine travel and observation that it attracted the predatory instincts of 'Mandeville,' about 1357.

Boldensel was a rich and powerful personage, moving under the highest patronage; the pomp and circumstance of his journey, his escort, chaplains, furniture, horses, and the rest, made a great impression at the time; and to many who came after, such as Ludolf of 'Suchem,' his chief successor among the Latin pilgrims of the century, he serves not only as a literary model, but as an historical landmark [2].

Yet to us his importance is only comparative. He rises, indeed, somewhat markedly above the general run of the later pilgrim-writers, but he is only a leading figure of a class now become insignificant.

The good knight's outward way [3], from Germany into Lombardy, and from Lombardy to the Apulian extremity of Italy, by land;—along the coasts of Greece or *Romania* to Constantinople [4], and from the Eastern Rome to Chios and Rhodes, Crete and Lycia, Cyprus and Tyre, by sea;—is nowise remarkable, save only for the confused geography of his record. Thus in his description of the Mediterranean from the *Strait*

[1] See the title in MS. Franç. 2810 (formerly 8392) of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: 'Un traitiet de la Terre Sainte et . . . d'Egypte, fait par Guill. de Boldensele . . . translaté par . . . Jean d'Ypre, moyne de St. Berlin [Bertin] en St. Aumer, l'an 1351.'

[2] See below, pp. 399, 402.

[3] Boldensel's statements (Ba., 337) that after crossing Lombardy he sailed from Naulon (Aulon?) 'on the coasts of Genoa,' and that while he passed *through* Lombardy, Tuscany, Calabria, and Apulia, he went *by* Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily (Ba., 338), are perplexing.

[4] The description of Constantinople in the present *Hodoeporicon* (337–8, Ba.) is classic for the later Middle Ages, and is greatly utilized by subsequent travellers (e.g. as to the gilt-bronze equestrian statue of Justinian holding in its left hand an apple, representing the world, surmounted by a cross, and lifting its right hand like a prince threatening rebels; cf. Schiltberger, p. 364 of this volume), but has nothing of real value or originality.

of Morocco[1], or Gibraltar, to the Bosphorus, *Strait of Constantinople*, or *Arm of St. George*, he identifies the latter not only with the Hellespont but also with the Euxine itself[2]; on the other hand he has a good general notion of the Caspian, its position (east of the Black Sea and beyond Sarai of Tartary), and its land-locked character[3]; he knows something of the Kipchak Khanate; and his account of *Turcia* or Asia Minor, of Cyprus and its towns, of the gum of Chios, and of the Hospitallers' establishment at Rhodes, is above reproach[4].

Landing in Phoenicia, where the (probably corrupt) text makes him confuse Sidon and Acre[5], our *Edelherr* seems to have journeyed down the Syrian coast through Caesarea, Jaffa, and Gaza, to the southern frontier of Judaea, to have visited the *oblong* country of Egypt[6], and to have crossed and re-crossed the desert, before making his entry into the Holy City, or exploring any other parts of the Palestine Upland. To the *patria* of the ancient Pharaohs, the strongest bulwark of Islam in his day; to the Babylon of the Nile[7]; to the Pyramids (no granaries of Joseph, as foolish folk supposed, but monuments of olden time[8]); to that famous river, the Gihon of Scripture, if not the Gihon and the Phison com-

[1] 'Demorach' in the MSS., for 'de Maroch.'

[2] 'Hoc mare Mediterraneum . . . altero . . . brachio, quod *Hellespontus* dicitur seu brachium S. Georgii, continuatur, quodque nullam habens insulam . . . *Maius* nuncupatur. In hoc mari B. Clemens Papa submergitur . . .' Ba., 337. Of the term *Black* Sea Boldensel of course gives no hint; but he supplies the unusual synonym of 'butta Constantinopolitana' for the Bosphorus.'

[3] 'Mare versus Orientem ultra civitatem Sara quam tenet Tartarus de Ammonia, quod Caspium dicitur.' It was not joined with any other sea 'aliquo apparenti brachio,' though some said there was a connexion with the Pontus 'per gurgitem subterraneum,' Ba., 337.

[4] Ba., 338.

[5] Ba., 339.

[6] 'Oblonga patria Aegyptus,' Ba., 341.

[7] Boldensel (Ba., 340–1) distinguishes this Babylon from the 'antiqua Babylonia' said to be near the Babel Tower, begun by Noah's Children; this lay thirty-five days' journey north-east from Cairo, and was identified by some with 'Baldatum' (Baldacum, Baghdad). The pilgrim seems to think that the city of the Caliphs, like that of Nebuchadnezzar, lay on the Euphrates; but his distinction of Cairo and Egyptian Babylon ('duae civitates parum distantes,' Ba., 340) shows local knowledge.

[8] 'Antiquorum monumenta . . .

bined into one stream [1], within whose basin, tightly compressed by deserts, rainless Egypt entirely lay, and on whose flood the marvellous fertility of the land depended; to the Coptic Christianity of the Mameluke capital and the marvels of the same, from the Sultan's balsam-garden and Indian giraffe [2] to the miracle of egg-hatching by artificial warmth—Boldensel denotes some excellent pages, not unvalued by plagiarists of later time [3]. As he complacently records, his investigations were everywhere facilitated by the extraordinary privileges he enjoyed, in virtue of his rank and recommendations [4]; but it is curious that, while he rejects the fable of Mohammed's coffin suspended between heaven and earth by iron-stone attraction [5], he has not learnt its true position, but repeats the ordinary Catholic misconception of a Mecca burial-place for the False Prophet [6]. Yet he approached nearer to the Holy Land of Islam than most Christian travellers; for his track from Cairo to Sion led him over the deserts of Rocky Arabia to the Sinai highland and the convent of St. Catharine, where the arrival of his cavalcade made a prodigious stir in a community accustomed only to visitors on foot and camel-back. Of the Red Sea, by whose banks he travelled for three days, he gives a clear and accurate sketch, impartially dismissing the fables of its red water, red shores, or red bottom [7], but noticing

ultra fluvium Paradisi . . . inter Aegyptum et Africam,' Ba., 342. The Latin verses Boldensel quotes here, from Trajan's time, are also given by Ludolf of 'Suchem.'

[1] Some thought these united in Upper Ethiopia and so formed the Nile, Ba., 341. Boldensel makes much of the lign aloes and cornelians ('lapides carneoli') of the river of Egypt.

[2] 'Indiae jerafam,' Ba., 341. Boldensel gives a good account of the parrots he saw in Egypt, 'gestibus suis homines mirabiliter ad deductionem provocantes,' Ba., 342.

[3] On Egypt altogether cf. Ba., 340–3.

[4] Ba., 343. He travelled with his whole retinue or 'familia,' 'habitu militari,' 'sine omni tributo, exactione, telonio,' &c.

[5] 'Quod pendeat in aere per virtutem petrae quae ferrum trahit,' Ba., 341–2.

[6] Ba., ibid. See above on Schiltberger, p. 375 of this volume. Boldensel knows of the 'Liber Alcoranus,' and the prohibition of wine and pork, and indulges in some vigorous invective on the 'serpentina astutia' of the Impostor.

[7] Ba., 343. Boldensel allows, however, that the 'gleba' of the Red Sea might perhaps be red in other places ('alibi') where he had not been.

its white coral and the gradual expansion of its surface as it neared that Great Sea or Indian Ocean, of which it was a 'kind of arm.' Admirable, too, is his picture of the *Ribildim* or Bedouins of the waste—those brown, tent-dwelling warriors, swift and untiring in the march, who lived by their flocks, eating no bread, and with the aid of the desert, of their shields and lances, and of their *camels called dromedaries*, defied the Soldan's power [1].

But though sometimes affording us fresh, vivid, and interesting glimpses of men and things outside the Holy Land, within the borders of Palestine Boldensel, rarely outrageous in error or superstition, is usually commonplace and wearisome. It is true that he notices, among the schismatical Christians of Jerusalem, those *Indians who held the faith of Prester John* [2]; that he explains the 'weeping' of certain marble pillars with remarkable perception of scientific fact [3]; and that he gives us some less hackneyed details both of Nablûs and its white-turbaned Samaritans, and of Damascus with its Indian, Armenian, and Persian trade [4]. It is also matter for remark when we find him guided to some of the Holy Sites by a German Jew [5], and conferring knighthood, with the full knowledge and consent of the local governor, upon two Christian paladins, at the Sepulchre of Jesus [6]. Yet, on the whole, his account of Syria is of little value in the history of exploration. As to the Jordan and its sources, the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee, the divisions of the sacred country, and the chief sites of Catholic devotion [7], he scarcely ever goes beyond a dull

[1] Ba., 345, 'parum' curant Soldanum.' 'Mandeville's' account of the Bedouins (see above, p. 321) is mainly corrupted Boldensel.

[2] Ba., 348. Among *other* Dissenters in the Holy City he mentions *Ethiopians* and *Nubians* (as well as Nestorians, Georgians, and 'Decentuani') herein pointing away from Abyssinia.

[3] Ba., 350, 'facilis est transitus aquae in aerem... et aerem in aquam ... necesse sit ... distillare,' &c.

[4] Ba., 353, 356. Christians in Nablûs, it appears, then wore yellow, Jews grey, and Saracens white, turbans.

[5] Ba., 350, 'bene literato Iudaeo Teytonico.'

[6] Ba., 350, 'feci duos milites nobiles supra sepulchrum, gladios accingendo et alia observando quae ... fieri consueverunt.'

[7] Ba., 352, &c., 356-7.

reproduction of what has already become traditional; from Ludolf of 'Suchem' we gain some additional particulars of our knight's pompous and semi-royal progresses in Palestine[1]; but of these, as of his return to Germany, the composition of his travel-record at the instance of Cardinal Talleyrand, and his death at Cologne, there is no need to say more in this place.

Two other notable Teutons follow in the track of Boldensel: the diverting ecclesiastic Ludolf of 'Suchem' and the athletic nobleman Rudolf of Frameinsberg. Of the latter[2], whose journey from Landshut to Jerusalem and back again, fell entirely within the year 1346, it is enough to notice the list he keeps of his expenses[3], his ascent of Sinai's topmost peak, his comparisons of things Levantine with things German (Gaza with Landshut, Alexandria with Ratisbon, Mount Sinai with Mount Pogen[4], the Nile with the Danube and the Isar)[5] and above all, the evidence he bears to the growing importance of Venice in the Nearer East. For while the City of St. Mark has now become the favourite pilgrim-port, it is to the Venetian hospice that Latin visitors betake themselves for rest, for lodging, and for refreshment, in Cairo[6].

But as to that Ludolf, Rector of the parish church of 'Suchem' or Sudheim in the diocese of Paderborn, who visits Egypt and Syria between 1336 and 1341, and writes down his Recollections of Travel in 1350[7], it is necessary to speak at greater

[1] See below, p. 399.

[2] His work calls itself an *Investigatio et locorum distinctio*; I quote from Basnage's edition ['Ba.'] in vol. iv of the *Thesaurus*, pp. 358–60, immediately following the text of Boldensel.

[3] He seems to have run things pretty close, for out of 350 florins he took with him he spent all but four.

[4] 'Montis in Pogen ex parte Danubii,' Ba., 359.

[5] 'Isra,' Ba., 360. [6] Ba., 359.

[7] *De itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*: my references are from Dr. F. Deycks' edition of 1851 for the Stuttgart *Litterarische Verein* [hereafter quoted as D.]. On other editions, especially the very curious text edited by Dr. G. A. Neumann in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 305–77, see Appendix to this volume, and Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 76–9. Ludolf's *Sudheim* lies on the Paderborn plateau (E. Westphalia), close to the parting of Rhine and Weser watersheds.

length. For among all the Latin pilgrim-writers of the fourteenth century there is none so detailed, none more legendary, none more amusing, than this worthy priest, who dedicates his narrative to Baldwin of Steinfurt, bishop of Paderborn from 1340 to 1361[1], who refers to the recent Palestine travels, worldly pomp, and exceptional court-favour of Boldensel[2], and whose intercourse with the great seems to have emulated that of his predecessor.

During his five years in the Holy Land, Ludolf modestly declares, he was day and night in the company of kings, princes, chiefs, and lords[3]; perhaps this exalted company encouraged him in his natural leaning to the fantastic, for in his *Prologue* he boldly throws aside all pretence of a mere record of dull fact, personally verified; certain parts of his material were 'happily excerpted' from ancient historical works; other portions had been derived from the speech of truthful men[4]. It was only the fear of ignorant cavillers and scoffers that had caused him to omit some things, well worth preserving, lest they should be found incredible[5].

Yet in what does appear there is surely a healthy contempt for hyper-criticism. Thus, in *Bolos* or Constantinople, the church of Sancta Sophia, which in Latin meant the *Transfiguration of the Lord*, and wherein rested so many bodies of *Roman pontiffs*[6]; in the Black Sea, the deserted *isle* of Cherson[7]; in the Kipchak Khanate, the city of *Gara*[8]; and, in Palestine, Sidon *near* Jaffa, Acre identified with Ekron[9], and the Jor made to enter the Sea of Galilee on one side,

[1] Ch. 45; D., 102.

[2] Ch. 37; D., 71.

[3] Prologue; D., 1.

[4] Prologue; D., 2 ('ex antiquis gestis bene aliqua extraxisse, aliqua ex veridicis hominibus audisse').

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ch. 2; D., 4. 'Bolos' of course is πόλις, the 'Fulin' of the Chinese, embodied in the forms 'Escomboli,' 'Istimboli,' 'Stambol,' which we have had already. See above, pp. 337, 364 of this volume and pp. 473-4 of *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i.

[7] Ch. 4; D., 8: 'optima . . . ex ea deportantur marmora,' adds Ludolf; cf. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 504. Kherson was not finally desolated till 1368.

[8] Ibid. 'Gara' sounds like an attempt to reproduce both 'Gazaria' and 'Sarai.'

[9] This muddle is achieved by many pilgrim writers.

and the Dan on another, while a third branch of the Sacred River is brought from the foot of Carmel [1]—are not these good instances of the bold and skilful use of veracious guides, both written and oral? And, once more, in the river Inda, dividing Africa and Europe, and flowing past Biterris or Béziers [2]; in *Narbonne*, the *Narrator of good things*, built by Hannibal in rivalry of Roman Béziers [3]; in *Galata* or Pera, that town of *milk*-white folk *near Corinth*, to which St. Paul wrote his *Galatian* letter [4]; and in *Colos* or Rhodes, recipient of the *Colossian* epistle, where lived the ram with the golden fleece, and whence the ruin of Troy proceeded [5]—have we not here some precious fruits of travel and study? Nor is Ludolf less instructive upon Tabriz, the ancient *Susa* [6]; upon Damietta, apparently a name both for Mesopotamian Edessa and for Persian Rey, near Teheran [7]; upon the scarlet floor of the Red Sea; upon its water glowing like red wine; and upon the wondrous clearness of its depths, wherein, three miles [8] below the surface, one could still discern a penny lying [9]. In his pages we learn all about Damascus, that ancient city founded by the slave of Abraham upon the site of Abel's murder, and so beloved by Greeks that they named their eldest sons from it—*Polydamas*, that is, the *City of Damascus* [10]. If, in his stories of the disappearance of the blessed Jordan in the earth before it touched the evil Sea of Sodom, or of the subterranean course of the Upper Nile in

[1] Chs. 24, 25, 42, 43; D., 39, 41, 90, 96.

[2] Ch. 5; D., 8–9. The Inda perhaps represents, in name at least, the Indre in Berry ('Indre et Loire'). Elsewhere Ludolf refers to the 'Stril de Balthar' [Gibraltar] or 'de Marroch,' 'inter Marrochiam et Hispaniam,' beyond which a man could go 'per terram per totum mundum versus meridiem, si non sunt obstacula.' This 'brachium maris' was, to the pilgrim's mind, scarce a quarter of a mile broad, and across the water a Christian and a Barbarian washerwoman would exchange abuse, as they washed their clothes (ch. 4; D., 7).

[3] Ch. 5; D., 9 ('Narbona, quasi narrans bona,' &c.).

[4] Ch. 17; D., 23.

[5] Ch. 19; D., 27.

[6] Ch. 32; D., 58.

[7] Ch. 34; D., 62 ('olim Rages, postea . . . Edissen nunc Damiata vocatur').

[8] 'Ultra xx stadia,' D., 63.

[9] Ch. 35; D., 63.

[10] Ch. 44; D., 97–8.

certain regions[1], our guide is merely repeating well-worn traditions, his genius is indisputably visible in his notice of the crocodile which certain Templars, by judicious tooth-extraction, had converted into a beast of burden[2], or of the wondrous fishes of which he had heard truthful sailors tell, some a good mile in length, and others bred from worms in English and Irish apples[3]. The resemblance perceived by Ludolf between the Turks of Asia Minor and the Frisians of the German Ocean was of course very striking[4]; the original Christianity of these Turks, and their habitat 'by the shore of the North Sea,' indisputable. Nor was the Turkish river, large as the Rhine, which came down from Tartary to Ephesus, and on whose waters gathered the enemies of the faith[5], to be lightly passed over; the devout might well pray that the merits of St. Bartholomew, already so potent in securing the removal of a troublesome volcano from Sicily[6], would procure the obstruction of this anti-Christian stream.

Yet all is not topsy-turvydom in the Rector of Sudheim. Although he places Peking at no great distance from Tabriz, his reference to *Cambaleth*, as the capital of the Tartar Emperor, and as a city of supreme wealth and value, a better and richer holding than all the realm of the Mameluke Sultan, shows a certain grasp of recent developments of remote knowledge[7]. Even in things nearer home, he is not always mythical. Thus he gives us a capital sketch of the Hospitallers at Rhodes under Hélion de Villeneuve[8], stingy miser and grand old master-builder; he paints a lifelike picture (though perhaps with borrowed brush and oils) of Acre, as it had been, and of Cyprus, as it still was[9]; and he furnishes some apparently novel comparisons between Oriental and European (mostly German) places and objects[10]. Lastly, although his

[1] Ch. 42, 33; D., 91, 59.
[2] Ch. 33; D., 59.
[3] Chs. 10, 11; D., 13, 14.
[4] Ch. 17; D., 24.
[5] Ch. 18; D., 25. This description clearly points to the Maeander.
[6] Ch. 15; D., 21.
[7] Ch. 32; D., 58.
[8] 'Elyonus,' ch. 19; D., 27. Hélion was Grand-Master 1327–46.
[9] Chs. 25, 20–3; D., 39–41, 29–35.
[10] Among these are:—A spring of the Lebanon country compared with the fountain of Padere in Paderborn,

description of Mameluke trade-policy in reference to Indian wares, and of the passage of the latter from the Red Sea to the Nile and Egypt, may be merely copied from others, his allusions to Christian prisoners and renegades in Syria and Egypt seem to be drawn from his own experience, like his account of Moslem exactions at Bethlehem and Hebron, or of the mingling of tolerance and bigotry in Moslem Jerusalem[1].

As to the rest, Ludolf's narratives are mainly based upon the writings of his predecessors, whether pilgrims, historians, or raconteurs. Often where it is difficult to be certain of the exact affiliation, it is pretty clear that they are only repeating current tradition, as in the story of the Cairo Sultan's *recent* effort ('in my time') to find the sources of the Nile[2]. The order of pilgrimage which Ludolf follows in Jerusalem is precisely the same as Boldensel's; many complete sentences both of Palestine and extra-Palestine matter are taken, practically verbatim, from the knight's *Hodoeporicon*; in many other places the rector's copying, though not so servile, is equally patent; but for his brilliant and typical nonsense, and his notes upon 'people I have met,' it would be unreasonable to give to a work so constantly imitative a place of so much importance in our survey.

After Ludolf of Suchem and Rudolf of Frameinsberg there

Mt. Lebanon itself with Mt. Osning in the Teutoburger Wald, Mt. Tabor with Mt. Dezenberg in Paderborn diocese, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the Cathedral at Münster, the Nile with the Rhine, Cairo with Paris (to the sevenfold advantage of the former), the warm baths of Tiberias with those of Aachen; see chs. 24, 29, 33, 38, 43; D., 37, 51, 59, 78, 95, 96.

From the number of localities which he cites in the Paderborn region, apart from any connexion with 'Suchem' or 'Sudheim,' it is pretty clear that Ludolf's home was there.

[1] See chs. 30, 31, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43; D., 54–5, 64, 71, 72, 74, 79, 89, 90, 97. Among the Westerns living in Moslem captivity Ludolf notices those at Cairo who venerated the relics of St. Barbara, those of noble birth imprisoned in the Mameluke Sultan's castle on the Red Sea, those who guarded his balsam-garden, certain acquaintances of Boldensel's at Hebron, some Templars taken at the storm of Acre and kept at hard labour in the hill country near the Dead Sea, a Westphalian Jew living near the sea of Galilee, &c.

[2] Ch. 33; D., 59.

is no Latin pilgrim who either requires or rewards a detailed examination of any kind, during the seventy years that still remain to us (1350–1420), although the number of pilgrim-memoirs and of treatises upon the Holy Land, both in Latin and in the newer languages of the West, is well abreast of any previous record [1].

John Marignolli, indeed, visits Judaea and Jerusalem on his return from the Far East and India, in 1351–2; from so quaint an observer we might expect something amusing, if not instructive; but his Palestine references are almost wholly a negligible quantity [2].

Again, in the *Viaggio* of Simon Sigoli [3], who journeyed to Egypt and Syria in 1384, with Leonardo Frescobaldi and other Florentines, there is a remarkable allusion to Prester John, which points decidedly towards Abyssinia. For though a potentate of *India*, this Christian Monarch, in Sigoli's narrative, is a neighbour of the Cairo Sultan and commands the sluices of the Nile, so that at his pleasure he could submerge Alexandria and the Delta.

And, once more, in the journey of Thomas de Swinburne or Swynbourne, Castellan of Guines under Richard II of England, and of Thomas Brygg, probably Swinburne's chaplain, in any case his attendant and assistant-chronicler (1392–3), we have a curious example of devotion reduced to business, typical of the latest mediaeval time. A list of dates is given us; a list of expenses; a note about travelling acquaintances; a short inventory of notable things;—and that is all [4].

[1] See Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 87–106.

[2] See above, p. 305.

[3] *I Viaggi in Terra Santa di Simone Sigoli Fiorentino e Ser Mariano da Siena* (Parma, Pietro Fiaccadori, 1865).

[4] Swinburne's pilgrimage is recorded in a unique MS. at Caius College, Cambridge (no. 449, fols. 167 r.–169 v.); it is printed and edited in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 378–88 (text 380–8), Paris, 1884. Swinburne and Brygg left 'Gynez' or Guines on Tuesday, August 6, 1392, and travelled by way of Venice, Alexandria, Mt. Sinai, and Gaza, to Jerusalem. After visiting the Jordan, they traversed Central Palestine and Galilee, passing through Samaria, Nazareth, and Tiberias; they concluded with an excursion to Damascus (crossing the Upper Jordan near the Sea of Galilee), and returned home from Beyrout, *via* Rhodes. Among the time-entries are:—arrival at Venice, Sept. 1; departure

But nowhere in these records, nor in the Anonymous *Guide-Book*[1] of about 1350, and the later narratives of John of Bodman (1376), John of Hesse (1389), the Four Knights of Metz (1395), Biorn of Iceland (1400), Hans Porner (1418), Nompar de Caumont (1418), and the rest, is there anything of sufficient novelty and importance for us to prolong an inquiry perhaps already too detailed. More than sixty works[2] of Western pilgrim-literature, from the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first two decades of the fifteenth, may be dismissed for the present: only a few of the Slavonic memorials need detain us here.

Among these memorials the most important is certainly that of Ignatius of Smolensk (1389–1405); those of Grethenius (1400), Epiphanius (1416), and Zosimus (1419–21), also offer

next day; Alexandria reached, Oct. 20; Cairo, Nov. 3; Sinai, Nov. 19, and so on. Among the payments recorded are those to the 'magnus' and 'alius drugemannus,' and to the 'consul hospitii nostri,' as well as to camel-drivers, muleteers, and vintners—payments amounting in all to 47 ducats for each of the travellers. Two German knights, 'Hans van Hoske' and 'Snutt van Setau,' with seven esquires from Germany and Bohemia, were Swinburne's ship-companions from Venice to Alexandria. The crocodiles of the Nile, an elephant and a 'geraf' in Cairo, and the spot near Beyrout 'where Noah built the ark,' are the chief *memorabilia*. The voyage to Egypt was made in a merchant-galley, and the whole journey, including four days' sail on the Nile, camel-riding in the desert, and mule-riding from Damascus to Beyrout, took 159 days, and seems to have cost each pilgrim about £250 in modern value. Both Swinburne and Brygg kept journals.

It was on February 8, 1391, that Richard II made Swinburne Captain of Guines, for two years: after his return, he appears as Mayor of Bordeaux (March 8, 1404), as an English naval commander (1405), and as Captain of Fronsac (March 1, 1408). In 1404 he is also named as an English commissioner at Calais charged with Flemish negotiations. See *French Rolls* (Public Record Office, London), 14 Rich. II, membrane 8; 15 Rich. II, memb. 10; 16 Rich. II, memb. 8; 17 Rich. II, memb. 13; *Gascon Rolls*, 6 Henry IV, memb. 5; 10 Henry IV, memb. 6; *Annales Henrici IV* (Rolls), p. 415; and *Royal and Historical Letters . . . of Henry IV* (ed. Hingerton, 1860), pp. 230, 304, 314, 332, 348, 379, 392.

[1] The quaintest thing in the *Guide-Book* is its derivation of Gennesareth from its breezes—'generat auram.'

[2] On these, see Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 87–106. I do not, of course, include the deeply-interesting Ghillibert de Lannoy, whose principal journeys are subsequent to 1420 (1421–2; 1446–7), and reach far beyond the pilgrim-fields.

a certain, though far more limited, field of study; those of Stephen of Novgorod (c. 1350) and Alexander 'the scribe' (c. 1392) are of less value[1].

The 'sinner Stephen' of Great Novgorod, by Lake Ilmen, who with eight comrades visited the holy places at Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem, in the time of the Patriarch Isidore[2], breaks a Russian silence of 150 years (c. 1200–1350)[3], and gives us several curious references to the intercourse then subsisting between *Tsarigrad* and the lands of the Eastern Slavs[4], otherwise, however, his *Pilgrimage* is merely an enumeration of the churches, relics[5], and wonders of the Imperial City.

The chief point in Ignatius, on the other hand, is the detailed *routier* he gives us between Moscow and the Bosphorus. He went out in the train of the metropolitan Pimen, who in 1389 started on his third journey to the Eastern Rome, accompanied by bishop Michael of Smolensk, and various other ecclesiastics; the immediate cause of the journey lay in Pimen's quarrel with the Lord of Moscow, the famous Dmitri of the Don, hero of Kulikovo battle-field; and the party started from the White Stone City on Tuesday, April 13, without asking permission or taking leave of the Grand Prince, but not without arranging that a careful record of the expedition should be kept[6].

[1] For the original text of Stephen, Zosimus, Alexander, and Ignatius, see I. P. Sakharov, *Narratives of the Russian People* (in Russian), vol. ii, book viii, pp. 47–71, 95–108 (St. Petersburg, 1849): French Versions of the same exist in *Itinéraires russes en Orient, traduits pour la Société de l'Orient Latin*, par Mme B. de Khitrovo, pp. 115–25, 128–57, 160–4, 198–221 (Geneva, 1889; hereafter quoted as Kh.). Grethenius and Epiphanius are translated in *Itin. russes*, pp. 166–91, 194–6. For other editions and the MS. authority see Appendix to this volume.

[2] Kh., 115–16.

[3] The last Russian traveller was Antony of Novgorod, A. D. 1200; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 214–15.

[4] Thus many books were now sent into Russia from the monastery of Theodore the Studite (Kh., 121–2); in the same monastery Stephen came upon two Russian Scripture copyists, Ivan and Dobrila of Novgorod (Kh., 123–4).

[5] Of these *Noah's hatchet* is perhaps the most amusing; on the Bosphorus, it appears, the Patriarch once passed a summer (Kh., 119).

[6] Kh., 129. Pimen ordered Bishop

To this piece of foresight we owe the fullest record of travel along Russian rivers which has come down to us from the Middle Age.

The route, indeed, as far as the Pontus, seems to have been almost entirely fluvial: down the Moskva to Kolomna, down the Oka to Ryazan, and down the Don well-nigh from source to mouth [1]. In the upper valley of the latter, Ignatius tells us of a wasted country, peopled only by reindeer, beavers, swans and eagles, and marked by the relics of flourishing cities [2]; in its middle basin he records a multitude of landmarks still easily recognizable [3]; in its lower course, beyond its junction with the Medvyeditsa, he fixes the habitat of the Tartar nomades, those milk-drinking sons of Ishmael, whose dreaded camps lay on both sides the river; whose flocks and herds, horses and camels, passed all count [4]; and whose overlordship was still, in some measure, recognized even by the Prince of Moscow.

At Azov [5] or Tana, moreover, where the pilgrims reached the sea, Ignatius preserves a record of the Latin settlement so famous in the history of Western commerce; here the Russian visitors were arrested and mulcted by the *Franks and Germans* who held sway in the port; only by the payment of a good round sum did Pimen and his party make their escape [6].

Contrary winds embarrassed their Black Sea navigation, and drove them into Sinope Roads [7]; before their arrival in Constantinople, where a colony of their countrymen welcomed their arrival [8], they heard of Kossovo's fatal struggle, of the

Michael, the archimandrite Serge, and 'all those who were willing to do so,' to describe the events of the journey. This duty, perhaps by general consent, was apparently laid upon Ignatius ('we have written down everything').

[1] Kh., 129–32.

[2] e. g. Chiur Mikhailov, Kh., 130–1.

[3] Among these were the estuaries of the Don tributaries, Meshcha, Sosna, and Voronej; the white stone columns at Tikhaya Sosna; the bluffs at Chervleni Yar and Belii Yar; and the settlements at Khoper, Terkli, and Velikaya Luka, &c.; Kh., 131–2.

[4] Kh., 132. Though very apprehensive of the Tartars, Ignatius and his party found them quite hospitable, but, as always, most inquisitive.

[5] 'Ovak' in some MSS.; Kh., 132.

[6] Kh., 133.

[7] Kh., 133–4. On their way they passed the gulf of Kaffa or Theodosia.

[8] Kh., 135.

overthrow of the Serbs, and of the ruin of the Christian cause in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula—a ruin poorly atoned for by the death of Sultan *Amurat* in the hour of victory [1]. Hard by the City of the Caesars, Pimen died [2] and was buried; and within the same was found the man who followed him on the primatial throne of Russia. The journey of the new metropolitan, Cyprian of Kiev, from the Bosphorus to Russia, by way of Byelograd and the mouth of the Dniester, is the last item of geographical interest in Ignatius' narrative [3]. For his long residence in the Imperial City, and his description of its marvels, like the record of his pilgrimages to Palestine and Mount Athos [4], do not offer us anything out of the common, except for peculiar phrases and unusual misconceptions. The *hidden venom* of the serpent column in the Hippodrome of Byzantium [5]; the apparent distinction between the ritual of 'Romans' and 'Franks,' Iberians and Georgians, Germans and Italians, all worshipping in Jerusalem *according to their several rites* [6]; the part played by *Nimrod* in the measurement of earth's centre at the Holy Sepulchre [7]—these are somewhat fresh extravagances on familiar ground, but they are nothing more, and we have already seen enough of the aberrations of the pilgrim-intellect upon Syrian soil.

While Ignatius was still upon his travels, in the reign of Manuel II (1391–1425), and in the patriarchate of Antonius, the 'scribe' Alexander came from Russia to Constantinople, *upon merchant's business* [8]. This is the sole interest of Alexander's trivial note-book; we would gladly know more of the commercial intercourse between Byzantium and Eastern Europe which he represents; but further knowledge is care-

[1] Kh., 134. From Sinope to the Bosphorus they coasted along the Asia Minor shore, passing Amastris, &c.

[2] Sept. 10, 1389; Kh., 139.

[3] Kh., 139–40.

[4] Kh., 135–9, 140, 147–9, 149–57. Ignatius speaks definitely of visiting Salonica in person in 1405, and then describes the Athos convents, &c., without any hint of personal inspection. But it is probable he did go to the Holy Mountain.

[5] Kh., 136.

[6] Kh., 149–50.

[7] Kh., 150.

[8] Kh., 161.

fully withheld, and instead of material for the economic history of the fourteenth century we are afforded only a lifeless catalogue of churches, convents, and relics[1].

Rather more value attaches to the almost contemporary pilgrimage (about A.D. 1400) of the archimandrite Grethenius, who somewhat after the manner of Ignatius, but in far drier fashion, lays down for us a measured road-reckoning from Moscow, Tver, and Novgorod to the estuary of the Dniester and the harbour of Byelograd[2]. A similar route from the mighty northern market to the Euxine port is given us a little later (about 1416) by Epiphanius the monk[3]; while Zosimus the deacon, starting from Moscow and passing through Kiev, comes down to the same point of embarcation[4] in the year of Christ 1419. From all these references, from Ignatius' notice of Cyprian's journey, and from the course of Schiltberger's home-coming[5], apart from other indications, it is sufficiently obvious that the White City of the Dniester, the Byelograd of the older Russians, the Akkerman of the Tartars and of modern maps, was now a leading Pontic haven and a meeting-point of many routes[6]. The yet undiminished power and prominence of Novgorod the Old, that semi-Slav, semi-German city of Russian labourers and Hanse capitalists in the Baltic basin, is another point, sufficiently attested by other records of this time, which our Russian devotees may be said, however vaguely, to confirm[7]; from Zosimus it is evident that

[1] Kh., 161-4.

[2] Kh., 167. Grethenius adds distance-reckonings from Akkerman to Constantinople and Jerusalem, which, except for their wildness (e. g. 60 versts only between Cyprus and Jaffa), have no special interest. He alludes, however, to the 'cooking of the *stipsy* called *alun*' on the coast of *Fotia* or Phocaea, and shows an exceptional intolerance in Palestine itself, where the 'thrice-accursed' Armenians, and the 'cursed' Latin, Abyssinian, and Nestorian heretics, continually trouble his serenity.

[3] Kh., 197. Epiphanius' distance-estimates (2,020 versts from Novgorod to Constantinople, and 1,400 versts from Constantinople to Jerusalem, are very well computed, and show how careful and systematic Slavonic travel had now become on the great pilgrim high-roads.

[4] Kh., 200.

[5] See above, pp. 364, 407.

[6] The importance of the harbour was well indicated by the Phanar column at the mouth of the Dniester, noticed by Zosimus, Kh., 200.

[7] Kh., 167, 195.

the Lithuanian dominion, now at its highest extension under Vitold, reached down almost to the Euxine: on the banks of the lower Dniester the officers of this potentate now levied toll upon all folk who, like our deacon, wished to cross the river into *Vlachia*[1].

Combining the indications of Grethenius and Epiphanius[2], it would appear that the Novgorod-Akkerman or Black Sea-and-Baltic route either passed through Vitebsk, and thence dropped down the Upper Dnieper valley, passing Mogilev on the way, or else pursued a more westerly course through Polotsk, Minsk, and Slutsk into the Pripyat, whose course was then followed to the Middle Dnieper, slightly above Kiev. As to the track between Kiev and the Black Sea, we here find guidance only from Zosimus, who takes us across the Southern Bûg at Fryaslav, the Polish Brazlaw[3], a town in the upper valley of that river, lying nearly half-way between the Dniester estuary and the Mother of Russian cities[4].

[1] Kh., 200. The toll-station was at 'Miterevy Kishiny,' apparently near our Kishinev, but *on* the Dniester.

[2] Kh., 167, 195.

[3] Kh., 200.

[4] Zosimus, in his name of 'White Sea' for the Aegaean, and in his notice of the 'Turkish ferry' at Galipoli, supplies good parallels, and contrasts, to Schiltberger (see above, pp. 365-6, 369). His alternative expression of 'Pontus' for the Archipelago is equally curious; especially as he seems to employ the phrase 'Black Sea' for the Euxine (Kh., 207). The Russian deacon also appears to show some knowledge of ancient history in his language about the 'little town called *Byzantin* that formerly stood opposite Skutari': elsewhere he repeats the current Constantinople stories about Noah's hatchet and the poison in the heads of the serpent column. Like Ignatius, he visited Salonica and Athos, as well as Palestine, where he passed a year in Jerusalem; at Chios he notices the residence of a captain from 'Genoa the Great,' and at Levkosia in Cyprus that of a Frank *riga* (*rex*). See Kh., 203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 217, 219.

CHAPTER IV

MARITIME EXPLORATION, 1270–1420

FROM the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth Latin Christendom, as we have seen, directs the main stream of its expansive energies upon the direct overland routes to the great centres of Asiatic civilization and wealth: this continental attack is unsuccessful, alike in trade, diplomacy, and missionary enterprise; but in failure lie the elements of success. Accurate knowledge of the goal aimed at; a realization of the value of unrestricted access to the distant sources of the most precious wares; some understanding of the weakness of that Golden Orient; a dawning conception of the all-encircling and connecting ocean, and of its function as an aid to human intercourse; an exaggerated but stimulating vision of the Christian communities lying beyond the Islamic zone—in the Indies, in East Africa, and in the heart of Asia; a persistent hope and purpose, with the aid of these natural allies, to found such a Christian dominion as had been attempted, with only temporary success, in the Nearer East; these are among the results of that ubiquitous and sustained energy which had explored the Mongol Empire and the Indies, Persia and Cathay, the Black Sea and the Southern Ocean, from the days of Carpini to those of Marignolli, of Clavijo, and of Schiltberger (1245–1427). And yet one more thing had been gained. A beginning had been made in the right direction; men's eyes had begun to turn to the true path of deliverance. For, at the very time of the most zealous prosecution of overland expansion, the first attempts are made towards the realization of the maritime alternative. The earliest definite movements of the Catholic nations along those waterways which alone brought

them as conquerors and colonizers to the Indies of the East and West, precede the final return of the Polos from the East (1292–5).

One such movement, indeed, may even have preceded the travels of Messer Marco Milioni. For it was perhaps as early as 1270[1], while the elder Polos were resting at Venice after their first great journey, and while Prince Edward of England and King Louis of France were leading, with pathetic anachronism, a seventh and last crusade, that a Genoese fleet sailed into the Atlantic, and re-discovered those 'Fortunate Islands,' our Canaries[2], which had been dimly perceived by Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans of the ancient world, but had almost entirely relapsed into the Unknown since the break-up of the Western Empire. No Christian visit seems to have anticipated this of Lancelot Malocello and his companions; if the pioneers of any civilization had ever touched these islands since the days of Constantine and Justinian, they had been pioneers of Islam—Khoshkhash, the 'young man of Cordova,' commemorated by Masudi in the tenth century, or the Wanderers of Lisbon, recorded by Edrisi in the twelfth[3]. Of the Genoese expedition in the thirteenth,—momentous as it now appears to us, inaugurating, according to a possible interpretation, a new chapter of world-history, and that a chapter of primal significance,—we know very little. There is no proof that Malocello and his friends started, like the Vivaldi in 1291, with any purpose of finding a way to the ports of India; the bare suggestion of anything so far beyond the ordinary range of probability and the ordinary conceptions of that age would seem ridiculous but for the specula-

[1] M. d'Avezac (*Iles Africaines de l'Océan Atlantique*, in vol. vi, part ii, of *L'Univers*, pp. 1–41) inclines to the date of 1275. I quote this work below as Av.

[2] On the identity of the ancient Fortunatae with the modern Canaries (the Madeira group also, perhaps, being at times included in the Classical notions of Atlantic islands), see Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, ii. 81–2, 173–6, 202–4.

[3] The expedition of Khoshkhash (see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 465–6) must have taken place before 956; that of the Lisbon Wanderers (see below, ch. vii, p. 532) before 1154.

tions of Raymond Lull and Pietro d'Abano at this very time[1], and the clear statement of unimpeachable authorities upon the undertaking of Tedisio Doria and his 'syndicate,' but twenty years after the era we have assumed for the voyage of 'Lanciloto.' As we stand, we must be content with the simple but clearly apparent fact of a Genoese penetration with armed vessels (equipped for conquest and perhaps for colonization as well as for discovery) to the Isles of Fortune in the later years of the thirteenth century. It is this, and merely this, which Petrarch commemorates as an event *within the memory of his parents*[2]; it is this which is evidenced by the Portolani of the fourteenth century, and by that red cross of Genoa upon the island of Lanzarote which we find in such early Portolan maps as the 'Dulcert' of 1339[3] and the Laurentian of 1351, to say nothing of the *Conoscimiento* of about 1345, here probably based upon a chart of earlier date. But if in the name of *Lanzarote, Lanciloto,* or *Lansalot,* with the occasional addition of *Maroxello, Marucelu,* or *Maloxelo,* and even of *Januensis*[4], the cartography of the next age preserves a record of the leader's name, we must come down to the fifteenth century for any further information. Our knowledge of this enterprise concludes with the Record of the French invaders, composed in its earliest form between the

[1] On the suggestions of both these thinkers as to the possibility of navigating the Tropics and finding an ocean way round Africa, see ch. vi of this volume; also on d'Abano, pp. 28-9, 164, above, and p. 415, below.

[2] 'Eo siquidem *patrum memoria* Ianuensium armata classis penetravit.' Petrarch was born in 1304.

[3] This is the earliest Portolan which marks any of the re-discovered Atlantic islands. It gives (besides the tiny 'Vegi Marini') Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, the two Canaries nearest to Europe, adding to the former the word 'Marucelu' and indicating the Genoese cross very plainly. It also gives several of the classical 'Insulae Fortunatae' on the site of the Madeira group, by this perhaps indicating a recent discovery of the latter archipelago. See ch. vi, pp. 522-3 of this volume.

[4] Thus, in the 1455 map of the Genoese Bartholomew Pareto, Lanzarote island has the inscription 'Lansaroto Maroxello Ianuensis.' The Malocello family was an ancient branch of the Genoese nobility, famous from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth century: see Av., p. 40.

May of 1402 and the April of 1404, which tells us how the men of Gadifer de la Salle stored barley in an old castle in Lanzarote which had been built by Lancelot 'Maloisiel' *when he conquered that country*[1].

It is indeed just possible that the enterprise of Malocello may be identical with that of 1291, and in this connexion a curious point may be cited. In the legal archives of Genoa two galleys belonging to Tedisio Doria are registered under the names of *Allegranza* and *St. Antonio*[2], in the very year which was marked by his great expedition in search of the Indies[3]; in the fourteenth century we already find *Allegranza* island in the Canaries, just north of Lanzarote; and it is more than tempting to imagine some connexion here. But our authorities give us no warrant for bringing the Indian venture to any of the ocean islands; its object was a passage round Africa to South Asia, and not exploration of Atlantic archipelagos; and the name of *Allegranza* is not uncommon among Italian vessels, and may well have belonged to a ship of 'Maloisiel's' fleet. Lastly, Petrarch's language points to an enterprise earlier than that of 1291, concerned exclusively with the Isles of Fortune, and perhaps equipped primarily for conquest rather than trade[4], whereas Doria's project seems to have been essentially commercial, with a religious afterthought.

To this remarkable attack upon the greatest oceanic problems we now come. And here we are no longer in the twilight of inference and probability. For whatever may be thought of Malocello's undertaking—whether it was a mere

[1] See *Le Canarien*, ch. 28 of the Egerton MS. 2709 in the Brit. Mus.; p. 177 of Pierre Margry's *La Conquête ... des Iles Canaries*, Paris, 1896; and p. 55 of R. H. Major's *Conquest of the Canaries*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1872: cf. also below, pp. 449, 451.

[2] Genoa, *Archivio di Stato* (*Archivio Notarile*); *Notarilio di Angelino da Sestri*, carta 168; dated March 26, 1291. This document is, rather carelessly, printed by Belgrano in *Atti della Soc. Lig. di Storia Patria*, xv. 326 (note 3), and is referred to by Nordenskjöld, *Periplus*, p. 114.

[3] A. D. 1291.

[4] Malocello's 'castle' in Lanzarote points strongly to this.

attempt to re-discover Elysian isles which had lingered in tradition, or a journey in search of the mythical countries of religious romance, or an abortive endeavour to push into the Unknown, and to discover something of the ocean and its limits—in the case of the two galleys which Tedisio Doria[1] and Ugolino de Vivaldo equipped in Genoa in the May of 1291, and with which Vivaldo at any rate sailed out of Gibraltar Straits and down the Maroccan coast beyond *Gozora* or Cape Nun (in 28° 47′ north latitude) we have precise and abundant detail, and a perfectly lucid statement of object. For the leaders of this enterprise intended a new and unwonted navigation; they essayed what up to that time had been scarcely tried by any[2]—to go by sea to the regions of India and bring back useful things for trade. With Ugolino Vivaldo went his brother[3] Guido and two Franciscan friars; the fleet was known to have passed a 'place called Gozora' on its way to the Indies; after that all trace of it had been lost; but when Jacopo Doria (in or before 1294) recorded this marvellous piece of daring, so honourable to his house, men still prayed for the safe return of the adventurers[4].

[1] This was a son of that Lamba Doria who commanded at Curzola in 1298, and probably took Marco Polo prisoner (see above, p. 24).

[2] See below, note 4. This expression points to *some* previous effort in Atlantic discovery or African coasting, however insignificant: does it not strengthen the case for the supposed expedition of 1270?

[3] From Uso di Mare's narrative (see below, pp. 417–18) this brother is conjectured to have been Guido Vivaldi (e.g. by Amat di S. Filippo, *Studi Biografici e Bibliografici*, i. 77, Rome, 1882); Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. 142, considers his name was Vadino, by a different use of Antoniotto's nomenclature.

[4] Cf. *Iacobi Auriae Annales* (for A.D. 1291), in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, tom. xviii, p. 335 (1863):—'Eodem . . . anno Thedisius Auriae, Ugolinus de Vivaldo, et eius frater, cum quibusdam aliis civibus Ianuae, ceperunt . . . quoddam viagium *quod aliquis usque nunc minime attemptavit*. Nam armaverunt optime duas galeas, et victualibus, aqua, et aliis necessariis infra eis impositis, miserunt eas de mense Madii deversus strictam Septae *ut per mare occeanum irent ad partes Indiae, mercimonia utilia inde deferentes*. In quibus *iverunt dicti duo fratres de Vivaldo personaliter, et duo Fratres Minores*. Et postquam locum qui dicitur Gozora transierunt, aliqua certa nova non habuerunt de eis. Dominus . . . eos . . . sanos et incolumes reducat ad propria.' Jacopo Doria was born in 1234 and closes his continuation of the Chronicles of Caffaro in 1294; he belonged to the same family as Tedisio; and he was

The statement of the Genoese Annals is confirmed by Pietro d'Abano, writing about 1315–16[1], who speaks of the disappearance of the adventurers about *thirty* years before and the total absence of all news of them since that time; by the *Conoşçimiento* of about 1345, which adds some curious details; and by

himself a seaman and a trader, as well as a sober and careful historian; he is therefore a contemporary witness of the highest order. The passage cited forms the basis of G. H. Pertz' study, *Der älteste Versuch zur Entdeckung des Seeweges nach Ostindien*, presented to the Bavarian Academy of Sciences on March 28, 1859 (see esp. p. 10 of the same). Pertz identifies 'Gozora' with Cape Juby, in 27° 55′ N. lat.; it appears, however, to correspond to Nûn (in 28° 47′ as noticed in the text); cf. the inscription on the map of the Venetian Pizigani brothers (of 1367), 'Caput Finis Gozolae,' placed at a point which must be identified with the 'Non' of the European explorers, in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern 'Guzzula' region (see also Major, *Henry Navig.*, 101). From the remark that the two Vivaldi went *in person*, it is to be inferred that Tedisio Doria did not: this conclusion is made a certainty by two documents proving his presence in Genoa after May, 1291, (1) Genoa, *Archivio di Stato, Materie Politiche*, mazzo vii, dated Feb. 12, 1293; (2) Genoa, *Arch. di St.* (*Archivio Notarile*), *Notarilio di Angelino da Sestri*, carta 171; dated 1292. On Jacopo's record see also Belgrano, *Degli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, in the *Archiv. Stor. Ital.*, 3rd series, ii. 124, &c.; it seems to have been first noticed by Canale, *Degli antichi navigatori e scopritori Genovesi*, a pamphlet published in 1846. Before this, the enterprise of 1291 was dimly known through Agostino Giustiniani's *Castigatissimi Annali di Genova*, under A.D. 1291, folio cxi, verso, lines 16, &c., of the Genoa edition of 1537. It defines the object of this 'viaggio novo & inusitato' with even greater precision than Doria ('andare in India di verso ponente'), and says how after passing Gibraltar Straits 'navigorono verso l'India,' how no news of them had since come to hand, and how Cecco d'Ascoli (otherwise Francesco Stabili), in his commentary on the *Sphere* (i. e. the *Sphera Mundi* of Iohannes de Sacrobosco or John of Holywood) had made mention of this voyage. As Cecco d'Ascoli was a contemporary of the adventurers of 1291, much fruitless labour has been spent in searching for this reference.

[1] Anyhow, before his death in 1316, and some time after 1303. The reference is in the famous 67th *Differentia* of the *Conciliator*, so often quoted already upon Marco Polo and John de Monte Corvino (see above, pp. 28–9, 164), and occurs in the course of the discussion on the possibility of human habitation within the tropics, Ptolemy having asserted this as a fact and others having denied it—'unde et parum ante ista tempora Genuenses duas paravere galeas,' (&c.; as in Doria;) '. . . quid autem de istis contigerit, iam spatio fere trigesimo ignoratur anno.' If the voyagers of 1291 had discovered the Northern Canaries, ear-marked Lanzarote as a Genoese possession, and built a castle there (see above, p. 411–13), could d'Abano write like this?

an explorer of the middle of the fifteenth century, one Antoniotto Uso di Mare, who supplies a remarkable sequel. From the *Conosçimiento,* with the help of Genoese documents, we gather that Sorleone de Vivaldo, son of Ugolino, sorely troubled about his father's fate, after many years of silence, undertook some time before 1315 a series of distant wanderings in search of the missing heroes, and in the course of these wanderings made his way as far as Magadoxo on the Somali coast[1]. Surprising as this sounds (for no other Christian visit to this point of Moslem East Africa is definitely recorded before the discovery of the Cape route), there is nothing in itself impossible about the tradition; Magadoxo was a well-known centre of Mohammedan civilization on the shore of the Southern Ocean; Christian merchants and others, though very rarely, seem to have passed down the Red Sea in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, through a momentary relaxation of Mameluke and pre-Mameluke prohibitions; while from the side of the Mongol Ilkhanate and the Persian Gulf it was of course perfectly easy for a Latin traveller at this time to start at least from Ormuz for the coasting of South Arabia and the Zanj of East Africa—whether he could push far along this remote Saracen shore-land, 'at the back of beyond,' was another

[1] See the edition of the *Libro del Conosçimiento de todos los Reynos,* by Jimenez de la Espada, pp. 113, 117–18, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid,* February, 1877. This work, largely quoted as 'the Book of the Spanish Friar' in the Records of the French Conquerors of the Canaries (1402–6; see below, p. 452), is perhaps a description of an imaginary journey, compiled partly from a very detailed and valuable Portolano-map, partly from genuine reports of travellers (e. g. Sorleone de Vivaldo), partly from geographical and other works accessible to the author. Many of its place-names are not found in any fourteenth-century map. The last event noticed in it is of 1345. It was lost sight of till 1870, when Espada re-discovered it: it was edited by its finder in the Madrid Geog. Soc. *Boletin,* January-March, 1877. That Ugolino really had a son named Sorleone is established by a document in the Genoese *Archivio di Stato* (*Archivio Notarile*), *Notarilio di Ambrogio di Rapallo,* carta 90; dated 1302; this has been published by Belgrano in the *Atti della Soc. Lig.,* xv. 323 (*Nota sulla spedizione dei fratelli Vivaldi*). The Vivaldi family and the voyage of 1291 are well treated in Amat di S. Filippo, *Studi Biografici,* &c., i. 77–9, and in the same author's *Navig. e scoperte marittime nell' Africa Occid.,* in the *Bollettino* of the Italian Geographical Society for 1880.

matter. Marco Polo had probably heard something of Magadoxo a few years earlier[1]; Ibn Batuta visited it a few years later[2]; it was now a flourishing trade-centre, an excellent base for such a quest as Sorleone meditated; and though the story of his journey has a dim and doubtful sound to our ears, it would be rash to reject it as wholly fabulous.

Once more the Genoese seaman Uso di Mare, a colleague of the Venetian Luigi Cadamosto in the latter-day service of Henry the Navigator, writing to his creditors, presumably in Genoa, on December 12, 1455, tells how he had voyaged to the Gambia and had there spoken with one who declared himself to be the last survivor of the Vivaldi expedition which had been lost 170 years before[3]. Accompanying this letter in the original manuscript are a number of additional notes, and one of these, by an anonymous hand, but professing to repeat information derived from Uso di Mare, relates[3] how the two galleys commanded by the brothers Ugolino (or 'Vadino') and *Guido* Vivaldi left Genoa in *1285* bound for the East and the regions of India, how they sailed a great way to the Sea of Guinea, how in this sea one of them was stranded, while the other passed on to a city of Ethiopia called *Mena*, lying on the

[1] See above, p. 147.

[2] About A. D. 1330. See below, chap. vii, pp. 535-6 of this volume.

[3] See the *Annali di Geografia e di Statistica composti . . . da Giacomo Gråberg* (Genoa, 1802), vol. ii, pp. 286-8, 290-1. The best editions of the Uso di Mare narrative are by d'Avezac in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, vol. cviii, p. 47, by Codine in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris, 1873), 6th series, v. 414 (note), and by Belgrano in the *Atti della Soc. Lig.* (1881), xv. 320. Gräberg of Hemsö was a learned Swedish merchant resident in Genoa who discovered these references, and much else of interest, in the Collection of Documents presented to the archives of the city by Federico Federici in 1660 (see below, pp. 429, 430).

In his own letter Antoniotto declares, in strange Latin: 'Reperui ibidem' [at or near a point seventy leagues up the Gambia, to judge from the context] 'unum de natione nostra, ex illis galeis credo Vivaldae, qui se amiserit sunt anni 170; qui mihi dixit . . . non restabant ex isto semine salvo ipso.' The additional note reads 'A. D. 1285' [otherwise read 1281 and 1290] 'recesserunt de civitate Ianuae duae galleae patronisatae per . . . Ugolinum [otherwise 'Vadinum'] et Guidum de Vivaldo' (&c., as in text), concluding 'praedicta narraverat Antoniotus Usumaris, nobilis Ianuensis.' In the *Conosçimiento* this 'Mena' city appears as 'Amenuan' (e. g., p. 112).

sea-coast near the Gihon, and inhabited by Christians, subjects of Prester John. These hospitable Nazarenes, however, instead of welcoming the strangers, seized and kept them in close captivity. By the *Gihon*, in Antoniotto's day, the Nile was generally understood; but the theory, so dear to the Arabs, of a Western or Negro Nile, flowing into the western ocean, had received fresh life from the Portuguese discovery of the Senegal[1], only ten years before this letter was written; and, as we see from the records of Prince Henry's captains and their successors, it was with an almost constant hope of coming upon Prester John and the true believers of his empire, that the 'Lusitanians' skirted West Africa.

It is needless to dilate upon the magnificent boldness of the venture of 1291, the result of private enterprise, upon its character as the first distinct effort of Christian Europeans in African coasting Asia-wards, upon its attempt to solve at one stroke the problem which baffled complete explanation for the next two centuries, or upon its suggestions of future triumph, 'the prophetic soul of the wide world dreaming on things to come': it is, perhaps, more useful to remark the thoroughness of the whole undertaking—Franciscan missionaries accompanying Italian mariners, warriors, and traders—western religion and western commerce, with the defence of western arms, combining to make the first reconnaissance by a new route upon that Heathendom which John of Monte Corvino and Peter of Lucolongo, in similar alliance, were at this very time invading along the historical 'overland' ways[2]. Still more must we note the primary emphasis on mercantile ambitions: here, as elsewhere, commercial instinct is the mainspring of the most vital and profitable exploration.

And, once again, it is not to be forgotten that to Italians belongs the honour of leading Christendom in oceanic advance

[1] Thus Azurara (*Chronicle of Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, chs. 60–3, &c.) always calls the Senegal the 'Nile.'

[2] See above, pp. 163–8. Much of Corvino's journey was of course by sea, from Ormuz; but his journey rested essentially upon overland communication with Europe.

—in the maritime search for India, in the circum-navigation of Africa—as much as in the penetration of the Orient by continental tracks, or in the first development of European map-science; the extraordinary activity of Genoa, moreover, can hardly escape the most casual observer. For, while she is only less prominent (if less) than Venice in the 'terrene' movement to the sun-rising, to her alone falls the leadership of our earliest ventures into that Sea of Darkness over which the sun set.

And at this time a very real terror hung about the Sea of Darkness. For although the Crusading Age had witnessed a steady progress in Christian seamanship, although the use of the compass had already begun, and although scientific map-making had (probably) been introduced at least into Italy, yet the Atlantic, and especially the Southern Atlantic that closed in Africa, remained almost as terrible to most Catholic seamen at the close of the thirteenth century as in the days of the Vikings. Even more reverential and superstitious was the attitude of the Moslem world towards that 'Green Sea of Gloom' which Masudi had described (about A. D. 950) as of unknown extent and depth, without cultivated or inhabited lands, and impossible of navigation [1]; which Ibn Khaldun (about 1380) characterized as the boundless, impenetrable limit of the West; which other lights of Islamic science had declared to be so infested with whirlpools that no adventurer could survive his hardihood; and which some Saracen doctors had even made a test of sanity. For a man reckless enough to embark upon this limitless mystery was in their eyes so manifestly irrational that he should be at once deprived of civil rights [2].

To all such croakings the enterprises of Malocello and the Vivaldi offered a challenge; their voyages are but the most prominent of several witnesses to the existence of a very different spirit in certain quarters; but until the discovery of America the vulgar dread of the western ocean is a powerful drag upon the wheel of progress.

[1] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 465.

[2] See below, pp. 533, 538 of this volume.

We have already noticed that the expedition of 1291 synchronizes closely with the fall of Acre and the final destruction of the hopes and schemes which rested upon a Latin land-dominion in the Levant. May we not also see in this Genoese venture the resolute adoption of another policy by a section of the European vanguard, a significant turning sea-wards which offers some analogy to the change in English expansion-policy under the Tudors?

One other point stands out with tolerable clearness. Before the enterprise of 1291, Christian acquaintance with the West African shore does not appear to have extended much beyond the neighbourhood of those 'Straits of Ceuta' or Gibraltar, through which the Vivaldi passed: the achievement of Malocello, a plunge into the Atlantic rather than a coasting of the Dark Continent, did not enlarge the horizon along the mainland shore, so far as we can judge. But from the time that the Genoese sailed by *Gozora*, this region, marked by the *Ras Nun*[1] of the Arabs, for some time past the orthodox limit of Moslem knowledge to the south-west of Barbary[2], became the southern Finisterre of the Latin nations also. By the Catalan venture of 1346[3], the world's-end was moved on still further, to that Cape Bojador, beyond which for almost a century[4] no Catholic pioneer made any notable advance; but the forbidding headland, the Promontory of *Non*, as it appeared in Romance speech, long preserved its legendary place as a fated terminus of all things habitable. By its very name, as rhyme and proverb told, its nature and destiny were fully expressed:—

'Who passed Cape *Non*
Must turn again, or else begone[5].'

[1] Probably meaning not 'Fish Cape,' as sometimes alleged, but 'Cape having the form of the letter *Nun*.'

[2] On Ibn Fatima's discovery of Cape Blanco see below, ch. vii, p. 535.

[3] See below, p. 429.

[4] Down to 1434–6, when Gil Eannes and Affonso Gonsalvez Baldaya, in the service of Prince Henry, reached the port of Galé ('the galley') 170 leagues further.

[5] In its Portuguese form, as given by R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. 65:—

'Quem passar o Cabo de Não,
Ou voltara ou não.'

In 1291, therefore, for certain, and about 1270, in reasonable probability, we can follow the sallies of Italian discoverers, darting out upon the 'Sea of Darkness,' and showing us the way to the Canaries and Cape Nun; but of much else in which they were concerned a few years later we have only the most accidental knowledge. For it is only from books and maps of the fourteenth century, and primarily from the *Conosçimiento* of about 1345 and the Laurentian Portolano of 1351, that we learn anything of a startling series of triumphs in oceanic exploration, whereby the Madeira group and several of the far-outlying Azores are brought within the 'Latin' horizon, probably before the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War (1338).

In the *Conosçimiento*, which, as we stand at present, contains the first indication of these discoveries, the Madeiras appear in their entirety—'Legname[1]', Porto Santo, and the Desertas—together with eight of the Azores; St. George and Corvo under their present names[2]; Graciosa under the contraction of *Gresa*; Flores, Pico, Fayal, Terceira, St. Mary, and St. Michael under the obsolete forms of *Isla de los Conejos*, *Columbaria*, *Isla de la Ventura*, *Isla del Brasil*, *Isla del Lobo*, and *Isla de las Cabras*[3]. In other words, the entire archipelago, except the Formigas, is known about 1345, not merely to professed seamen (who might have secrets they were recording for their own use, though jealously guarding from others)

[1] 'Lecname,' i. e. 'Legname,' the regular Italian word for 'timber,' continues to be the name till 1420 and the arrival of the Portuguese, when it is gradually superseded by the 'Madeira' of Prince Henry's countrymen, a translation of the Italian term. Slightly corrupted by the Spanish author of the *Conosçimiento* (p. 50, Espada; hereafter quoted as C.), we have it rightly enough ('I. delo Legname') in the Laurentian Portolano of 1351 (hereafter quoted as L.), and subsequent sixteenth-century maps, both Italian and non-Italian (e. g. 'I. de Legname' on the Catalan of 1375, hereafter quoted as Cat.), a sufficient evidence of the nationality of the original discoverers.

[2] 'Isla de San Jorge' being absolutely, 'Isla de los Cuervos marinos,' practically, identical.

[3] It is only as to the identification of Fayal with 'I. de la Ventura' and of Pico with 'Columbaria' that any uncertainty exists (cf. S. Ruge, *Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Azoren* in *xxvii. Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden*, 1901, p. 154).

but to ecclesiastics who are writing for the information and pleasure of the general educated public. Even the most westerly of these islands, fully 750 miles from the nearest point of the European Continent[1], are included in this enumeration; and, as we see from the Laurentian Portolano, this knowledge is no mere matter of names, the result of some chance and hasty visit; for the whole group is mapped with remarkable precision, though for the first time in human history, upon the chart of 1351[2]. On the latter, however, less trouble is taken in the catalogue; for here St. Mary and St. Michael are roughly grouped as the *Insulae de Cabrera*, the *Insulae de Ventura sive de Columbis* stand for St. George, Fayal, and Pico, and the *Insulae de Corvis marinis* for Corvo and Flores, while only Terceira is honoured by a title to itself, that of *I. de Brazi*[3].

At the same time Christian acquaintance with the Canaries shows a great extension: eleven, or at least nine, of the Fortunate Isles are mentioned by the Spanish friar—Allegranza, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Teneriffe, Grand Canary, Ferro, and Gomera figuring under the same designations as at present, with only slight formal difference[4]; the Laurentian map, here also less complete in its nomenclature, supplies us with an excellent delineation of almost the entire group, both detailed and precise, and the first which attains anything like completeness. It is noteworthy that in several respects the later fourteenth century shows a certain falling off both in Azorean and Canarian knowledge[5].

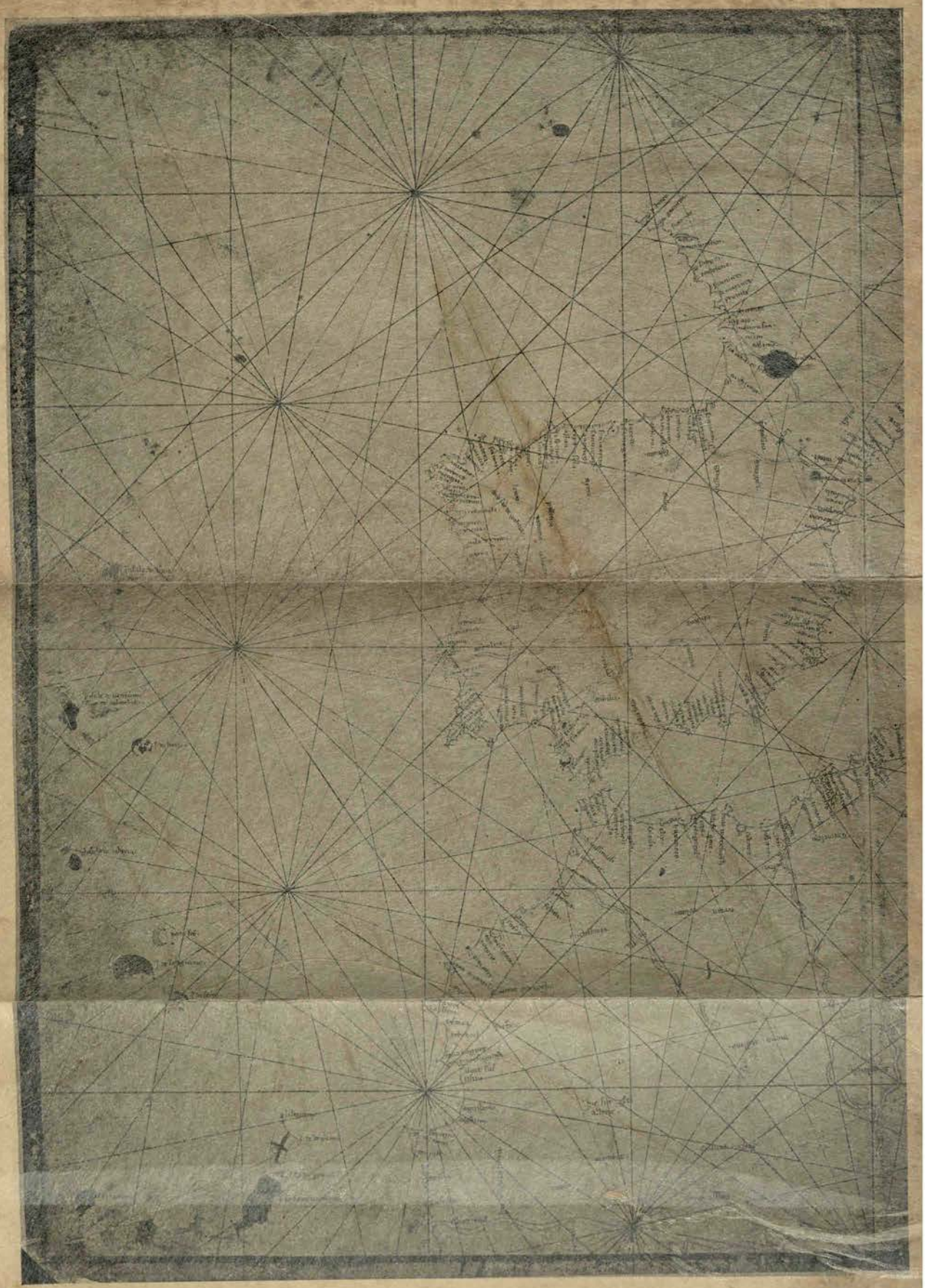
[1] The Portuguese ocean-coast, west of Lisbon (C. de Roca, &c.).

[2] The chief error being in the general orientation of the Archipelago, which is perverted from a line between north-west and south-east to one running almost due north and south.

[3] This was a name frequently attached to one of the legendary islands of the Atlantic.

[4] 'Alegranza,' 'Lanzarote,' 'Forteventura,' 'Tenerifiz,' 'Canaria,' 'Fero,' and 'Gomera' in C., 50, which also inserts an 'Isla del Infierno,' apparently a confused duplication of Teneriffe.

[5] Thus the 'I. de Liparme' and 'I. senza ventura' of L., our Palma and Ferro, do not appear in the Soleri Portolans of 1380 and 1385, and the 'San Jorge' of C. is not to be found on the Soleri of 1380.



THE LAURENTIAN PORTOLANO, OF 1351: SPAIN, NW. AFRICA, ATLANTIC ISLANDS
[CANARIES, AZORES, MADEIRA GROUP]

To face p. 422.

From the name-forms, and the nationality, of the oldest design which gives substance to these names, it seems evident that Italians were the principal agents in the advances thus recorded. Yet the beginnings of Portuguese maritime energy are probably not unconnected also with the new discoveries; as to progress in the Canaries we may be quite certain of this connexion[1].

In 1317 Diniz, the 'Labourer-King' under whom the settled and civilized life of Portugal truly begins, having founded the National University at Lisbon[2], sets his hand to a new task—the creation of a navy. As the only way, presumably, to this end was through foreign tutelage, that tutelage is procured from Genoa. A certain Emmanuel Pezagno is called to be Lord High Admiral of 'Lusitania'; under his command twenty of his fellow Genoese are also engaged as pilots and captains; and by the terms of the original contract the admiral and his successors are bound to *maintain* this number of Genoese officers in Portuguese service[3]. To these Italian seamen and their successors we may reasonably ascribe the leadership in those explorations which first revealed the truly oceanic groups of the Mid-Atlantic[4].

But it is in 1341 that we have the earliest definite record of a Portuguese maritime venture of discovery—a venture, it is

[1] See below, pp. 424, &c.

[2] In 1300: this was moved to Coimbra in 1308 during the same reign, was brought back to the capital in 1338 and 1377, and finally settled at Coimbra in 1537.

[3] See also R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator* [hereafter quoted as M.], p. 151. This Emmanuel Pezagno ('Pesanha' in Portuguese) was in 1326 sent by Affonso IV as envoy to Edward III, and the latter on July 24, 1332, wrote to Affonso warmly recommending Emmanuel and his son Carlo to the Portuguese monarch. Another son, Lancelot, was created Admiral of Portugal on June 26, 1357, and retained the office till 1373.

[4] I do not wish to deny that some of these successes may have been won by Genoese and others, proceeding immediately from Italy, as Ruge assumes (*Val. Ferd.*, p. 153: see above, p. 421, n. 3), but it would be absurd to neglect the Portuguese-Genoese alliance of 1317 as probably an important element in the insular discoveries.

true, in which Italians alone are personally named, and which Italian brains seem to have directed, but none the less notable as organized and supported by the Crown of Portugal—the first Atlantic enterprise which we know to have emanated from a European government, whether royal or republican.

Of the three ships which sailed from Lisbon for the exploration of the 'Rediscovered' or Canary Islands [1], on July 1 of this year, two were furnished by Diniz' son and heir Affonso IV; the crews were partly Italian—Genoese and Florentine—and partly Spanish—Portuguese [2], Castillian, and other. One of the vessels was commanded by Nicoloso de Recco of Genoa; a Florentine merchant resident in Seville, one Angelino del Tegghia de' Corbizzi, accompanied the expedition; and the narrative we possess, compiled by Boccaccio [3], is based upon the observations of these Italians, and upon letters written from Seville by other Florentine traders in the following November [4], on the return of the expedition.

The little fleet was equipped for more than mere discovery: it carried horses, arms, and siege-engines [5]; and its progress was phenomenally quick—after five (?) days' sail from the Tagus [6] it arrived among the Isles of Fortune. It seems to have spent about four months in the archipelago; thirteen members of the group, large and small, were visited [7], of which,

[1] 'Insulas quas vulgo *Repertas* dicimus,' Ci., 56.

[2] The Portuguese are included in the phrase 'aliorum Hispanorum.' Ci., 56.

[3] Discovered by Sebastiano Ciampi and published by him in his *Monumenti di Boccaccio*, Milan, 1850, pp. 55–63 (Latin text; hereafter quoted as Ci.); an Italian version follows, pp. 64–71. 'Angelinus del Tegghia de Corbizzis' is mentioned in a marginal note of the original MS. (Magliabechian Library, parchment folio, no. 122, class. 23, palch. 5) as 'Florentinus qui cum his navibus praefuit.' 'Niccolosus de Recco Ianuensis' is not styled the pilot of the expedition (as R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. 142), but 'alter ex ducibus navium,' Ci., 56. He was, however, clearly the main source of the account here given.

[4] 'Anno . . . MCCCXLI a mercatoribus Florentinis apud Sobiliam . . . morantibus Florentiam litterae allatae . . . ibidem clausae xvii Kal. Dec.' [15 Nov.], Ci., 55.

[5] 'Equos et arma et machinamenta . . . ad civitates et castra capienda,' Ci., 56.

[6] 'A Lisbona . . . post diem quintam,' Ci., 56.

[7] Ci., 59, 60. This number of course

however, eight were desert; the investigations of de Recco and his friends apparently extended to the most distant Canaries (such as Ferro), and in all probability accomplished a considerable work for science.. So far as our authorities give definite information, Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, with their satellites (originally, as we suppose, the discoveries of Malocello and his comrades about 1270), were the only *Fortunatae* clearly recognized up to this time, and marked on maps—and even they do not appear on any existent art before the 'Dulcert' of 1339 [1].

The explorers of 1341 began with an island, perhaps Fuerteventura, which they estimated as about 150 miles in circuit, barren and stony, abounding in goats, but having only a naked and savage population. Here they obtained a good cargo of skins and fat, but did not dare to go far inland. The next they visited was *Canaria*, now for the first time emerging from the haze of tradition [2] and fixing itself upon the consciousness of the modern world as the island of Grand Canary: to this the most elaborate description is given. It was larger than the former, or indeed than any other of the Canaries, and was inhabited by some people of a higher type, clothed in goats' skins, dyed red and yellow: from their gestures they all seemed to pay reverence to a chief. They showed a desire to communicate with the strangers, who sent a boat's crew close up to the shore, but did not venture further, realizing their total ignorance of the soft 'Italianate' island-tongue [3], and perhaps fearful of numbers, and suspicious of the same treachery as they themselves meditated. With rasher confidence, some of the natives swam off to the ships;

comprised a number of islets, and possibly some of the greater islands were reckoned more than once, from imperfect observation. The isle 30,000 feet high is introduced (through an ambiguity of style?) as if *additional* to the thirteen, but is probably included.

[1] On this map and its authorship, especially in connexion with the Dalorto of 1325, see ch. vi, pp. 522–3.

[2] On the 'Dulcert' of 1339, 'Canaria' appears simply as one of the isles of the classical tradition: see ch. vi, p. 522.

[3] 'Politum et more Italico expeditum,' Ci., 57.

this was too strong a temptation for the civilized visitors, who kidnapped several of their guests[1], and then coasting round to the north of the isle where it was best cultivated, sent ashore a well-armed landing-party. These gallant seamen, bravely driving before them a fully equal force of naked and defenceless aborigines, broke open a number of the Canarian dwellings in search of booty; inside, however, they found nothing but dried figs, corn, barley, and other grain, laid up in palm baskets. They could do nothing, therefore, but admire the skill with which these houses were built with squared stones and roofed with fine wooden beams; note the whiteness of the inside walls, shining as if treated with gypsum; examine the savages' little gardens, their palms and fig-trees, cabbages and turnips; and penetrate into an oratory whose only occupant was a stone idol of human form, girdled with palm-leaves, and holding a ball in its hand. This, like their prisoners, they carried to Lisbon[2].

Leaving Canaria, they perceived several other islands at no great distance; but the next at which they touched, remarkable only for its lofty trees shooting straight up into heaven, suggests the distant Ferro, so famous for its pines. The fourth isle they examined, with its excellent water and abundant woods, its falcons and pigeons, may be Gomera, then wholly without human settlement[3]; while the fifth, of much more striking aspect, towering up into rocky mountains and cloud-capped peaks, a land of great beauty and apparently inhabited[4], may be either Teneriffe or Palma. The peak of the *Inferno* is also brought to mind by the description of an enchanted summit in another island, more than 30,000 feet above sea-level, as the explorers thought. Upon the sharp, white, fortress-like rock that crowned this dizzy height they saw, or fancied that they saw, a mast and yard, and thereupon a lateen sail resembling a shield, which swelled and sank in

[1] 'Ex quibus quosdam cepere et ex iis sunt quos adduxerunt,' Ci., 57.
[2] Ci., 57–9.
[3] 'Omnino deserta,' Ci., 59.
[4] Ci., 59.

the wind—the whole a portent so much savouring of magic that the cautious seamen kept their distance[1].

Many other things were seen *which Nicoloso would not tell*[2]. But at all events those who wrote of the expedition were free to say, from de Recco's own statement, that the Re-discovered Islands lay about 900 miles from Séville and much less from Cape St. Vincent[3]: they could speak, moreover, of many spoils brought home—four captive natives and an idol, as aforesaid; a good cargo of fat and oil and goat-skins; some red dye-wood very much like brazil[4]; red earth; and bark for staining. From a commercial point of view, however, their report was disconcerting. For though the sea was smooth enough which washed the New-Found isles, and though good anchorage might here be found, there were but few good ports[5], and the costs of the expedition were hardly covered by the very moderate wealth of the archipelago[6]. Of the prisoners (whose habits and appearance, diet and characteristics, are carefully described) their captors formed a high opinion: and what praise was too strong for such winning children of nature, so handsome and honest, so courteous and unselfish, so merry and refined, who danced almost as well as Frenchmen, and were more truly civilized than many Spaniards[7]?

It is evident that one purpose of the enterprise of 1341 was to prospect for the riches of the Canaries; under this head the results of the venture were disappointing; and probably from this cause, with others, the efforts of the Portuguese relaxed, much in the same way and with the same result, as did those of the English after the mercantile disillusion of the initial North American ventures (1497–8). For just as the Tudor government and the Tudor seamen, by their own loss of heart and consequent inactivity, allowed their French rivals

[1] Ci., 61–2.

[2] Ci., 61.

[3] Ci., 56.

[4] Though experts said it differed ('dicant experti . . . non esse verzinum,' Ci., 56).

[5] 'In eodem [mari] fundum anchoris aptum, etsi modicum portuosae sint [insulae], Ci., 60.

[6] Ci., 61.

[7] Ci., 61–2.

to slip in and seize 'Canada,' so the early 'Lusiads,' with however bad a grace, permitted the creation of a Castillian claim upon those Isles of Fortune which Alfonso IV had seemed almost ready to annex, and which Henry the Navigator vainly tried to reclaim.

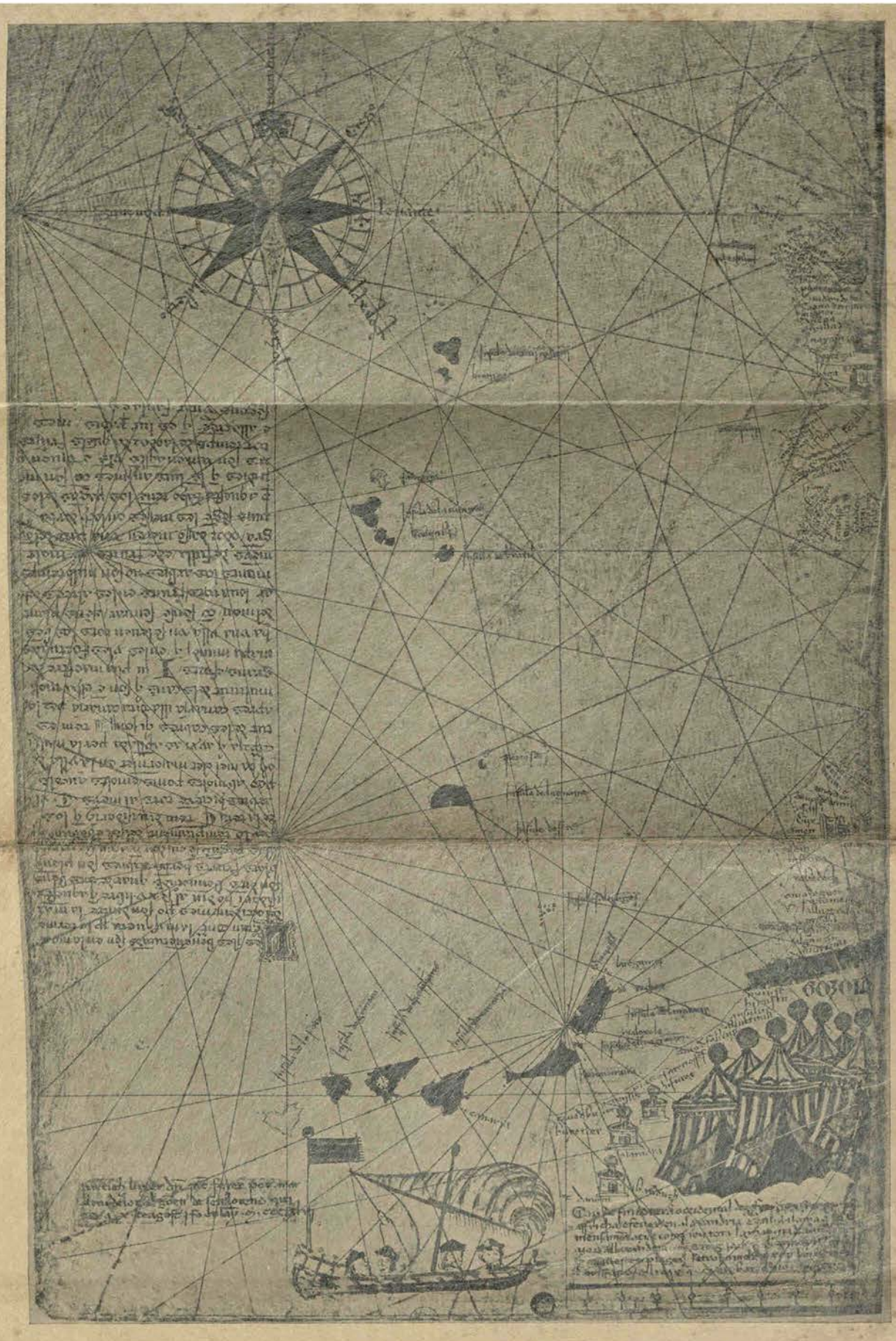
It was three years after de Recco's voyage that Don Luis of Spain (commonly called Luis de la Corda, Count of Talmond), a great-grandson of Alfonso the Wise, while at Avignon, obtained from Pope Clement VI a grant of the *Fortunatae*, with the title of Prince of Fortune, as a vassal of the Apostolic See, and under the obligation of a yearly tribute (November 15, 1344)[1]. At the same time the new 'king' procured Letters Apostolic to various European sovereigns, desiring their aid in the laudable enterprise of Canarian conquest and conversion. To an enemy the reply of the Portuguese monarch might have seemed to bespeak the unsuccessful and grudging competitor, 'willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike.' He acquiesces, sullenly, in the Papal action, but excuses himself from assisting Don Luis with vessels or men, though willing to furnish provisions and certain supplies. He also reminds the Pontiff that he had already sent expeditions to the islands, and declares that, but for his wars with Castille and the Saracens, he would ere now have dispatched a considerable squadron[2]. In a word, Affonso 'the Brave' is conscious that the Canaries are slipping from his hands, but he cannot decide that their possession is worth a struggle. A later age saw the mistake more clearly.

Luis of Spain, indeed, did little, if anything, to realize his sovereignty[3], but from this moment the theory of a Spanish

[1] This grant is in the *Bullarium Romanum* (edition of 1741), vol. iii, part ii, pp. 296–8, and in Raynaldus, *Annales Eccl.*, A. D. 1344, § xxxix. The tribute is fixed at 400 gold Florentine florins.

[2] Written from Monte Mor, Feb. 12, 1345. The war with Spain, here alluded to, broke out at the close of 1336, but I cannot gather from Affonso's words any suggestion that previously to 1336 the Portuguese had sent expeditions to the Canaries (M., p. 145), though of course such action is perfectly possible.

[3] Petrarch was present at the ceremony by which the new Prince of Fortune took up his dignity (on or



THE CATALAN ATLAS, OF 1375: NW. AFRICA, W. SPAIN, AND ATLANTIC ISLANDS
[CANARIES, AZORES, MADEIRA GROUP]

To face p. 429

right was established, and all that was done in the remaining years of the fourteenth century for the conquest, exploration, and Christianizing of the *Fortunatae* seems to have been the work of Castillians. When, in 1402, French enterprise took up the task, the Castillian crown successfully maintained its overlordship: in 1418 the Portuguese found it was too late to put back the hands of time.

With the voyage of 1341 [1], as we have seen, the purely Italian period of Atlantic discovery begins to pass away; Spanish states and peoples join in the oceanic movement; to a Portuguese expedition and a Castillian concession, both aimed at the Canaries, now succeeds a Catalonian venture, concerned with the coasting of the African mainland. On the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10, 1346, a vessel of Jacme Ferrer's started from Majorca for the *River of Gold* (the supposed Western Nile), and apparently rounded Cape Bojador: on the Catalan Atlas of 1375 Ferrer's ship is depicted, in the likeness of a large undecked boat, with four sailors, on the south-west side of *Buyetder*, and immediately west of a place called *Danom*. Alongside the picture is the inscription relating to the voyage [2], which seems to designate some point beyond Bojador as the *Finisterre of Africa*. A supplementary account of this enterprise occurs among the marginal notes to the fifteenth-century letter of Uso di Mare above noticed, and from this we learn not only that Ferrer's galley started from Majorca, which there is no reason to doubt, but that nothing had since been heard of the expedition [3], which is much more

after Nov. 28, 1344, when Don Luis acknowledged the fief), and remarked that the rainy day augured ill for the success of Don Luis; Margry, *Conquête ... des Canaries*, 107. As we know nothing of any Spanish attempt at 'effective occupation' in the Canaries before 1380, these pompous proceedings cannot be said to have had much immediate result. Castille, however, henceforth considered that she had ear-marked the Canaries, through Don Luis.

[1] If not in 1317.

[2] 'Partich l'uxer d'En Jac. Ferer, per anar al Riu de l'Or, al gorn de Sen Lorens, qui es a x de Agost y fo en l'any MCCCXLVI.' See ch. vi, p. 526 of this volume.

[3] 'Recessit de Civitate Maiorisarum galeatia una Ioannis Ferne Catalani [date as above] causa eundi ad

questionable. For the evidence of the great Catalan mappemonde, the most elaborate and one of the most carefully executed of all the early works of Portolan type, clearly points to the conclusion that Ferrer's countrymen had learnt of his vessel's advance as far as the 'Bulging Cape' (first discovered and named by men of Catalan speech), and even a little to the south of it. That the Catalans of 1346 were in search of the attractive phantom of an Occidental Nile, rich in sands of gold, and described as the *Riu de l'Or*, *Riuaura*, or *Vedamel*[1], in the records of this voyage, receives an excellent demonstration in the Venetian map of 1367, the work of the Pizigani brothers[2]. To find a West African river of gold, whether identified with a Negro Nile, or conceived as something distinct, long remained an ambition of European explorers, and we shall find it active among the French conquerors of the Canaries half a century later (1402–6)[3].

Beginning with the year 1364 the countrymen of Béthencourt and Gadifer, it is said, also made great advances along the African mainland coast. For the mariners of Dieppe and Rouen, according to the tradition which first appears with Villaut de Bellefond in 1669[4], now sailed far beyond Cape Bojador, and

Riuaura, et de ipsâ galeatia nunquam postea aliquid novum habuerunt.' The note adds that from its length this river (which was a league wide and deep enough for the largest ships) was called 'Vedamel, et similiter Riuauri, quia in eo recolligitur aurum de paiola . . . Istud est Caput Finis Terrarum Affricae Occidentalis.' This was first (and very well) printed by Gräberg of Hemsö, *Annali di Geografia*, ii. 290 (Genoa, 1802); it has often since been reproduced.

[1] Conjectured by M., p. 113, to be a corruption of the Arabic 'Wady Nil,' 'River Nile.'

[2] Here the river 'Palolus' is laid down flowing from the western end of a large lake ('proceeding from the Mountains of the Moon'), at the eastern extremity of which enters and departs the (Mediterranean) Nile. Along the course of the 'Palolus' the stream is made to divide and enclose an island inscribed: 'The island of Palola: here gold is gathered.' On this map the length of the 'Palolus,' which enters the Atlantic a little south of the Canaries, is quite equal to that of the true Nile. See ch. vi, p. 525 of this volume.

[3] See below, p. 452. The same may be said of Henry the Navigator's men at the 'Rio do Ouro' in 1435.

[4] *Relation des Costes d'Afrique, appellées Guinée, avec la description du pays . . .*

established a flourishing trade at various points between Cape Verde and the Bight of Benin. This commerce, we are further told, lasted over fifty years, and was only abandoned (shortly before 1410) through the stress of civil war and the other troubles of the home-kingdom.

But these pretensions, it is now admitted, are no longer capable of proof. Sufficient evidence was supposed to exist in the Admiralty Registers at Dieppe; but since their destruction in 1694 we have been cut off from our sources; great doubt has been thrown over the whole question; and unless research can discover some firmer ground than has yet been forthcoming, the Norman claim for the exploration of the Guinea coast during the Hundred Years' War must be considered as a thing neither proved nor provable. The manuscript reproduced by M. Pierre Margry as the source of his work of 1867[1] has gone the way of the Dieppe Registers, and at best appears only to have been of about 1650, though professing to transcribe an earlier document. The narrative of Bellefond, written a quarter of a century before the destruction of the Dieppese archives, remains the principal basis of the tradition[2].

First of all then, let us see what this narrative supplies.

In November, 1364, it declares, certain merchants of Dieppe, taking advantage of the enlightened commercial policy of

Le tout remarqué par le Sieur Villaut, Escuyer, Sieur de Bellefond, dans le voyage qu'il y a fait en 1666 et 1667 (Paris, 1669, pp. 410–25; hereafter quoted as B.).

[1] *Les Navigations françaises . . . d'après les documents inédits* (Paris, 1867, pp. 56–61; hereafter quoted as Mar.). This MS., according to M. Margry, was contained in a volume lent in 1852 (or '53) by a certain Mr. William Carter to M. Lucien de Rosny, while the latter was on a visit to the British Museum, searching for Old French texts. M. Rosny copied several pieces from the volume aforesaid, whose writing was supposed to show a date about the middle of the seventeenth century, and among them this *Briev Estoire del navigaige Mounsire Jehan Prunaut Roenois en la tière des noirs homes . . .*' Some seven years later M. de Rosny showed his transcript to M. Margry, but in spite of the great interest excited by the latter's publication, the original Carter MS. has never again been traced.

[2] We shall see that some support appears also to come from Dutch sources (see below, p. 436), but this is not very detailed or definite.

Charles V[1], determined to undertake distant navigations, and fitted out two vessels, each of 100 tons, with the object of passing the Canaries and coasting along Africa[2]. About Christmas they reached Cape Verde and anchored before *Rio Fresca*, in a bay still (in 1669) called the Bay of France. The negroes, new to white men, crowded to see them, and though they would not come aboard, exchanged ivory, grey amber, and skins for the strangers' *bagatelles*[3]. The Frenchmen then sailed on to the south-east, passed *Boulombel* or Sierra Leone, and rounded Cape de Moulé, finally stopping at the mouth of the Rio Sextos[4], off a village which they called *Petit Dieppe*, from the resemblance of its situation to that of the Norman port[5]. Here they loaded ivory and malaguette pepper[6], and from this point they returned home in May, 1365, finding their cargoes most profitable, and incidentally giving a start to the famous ivory-carving industry of Dieppe[7]. In the following September, various merchants of Rouen joined with the Dieppese venturers, and four ships were dispatched to Africa, two of which were to trade from Cape Verde to *Petit Dieppe*, while the other two tried to push on still further[8]. Of the latter, one stopped at a place called the *Grand Sestre*, on the *Malaguette* coast, and took in pepper[9]; 'the natives of this locality were so courteous, and its wealth seemed so great, that the discoverers called it *Paris*. The other vessel passed along the Ivory Coast[10] to that golden shore[11] whose inhabitants showed themselves much less ready to be friends, when their first astonishment had worn off.

The directing syndicate at home accordingly resolved to base their trade upon *Petit Dieppe* and *Grand Sestre*[12];

[1] 1364-80.

[2] 'De passer les Canaries et de costoyer l'Afrique,' B., 411.

[3] 'Yvoire, des cuirs, et de l'ambre gris . . . pour ces bagatelles,' B., 412.

[4] B., 413.

[5] 'A cause de la ressemblance du havre et du village, situez entre deux costeaux,' B., 414.

[6] 'De morphi et de . . . poivre appellé malaguette,' B., 414.

[7] B., 414-15. [8] B., 415-16.

[9] B., 416.

[10] 'Coste des Dents,' B., 417.

[11] 'Celle d'Or,' B., ibid.

[12] Otherwise 'Paris,' as aforesaid, B., 418.

hither ships were sent year after year, not without some attempt at colonization [1]; *loges* or factories were also established at Cape Verde, Cape de Moulé, and Sierra Leone.

Strangers now tried to get a share in this commerce [2], but found the French too firmly established [3]; yet such was the quantity of spices brought home [4] that the market became glutted, and in 1380 it was decided to make a fresh attempt upon the Gold Coast [5]. In the September of this year [6], therefore, the *Notre Dame de bon Voyage*, of 150 tons, was dispatched to this destination; she arrived before the end of December; and in the May or June of the next summer she returned. The success of her voyage [7] was so great that it was naturally followed by other expeditions upon a larger scale: on September 28, 1381, a fleet of three ships (*La Vierge*, *Le S. Nicolas*, and *L'Espérance*) sailed from Dieppe for the Gold Coast; the *Espérance*, after trading at Fantin, Sabon, and Cormentin, passed on to *Akara* [8]; and in 1383 the plantation of a regular settlement, centred round a *loge* or trading-station, was undertaken on the shore-land which the French had named *La Mine*, from the abundance of its precious metal [9]. At the same time efforts were made to explore the southern coasts beyond *Akara* [10].

As to the Mine Colony, thus established in 1383, it grew to such importance in the next four years that in 1387 a church was needed for the colonists; this church was still to be seen when Bellefond visited these parts in 1666–7 [11].

And now, having brought the Norman Guinea Coast trade to the acme of its fortunes, the Narrative breaks off abruptly,

[1] 'Et mesme une Colonie . . . aujourd'huy le peu de langage que l'on entend de ces peuples, est François,' B., ibid.

[2] Especially in 1375, B., 419.

[3] And too much loved by the *Moors* ('que les *Mores* les aimoient,' B., 419). Does this give us a hint of the true locality of these French expeditions, near Cape Bojador?

[4] Both by 'François' and 'Étrangers,' adds B., 419.

[5] Beyond 'Grand Sestre,' B., 419–20.

[6] The *Notre Dame* 'neuf mois après, retourna à Dieppe,' B., 421.

[7] 'Qui commença de faire fleurir le commerce à Rouen,' B., 421–2.

[8] B., 422.

[9] B., 423.

[10] B., 424.

[11] 'Église que l'on y voit encore aujourd'huy,' B., 424.

adding only that some time after the accession of Charles VI [1], government and commerce alike went to ruin in France, that the station at the Mine was abandoned before 1410 [2], and that maritime ventures from Normandy almost entirely ceased from that time till the middle of the fifteenth century.

By the side of this record we must place that of M. Margry's manuscript, most of which, as we shall see, is consistent with a more modest interpretation of these alleged Gallic achievements in the Western Ocean between the Treaty of Bretigny and the battle of Agincourt.

Here an alliance of Dieppe and Rouen traders and seamen is represented as preceding, rather than following, the first African ventures of the Normans: the leader of the explorers is stated to have been a certain Jean Prunaut of Rouen; he started in *September*, 1364; at Christmas he arrived at *Ovideg* [3] and anchored off Cape *Bugiador* or Bojador [4]. The blacks, who had never seen white men before, were gradually won over to friendly intercourse, lubricated with some good red wine; and the resultant barter of ivory, skins, and other native products for European trinkets, is related in much the same terms as those employed by Bellefond.

Prunaut then returns to Normandy, and the manuscript tells us no more till it discovers Messire Jean, hard pressed by wind and weather, gaining permission from the natives to build houses on land—presumably near Cape Bojador—and to store his merchandise therein. But for quarrels among the visitors, we are informed, a permanent French post might have been founded at this spot [5].

After this the record passes immediately to 1379, when it tells us of Prunaut sailing in September in the *Notre Dame de bon Voyage* [6], of his return after Easter, and of the deaths of several of the adventurers from the deadly climate of

[1] 1380–1422.
[2] B., 425.
[3] Mar., 56.
[4] Mar., 57.
[5] Mar., 58.
[6] 'Nostre Dame de Boun Voiage," Mar., ibid.

Guinea[1]. These men were buried in a chapel which 'Jehan the Admiral[2]' had built in this land of the Pagans, where he had also placed a Norman priest, one Brother Pierre. In the next year (1380) Jean Prunaut did not go with his ship *Notre Dame*, but sent her in the company of the *S. Nicolas* and the *Espérance* to the 'place called *La Mine* from the abundance of its gold,' where stood the chapel above-mentioned, with a castle and other buildings[3]. The whole of this region was christened the *Land of the Prunauts* after the Admiral and his companions; in the same way *Petit Paris*, *Petit Dieppe*, *Petit Rouen*[4], and *Petit Germentruville* were named after the men who had come on these voyages from Paris, Dieppe, and Rouen.

With this the manuscript closes, as hastily as Bellefond's story, merely remarking that fortified castles were also built by the Frenchmen at Cormentin and Acra, and that from 1410 their Guinea trade rapidly decayed, 'so that in eleven years only two vessels went to the Gold Coast and one to the *Grand Siest*[5].'

It would be possible to spend many pages in a discussion of these French claims to a fourteenth-century discovery of Guinea; but, in the present position of the evidence, it will perhaps be wiser to say as little as possible, beyond a full and impartial recital of the facts. For until some unmistakable contemporary support is found for the statements of Bellefond, the whole matter, as we have said, must remain a thing still open to question. The seventeenth-century witness we have quoted, the vanished and doubtful manuscript whose record we have reproduced, are not sufficient by themselves to establish the startling pretensions of such early ventures to points so distant. With one possible exception, which we shall come to presently[6], there is no trustworthy suggestion, in the literature or cartography of the later Middle Age, that any Europeans of the

[1] The names of these victims are given in Mar., 59.

[2] 'Jehan l'Amirax,' Mar., 59.

[3] Mar., 61.

[4] 'Petit Diepe, Petit Roan,' Mar., 61.

[5] Mar., 61.

[6] The evidence of the Laurentian Portolano. See below, pp. 439-40.

fourteenth century ever coasted along the great African indent which we call the Gulf of Guinea; and the claim for a minute French knowledge of, and regular trade with, the Gold and Ivory Coasts, in the days of Charles V and Charles VI, obviously requires full and convincing demonstration. It is true that statements of travellers anterior to or contemporary with Bellefond have been brought forward to corroborate him. Thus the Basle surgeon Samuel Braun, who sailed in a Dutch vessel to the Gold Coast and resided at Fort Nassau from 1617 to 1620, declares that the French were the original builders of Fort La Mina, though afterwards supplanted by the Portuguese; while Oliver Dapper, in his *Description of Africa*, published at Amsterdam in 1668, after remarking, like Braun, that Frenchmen were established at 'the Mine' before the Portuguese, adds that a battery of La Mina Castle was still called the 'French battery' after them, and that in this battery the figures 13 had been discovered, with something undecipherable following, which was conjectured to be the remainder of some fourteenth-century date[1]. Yet this testimony falls far short of the definite and decisive confirmation which we seek: Braun's words would apply perfectly to the well-known sixteenth-century intercourse of the French with these regions; and Dapper is a writer whose work does not carry us back to a time before Bellefond's visit

[1] See *Fünff Schiffarthen Samuel Brauns*, p. 56 (Frankfort, 1626; also in Theodore De Bry, *India Orientalis*, part i, Appendix, Frankfort, 1625 [*Petits Voyages*]); Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, vol. ii, p. 68 (Amsterdam, 1676).

These references were brought to modern notice by L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages ... des navigateurs normands en Afrique ...*, Paris, 1832, pp. 7–15; they were unknown to Villaut de Bellefond, and to J. B. Labat, who in the eighteenth century reproduced the French Guinea tradition, with the addition that the facts alleged could be verified from the manuscript annals of Dieppe, 'dans le cabinet de Monsieur ... Avocat du Roy, de la même ville' (*Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*, vol. i, pp. 6–11, and especially p. 8, Paris, 1728). However faulty Dapper may be, his references to the 'vervallen Batery ... de Franse Batery genoemt,' and to the 'cijfer-tallen van't jaer dertien hondert,' require careful consideration, though the native testimony that the French 'were there before the Portuguese' is too indefinite to be pressed.

to Guinea (1666–7), and whose statement may well be based upon a misreading of the figures or a misconception of their purport. Returning to Bellefond himself, his narrative of other events is so reckless and misleading that it inevitably casts suspicion upon his all-important witness to the early Norman voyages. How can we follow him in an affair of such nicety and doubtfulness when we find him dating the *Portuguese* discovery of St. Thomas Island, almost on the Equator, under the year 1405[1], at a time in which the best evidence shows us the 'Lusitanian' seamen still unable to push beyond Cape Bojador and the neighbourhood of the Canaries? Neither in 1471, when the Portuguese really discovered St. Thomas, nor in 1434, when they first rounded the 'Bulging' Headland, nor at any time of their long progress from Bojador to the Line (1434–71), was there any question of earlier expeditions of their countrymen in these equatorial waters.

Personally I am afraid that both in Bellefond and in Dapper we may here be dealing with instances of that uncritical marvel-loving spirit which has at times vitiated both French and other history; which is perhaps responsible for Machin and that alleged English discovery of Madeira which we shall soon have to notice; and which in the hands of Petis de la Croix and Colonel Tod (to take one instance), brings Marco Polo to Kashgar in the *sixth* century, and makes the Venetian declare that here was the birthplace of the *Swedes*[2].

A Guinea trade so flourishing and so long maintained as that claimed for our Normans between 1364 and 1410 should be able to produce some document, or at least some still existent memorial of its achievements, but that is wanting; no record in the archives of France, no relic of fourteenth-century ivories carved at Dieppe, no inscription or ruined building, however fragmentary, is now in evidence on behalf of this commerce; yet to the sixteenth-century intercourse of the French with Tropical Africa, slight and intermittent as it

[1] Bellefond, as above, pp. 426–7.

[2] Tod, *Rajasthan*, i. 60; *History of Genghiscan the Great*, 116.

really was, there is abundant testimony. Even if all the Dieppese registers perished in the bombardment of 1694 might we not expect that Rouen, which was almost equally interested in the Guinea ventures (according to both forms of the tradition), and whose records suffered no such calamity as those of Dieppe, would be able, to some extent, to supply the gap? And if the pretensions advanced by Bellefond were based on good authority, would not the French (largely Norman [1]) conquerors of the Canaries in 1402–6 show some definite knowledge of the contemporary feats of their countrymen—next-door neighbours of de Béthencourt at Grainville la Teinturière, only five-and-twenty miles from Dieppe? Once more, it must not be forgotten that when French statesmen, writers, and mariners in the time of Francis I (as in 1539 [2]) protest against the Portuguese claim to exclude Frenchmen and all other foreigners from the Guinea trade, on the ground of their own priority in exploration, no French counterclaim is advanced; nor do the Dieppese maps of this age (such as those of the Desceliers school, from 1540 onwards), though embodying the highest skill and research then obtainable, and enjoying great authority, show any trace of the African explorations of the men of Dieppe, almost two centuries before. Lastly, if we find no *Petit Paris* or *Petit Dieppe* on any chart before 1631, but do then meet with these names on the Dieppese map of Jean Guérand, five years after Rouen and Dieppe had certainly combined for the pursuit of Guinea trade (1626) [3], does not this seriously shake anything like assurance of the truth of Bellefond's story?

But if we cannot adopt a believer's attitude in this question, neither can we declare an absolute disbelief. We are not confronted with impossibilities: we are only compelled to be agnostic in face of so many and great difficulties. For one thing, the Laurentian Portolano gives us an Africa startlingly

[1] Norman, e.g. in the person of de Béthencourt, one of the two leaders of this conquest. See below, pp. 445-6.

[2] See Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. iii, p. 426 b (edition of 1565).

[3] See Major, *Henry Navigator*, pp. xxxv, 122.

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THE LAURENTIAN PORTOLANO, OF 1351: WORLD-MAP

in advance of the ordinary notions of the time (c. 1351), an Africa which in fact shows a nearer approach to general correctness than is to be found in any work anterior to the discovery of the Cape in 1486; both the Guinea coast as far as the Cameroons, and the southern projection of the continent, are herein presented with a comparative truth of outline which is, when we consider the date, among the confounding things of history. The absence of names along this vast stretch of shoreland (beyond Cape Bojador)[1] weakens the suggestion of the contours, but the suggestion, however impaired, still lingers. Is it possible that any draughtsman could have accomplished such a sketch of the Dark Continent without some real knowledge of its true shape? Could the indent of the Gulf of Guinea, the southward turning of the shore beyond the Cameroons, be so represented without some information from explorers who at least had reached the Bight of Biafra, and realized the inadequacy of the ordinary African conceptions of the Middle Age, such as that of a continent with a very moderate *breadth*, from North to South, and with a straight Southern Coast, running evenly from West to East?

The dilemma is not easy. On one side is the suggestion that certain navigators, years before the alleged French voyages to Negroland, and even before the middle of the fourteenth century, had coasted along to the neighbourhood of the equinoctial line, had surpassed all known discoveries of Europeans down to 1471. On the other hand we are still left with an extraordinary, unexplained, coincidence of fact and fancy.

If the map's insinuation could be accepted, the French pretensions would unquestionably be made more probable; their heaviest demand on our credulity would appear, in itself, moderate enough; to go to the Ivory Coast in 1364

[1] The only definite indication beyond Bojador is that of 'Palolus,' the 'River of Gold,' which may be a suggestion of the Senegal: certain other stretches of Oceanic coast, however, are similarly without names of any sort, in this Portolan Mappe-Monde; see below, pp. 523-5 of this volume.

would be a trifle in comparison of this far more distant flight prior to 1351. But here again the negatives seem to outweigh the affirmatives. We require names of bays and headlands, we look for more definite proof of knowledge of the shore-line. The outline is of the roughest—not merely beyond Bojador, but even beyond Nun [1]; if its merits (between Sierra Leone and the end of the continent) are not accidental, they are probably due to information of the vast southward extension of Africa brought to Europe by men who had visited the Moslem settlements of the East coast or who had conversed with others who came from that region. In the Zanzibar and Madagascar chapters of Marco Polo, the narratives of the *Conoscimiento*, largely fabulous as they are, and the possible travels of Sorleone Vivaldo [2] to Magadoxo, we may have a partial explanation of the riddle.

Finally, in justice to the French case, we must remember that, according to the Canarian conquerors of 1402, various explorers had visited the African mainland shore, between Bojador and the River of Gold, before this time [3]; and although it is not stated that these explorers were French, and although the only record of such exploration here quoted is a Spanish one, it may be that Gallic adventurers—men from Dieppe and Rouen among others—may be covered by this reference, which at any rate is quite adverse to the ordinary Portuguese pretension of the absolute priority of Prince Henry's seamen to all others in these waters [4].

As to the English claim for the accidental discovery of

[1] Even beyond Mogador detailed accuracy ceases, but the draughtsman has some notion of the coast contours down to Cape Nun: from here to Sierra Leone the Laurentian Portolano has a wretched shore-line; see below, pp. 523–5.

[2] See above, pp. 416–17.

[3] 'Se les chouses de pardessa sont tellez que le livre du Fraire Espaigneul devise et auxi que ceulx qui ont frequente en cestez marchez dient,' *Le Canarien*, ch. 55 (Egerton text); ch. 58 (Major; Hak. Soc. edition of 1872, p. 105). See below, p. 452 of this volume.

[4] I hesitate to make use of M. Margry's vanished manuscript, but it is obvious that the whole of this narrative, except for the concluding reference to the Gold Coast (which may mean the shore-land near the supposed River of Gold, then usually supposed to lie pretty near Cape Bojador), is consistent with identi-

Madeira by Robert Machin, flying from Bristol with his mistress in the latter days of Edward III (c. 1370?), it is a matter of no great importance. According to the story, Prince Henry's mariners in 1420 were guided to the Isle of Wood by information ultimately derived from Machin himself or the survivors of his party[1]; but, as we know that the Madeira group figures, in all its parts, upon several of the great Portolan-maps from 1351, if not from 1339[2], the English visit,

fications far nearer home, and that *Ovideg*, the apparent centre of the French trade and explorations, is seemingly located close to that very headland of *Bugiador*. *Ovidech*, however, is declared by Barros, the 'Portuguese Livy' of the sixteenth century, to be a native name for the Senegal, and there are those (e.g. Major, *Henry Navig.*, xlviii–ix) who see in the French reference to *Ovideg* an additional evidence of fabrication with a purpose, working blindly and inaccurately, and betraying its inherent lack of truth. On the whole question of these French Guinea voyages of 1364–1410 see also Appendix to this volume.

[1] The Machin story is professedly derived from a fifteenth-century writing by a squire of Henry the Navigator's, one Francisco Alcaforado; this is now lost, but it is said to have belonged to Francisco Manoel de Mello, and is reproduced by the latter in his *Epanaphoras de varia historia Portugueza*, published in 1660 (see pp. 270–89, &c., of the edition of 1676). Variations of the same occur in the 1508 manuscript of Valentin Fernandez Alemão, otherwise 'Valentinus de Moravia,' and in Antonio Galvano's *Descobrimentos antigos & modernos* (translated by Hakluyt in 1601 under the title of *Discoveries of the World*), 1555. According to Mello (pp. 270–444, see especially 276–90, &c). 'Roberto o Machino' comes with 'Ana de Arfert' (Anne d'Arfet (?) otherwise called 'Arabella Darcy,' &c.) to Madeira and dies there five days after his mistress; his comrades then escape to Marocco, are enslaved, and in their captivity become acquainted with one Juan de Morales, a pilot of Seville. In 1416 Morales is ransomed; the vessel which conveys him to Spain is captured by the Portuguese João Gonsalvez Zarco, who takes the pilot to his master Prince Henry. Morales tells the Prince of Machin's adventures, and Zarco (who had already visited Porto Santo) is thereby enabled to find Madeira.

But in Valentin Fernandez, Machin himself, first touching at Porto Santo and afterwards at Madeira, ultimately reaches Marocco, and is sent by the Sultan of Fez to King John of Castille, in whose land he dies. Galvano also makes him arrive in Africa and thence proceed to Spain ('Machim . . . embarcouse . . . forā ter à costa d'Africa sem velas nem remos'); see pp. 58–9, 63, of the Hakluyt Society edition (1862), and Appendix to this volume.

[2] Though first named, in modern fashion, upon the Laurentian Portolano ('I. delo Legname,' 'Porto Sancto,' &c.), I am inclined to think that the Madeira group is truly represented by the 'I. Capracia' (*sic*), 'Canaria,' and 'Primaria' of the Dulcert of 1339.

if genuine, was neither a true discovery nor likely to have had a determining effect upon Prince Henry, a careful student of better and older sources than the narratives of Machin and his friends. And without necessarily rejecting the whole tradition as a mere fable, we cannot but notice that it has no place in any of the primary authorities for Prince Henry's life; that its alleged ultimate source, the narrative of one of the Navigator's esquires, has vanished, if it ever existed; and that the nomenclature of Madeira, so often adduced in support of Machin's discovery, may point to a different conclusion. For the Machico district of the island [1] is conceivably so called, not from an unfortunate Englishman of the fourteenth century, but from a Portuguese seaman, a certain Machico on whom in April, 1379, King Ferdinand the Handsome bestowed a house in the Rua Nova of Lisbon [2].

The French Canarian enterprise of 1402, with which this chapter of Atlantic and African exploration comes to an end, was preceded by several visits to the same archipelago subsequent to the expedition of 1341—visits which are only noticeable as preparing, and perhaps in a measure causing, the venture of Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle.

Thus in 1382, a certain Francesco Lopez, on his way from Seville to Galicia, was driven southward by storms and found refuge at the estuary of the Guiniguada in Grand Canary [3]. For seven years he and twelve of his comrades lived among the natives happily enough, instructing many of them in Christian doctrines; then a sudden and tragic fate befell the

[1] This name, still existent, is said to have been originally given by the first Portuguese explorer of the island, João Gonsalvez Zarco (in 1420), to commemorate Machin.

[2] This document is dated April 12, 1379, and was discovered by J. I. de Brito Rebello, aided by Erneste do Canton, in the Torre do Tombo (the Record Office of Portugal).

[3] From a manuscript narrative by the Canarian writer, Don Pedro del Castillo (quoted by Barber Webb and Sabin Berthelot, *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canaries*, p. 41, Paris, 1842). At the Guiniguada estuary the capital of Grand Canary now stands.

party. A rumour got abroad that the Europeans were sending home a 'bad account' of the islanders (we do not know how, but the narrative suggests another Catholic visit about 1389)[1]: in revenge the 'thirteen Christian brethren' were all massacred. Before dying, they seem to have given one of their converts a written 'testament,' which passed into the hands of the French in 1402[2], and which certainly gave a sufficiently 'bad account' of the Guanches.

Again, in 1393, some mariners of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Seville seem to have visited Lancarote, Teneriffe, Fuerteventura, Palma, and Ferro[3]; their voyage was probably something in the nature of a raid; and such appears to have been the character of Alvaro Becerra's expedition, probably made about the same time, or a little later[4]. In Becerra's company, it is said, were two French adventurers; and from the latter Jean de Béthencourt, while still in Normandy, is supposed to have received such information as to convince him that the conquest and colonization of the group would be a profitable adventure[5]. Whether this conviction was derived

[1] From other sources we know that in 1382 the Biscayan Count of Ureña was driven, by stress of weather, upon Gomera, and that in 1377 Martin Ruys de Avendano in the same way took refuge at Lanzarote; see Margry, *Conquête des Canaries*, Paris, 1896, p. 107.

[2] See below, p. 451.

[3] Ayala, *Chronicle of Henry III of Castille*, quoted by O. Martins, *Os Filhos de D. João I*, p. 68.

[4] See d'Avezac (*Iles de l'Afrique*, part ii, p. 154, in *L'Univers*, vol. vi), who also quotes the Canarian poet Antonio de Viana as to a French Canarian expedition prior to Béthencourt, headed by one Servant. From this Servant, as well as from Becerra's Gallic comrades, Béthencourt may have received information; he is perhaps the same person as the 'Cerant' who appears in the mutiny soon after the first arrival in Lanzarote (Eg., ch. 6). The descent of 1393 was the result of a league formed at Seville in 1390 between various Biscayan, Andalusian, and other adventurers, headed by one Gonzalvo Peraza. Their expedition was made with five vessels; they captured a Lanzarote chieftain and brought him to Seville with much spoil, producing by their easy successes a very great impression both in Spain and elsewhere (Mar., pp. 105–6).

[5] This was, according to d'Avezac, the finding of the commission of inquiry appointed in 1478 by Queen Isabella of Castille to investigate the rights of the various claimants to the possession of the Canaries. It is said that in 1401 the King of Castille gave to Robert de Braquemont permission to undertake the conquest of the Canaries, but this is very doubtful:

from Becerra's sailors or no; whether Béthencourt himself or his colleague Gadifer de la Salle, was the true originator of the new Canarian expedition of 1402;—at any rate it is certain that the two leaders met at Rochelle in the spring of 1402 (probably not by accident[1], but as the result of a plan already formed), and that they started from that port for the Isles of Fortune on May 1 of the same year[2].

Although their enterprise is primarily concerned, not with the discovery, but only with the conquest and settlement of the Canaries, now certainly lying within, albeit only just within, the horizon of the *Terra Cognita*, it is full of meaning for us. For it not only renders excellent service, of a secondary kind, to exploration proper, but it opens the modern colonial history of European civilization; it marks the definite appearance of the French people upon the Oceanic stage of Christian development; it proves that among Western nations permanent successors, more fortunate than Lancelot Malocello or any of the fourteenth-century explorers, have at last been found to those Viking *settlers*, who by way of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, led our race across the Atlantic several centuries before.

The authority for this pregnant incident is of especial interest. For the *Livre de la Conqueste et Conversion des Canariens*, printed by Pierre Bergeron in 1630 from the Mont Ruffet manuscript of about 1482, and figuring till lately as the only narrative of the enterprise, has been revised to suit the views of the Béhtencourt family. It therefore

the statement depends on a supposed passage of Zurita's *Commentary on the Antonine Itinerary*, but this passage has not yet been found, and its whole tenor is frankly at variance with certain passages of *Le Canarien*; see below, pp. 445, 450. We know, however, that in or about December, 1401, Jean de Béthencourt borrowed 7,000 livres from Robert de Braquemont, on the security of certain landed property at Béthencourt and Grainville (Margry, *Conq. d. Can.*, 109; Major, Hak. Soc. edition, *Conquest of the Canaries*, 1872, p. xliii), apparently for the purpose of equipping the expedition of 1402.

[1] As the later (Béthencourt) text of the original record insinuates (ch. i), implicitly contradicted by the older text in the Egerton MS. (see below, p. 445, note 1).

[2] *Le Canarien*, ch. i (Eg.; Maj.).

magnifies the figure of the Lord of Grainville, depreciates the achievements and importance of Gadifer de la Salle, and combines the original memoir drawn up by the chaplains of the two leaders, Pierre Boutier the Benedictine and Jean le Verrier the secular priest, with a good deal of other matter. Further, it supplies an account of Béthencourt's life subsequent to 1404. Its representation of many details, and indeed of the whole action of the two chief personages in the drama, is totally different from that of the primitive record, lately re-discovered, where the writers' sympathies are plainly with Gadifer, and where his partner is unsparingly criticized.

This primitive record, *Le Canarien*, acquired in 1888 by the British Museum[1], and edited in 1896 by Pierre Margry, is practically contemporary with the Conquest itself; it was probably in great part composed on the spot, before the close of 1404; and in its pages Gadifer appears throughout as the principal actor, Béthencourt as an inefficient and disingenuous colleague, a vain and pompous concession-hunter, who leaves his friends to fight the battles and explore the islands, while he pursues his intrigues at the Court of Spain with ill-deserved success, posing in the result as sole lord of the *Fortunatae* (under the Crown of Castille), and ousting his ally from his fair share of power and honour.

And first we may well inquire if there is any more to be known of Béthencourt and Gadifer, of Boutier and Verrier, outside the contents of the *Canarien* itself:

Jean IV de Béthencourt was a French nobleman and a Norman seigneur, the head of a house which had been famous since about 1328, a baron in virtue of his holding of St. Martin le Gaillard in the County of Eu, and lord of Béthencourt, of Grainville la Teinturière, and of various other lands[2]. In

[1] Now numbered 2709 in the Egerton Collection, formerly in the possession of the Baroness de Hensch de Langry; this record, which we shall use as our most reliable source for the French invasion down to the autumn of 1404, will be quoted as Eg., Margry's remarks, in his edition of the same (*Conquête des Canaries*), as 'Mar.,' and Major's text and annotations as 'Maj.'

[2] All these are recited at the end

1387 he received permission from Charles VI to fortify Grainville, in the royal interest[1]; from 1390 he seems, like Gadifer, to have been connected with Duke Louis of Touraine; and both he and his future colleague in Atlantic Island-Conquest appear to have taken part in the expedition of 1390, organized by Genoa, and patronized by the duke, against *Africa* or El-Mehadiah, the famous port of Tunis[2]. His relations with this powerful patron (who in 1394 became Duke of Orleans), were evidently intimate; in 1392, on the occasion of his marriage, he received practical proof of Louis' belief in the fashionable saying, that a royal prince could only deserve his name and rank by *giving*; no less than de la Salle he is (at least from 1397) a chamberlain of the duke's, a favoured sharer in his journeys, in his plans, and in his pleasures[3]. As the idea of a Canarian enterprise takes root in his mind, it leads him, perhaps, not merely to the sale of property in Paris and the borrowing of money upon his Norman lands[4], but even to readier methods of supply. For on August 3, 1401, we find certain Englishmen complaining how Jean de Béthencourt and certain others had seized 'a barge of theirs with two and seventy tuns of wine and other merchandise[5].

Gadifer de la Salle, the son of a Poitevin chevalier[6], belonged

of Maj.'s text, ch. 97, p. 219 ('Seigneur de . . . Sainct Sere soubs le Neuf-chastel, de Lincourt . . . de deux fiefs . . . a Gourel en Caux, et Baron de Sainct Martin le Gaillart').

[1] By royal letters of April 14, 1387; see Mar., p. 84.

[2] The duke meant to have gone himself, but was forbidden by the royal council: the Duke of Bourbon and the Sire de Coucy accordingly took command; and Froissart names in the following of de Coucy a 'Sire de Bethencourt, chevalier a pennon,' who may be conjecturally identified with our adventurer. We know that he had received from the Duke of Touraine 100 francs 'pour le voyage de Barbarie' (Mar., p. 84). This siege of 'Africa' is referred to in *Le Canarien* (Eg., ch. 50; Mar., p. 217).

[3] Like Gadifer, Béthencourt gambled with the duke and won from him, e.g. on Jan. 27, 1397; Mar., 91, 120.

[4] It was on Dec. 22, 1401, that de Béthencourt made his Paris sale (Mar., 109), and probably about the same time that he borrowed the 7,000 livres from de Braquemont (see above, p. 444 of this volume).

[5] Mar., p. 109.

[6] One Ferrand de la Salle.

to the Thouarsais region of La Vendée. He had evidently taken a honourable and rather prominent part in the recovery of Poitou from English rule (1368–78); thus in 1373 he appears at the siege of Luzignan, on the road from Poictiers to Niort[1]. In 1378 his adventurous temper resolves on a flight to Prussia, to join in the glorious crusade of the Teutonic Knights; and the Duke of Berry gives him 100 francs for his journey. But by 1380 he is back again in France, and is authorized by the king to fortify a house at Ligron[2]. In 1390, if not earlier, begins his connexion with Louis of Touraine and Orleans; on May 7 of this year the duke presents him with 200 francs in aid of his Barbary voyage (doubtless concerned with the Siege of *Africa*); in the following November the same nobleman furnishes him with 100 francs for another Prussian excursion[3]. We have no details of Gadifer's achievements at El-Mehadiah or in the Baltic basin, but when we find Jean du Bueil comparing him with Du Guesclin, another knight who *preferred honour and poverty to fortune*[4], we may be sure that between the siege of Luzignan and the Canarian enterprise La Salle had not been idle.

Yet, from 1394 to 1401, when he appears in constant attendance on the Duke of Orleans, winning steadily from him at play, without forfeiting favour[5], he must have sacrificed something of the glory he had gained; his higher self woke to action once again with the suggestion of a new crusade in the islands of the ocean, of a French settlement upon the verge of the known world. Excellent fighter as he was, he would

[1] Mar., p. 111.

[2] Mar., p. 112.

[3] Mar., 113.

[4] Cf. Jean de Bueil's *Jouvencel* ('comme . . . de Messire Bertrand du Glasquin, Messire Gadifer de la Salle, et autres bons chevaliers, qui sont morts povres,' &c.); Mar., pp. 289–90.

[5] Mar., p. 117. Thus on March 8, 1394, the Duke presents Gadifer with 100 livres, and the latter signs the receipt with his device attached (Mar., p. 114), engraved by Mar. in plate facing p. 129; again in 1400 La Salle receives from the Duke a gold collar of the Order of Camail (Mar., p. 116); this is probably the collar whose loss is bewailed in Eg., ch. 9.

prove himself no less effective as a colonizer and explorer. For in him was the true temper of discovery: he longed to 'know the state' of neighbouring lands; he delighted to plan and execute the 'opening out' of routes [1] beyond the limits of ordinary attainment.

As to Pierre Boutier, he belonged to a famous Benedictine Abbey, that of St. Jouin de Marnes, in the Mirbeau country [2]; this was a region close to Gadifer's home-land of the Thouarsais; and the latter perhaps chose his chaplain, on whom would fall the part of an 'apostle' in the Canaries, from a monastery he knew well, and whose good repute he could test. And well did the chaplain serve his lord. To him was assigned, not merely the drafting of a primer of Christian faith for converted Guanches [3], but the writing of the Conquest-history, the presentation of his master's case, the passionate but precise formulation of La Salle's protest against the injustice of his reward.

With this protest Jean le Verrier, though chaplain of De Béthencourt, is clearly associated in the text of *Le Canarien*, the joint work, as the prologue declares, of both priests [4]. But the later Record, revised out of knowledge in the interests of the Norman seigneur, suggests with equal clearness a complete change of front on the part of le Verrier. He appears repeatedly as Béthencourt's trusted confidant; he attends him in his last illness; he writes his will [5]; he may have been responsible for the recasting of certain portions of the Narrative.

[1] See Eg., chs. 51, 52, 55.

[2] Maj., p. xxii; Mar., pp. 124–6. This abbey was famous for its hospitality, learning, and high moral character; it lay between the Dive and the Thouet, fairly near Montcontour.

[3] Eg., chs. 44–9.

[4] 'Et nous frere Pierre Boutier, moyne de Saint-Jouyn de Marnes, et nous Jehan le Verrier, prebstre, chapellains . . . des chevaliers desus nommes, avons commancie a mettre en escript toutez les choses . . . des ce qu'ilz partirent du royaume de France iusques au xixe iour d'Auvril mil iiij^c^ et iiij que Béthencourt est arrive es illes par dessa': Eg., Preface; p. 130, Mar.

[5] Maj., pp. 164, 197, 219.

Among the 'conquerors' were Gascons from the Gironde and the Landes of Bordeaux, adventurers from the French side of the Pyrénees, and seamen from Harfleur; we hear of at least two 'well-provided' ships[1], one of which seems to have been the property of Gadifer; on the outward route the vessels touched at Vivero in Galicia, Corunna, and Cadiz. A long halt was made at the last-named port, mainly caused by the accusations of Genoese, Placentian, and English merchants, who taxed the Frenchmen with piracy and robbery. To answer their charges Gadifer went up to Seville; he apparently satisfied the Castillian government; but on his return he found the crew weakened by desertion; and among the remainder mutiny was actively at work[2].

Leaving Cadiz towards the end of June, they reached the northernmost of the Canaries, after eight days' sail, early in July[3]. The first land they made was the islet of Graciosa, between Allegranza and Lanzarote; the first landing was in Lanzarote itself. It is evident that their initial design was to form a settlement in this ancient 'conquest' of 'Lancelot Maloisiel[4].' Friendly relations were established with the natives, an unlucky race, already decimated by corsairs[5], yet innocent enough to make agreement with their French visitors, 'as friends and not as subjects,' and even to permit the building of a fort, significantly called *Rubicon*[6].

Gadifer and Béthencourt now passed over to Fuerteventura[7], and hunted for the natives without success; compelled to return to Lanzarote by want of food, they found

[1] 'Avecques des bons navires . . . souffisamment garniz . . .': Eg., ch. 1; Mar., p. 132. The later text (Maj., p. 4) speaks of only *one* vessel, but contains passages, e. g. about the loss of 200 of the best men in the expedition before they left Spain for the Canaries (Maj., p. 16), which point to more than a single ship.

[2] Eg., chs. 1–3, 6, &c.; Mar., p. 126.

[3] Eg., chs. 4, 39; Mar., pp. 137, 198.

[4] See below, p. 451, n. 2.

[5] Although the recognized European expeditions had been few (see above, pp. 442–3) piratical descents were now evidently becoming a matter of almost yearly, if not monthly, occurrence in Lanzarote.

[6] 'Rubicum,' Eg., ch. 4; Mar., p. 138.

[7] Also called 'Erbanne' in the Record: cf. Eg., chs. 4, 33, 36, &c.

disaffection rampant among their followers; it was necessary to heal these dissensions before essaying the conquest of the heathen. The two leaders, therefore, divided their task; Béthencourt was to go off with his own ship[1], to procure reinforcements and supplies, while Gadifer remained in charge at *Rubicon*. But the Norman seigneur, instead of making the best of his way to Cadiz, hung about Graciosa for six weeks or more; and when he did reach Spain, he showed himself more anxious to feather his own nest than to succour his companions[2]. By the Christmas of 1402, he had promised Gadifer, he would return with all that was needed[3]: this happy ending does not seem to have resulted before April 19, 1404[4]; and in the meantime the Castillian sovereign was being won over, the lordship of the islands was being secured by the man on the spot, and the absent Poitevin, working manfully with his scanty force in the Canaries, unsupported and forgotten, was being cheated of his rights[5]. When La Salle was at last able to welcome his returning colleague, he found himself no longer a partner but an inferior, no longer a joint-commander but a subject of the new Prince of Canary.

As if to complete Gadifer's misfortunes, he also found himself (shortly after Béthencourt's departure) absolutely deserted by the mutineers, who had kidnapped some of the natives, and escaped to Spain in a vessel that chanced to touch at Lanzarote. The freebooters were arrested and imprisoned at Cadiz, but the worst results followed upon their outrages. The islanders naturally turned against the French, withheld provisions, cut off stragglers, and reduced their 'friends' to

[1] 'En la nef' says the text (Eg., ch. 7), which I think here refers to Béthencourt's ship and not to Gadifer's, as one might suppose at the first blush.

[2] Eg., chs., 4–7, 9.

[3] Eg., chs. 7, 9.

[4] Eg., ch. 61, 'Puis arriva Bettencourt a Rubicom le xixe jour d' Avril mil cccc et iiij, environ deux ans qu'il nous devoit avoir secouru.'

[5] It is noteworthy that at the very time Castille was taking effective possession of the Canaries, through the agency of the French Conquerors, she was also endeavouring to form friendship and something of an alliance with Timur, by the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo. See above, pp. 334–5, &c.

great distress, from the Christmas of 1402 to the Midsummer of the next year[1].

But Gadifer's spirit was not easily broken: he gathered in a quantity of grain, stored it in Malocello's old fortress[2], and waged a desperate war with the Guanches, capturing many prisoners, and even threatening, if the case required it, to exterminate all the fighting-men of Lanzarote[3]. At last, on July 1, 1403, a vessel arrived from Béthencourt[4]; in August one of the boats of La Salle's own ship was providentially recovered[5]; and it was now determined to carry out what had been doubtless intended at the beginning of the enterprise—to explore the other islands of the archipelago, examine their capabilities, take formal possession, and reconnoitre for future conquest[6].

In this voyage La Salle visited Fuerteventura, Grand Canary, Gomera, Palma, and Ferro; he also coasted Teneriffe, but without landing in the 'Isle of Hell[7].' Among other results he obtained possession of a document left by the unhappy Lopez and his comrades, the *Testament of the thirteen Christian brothers*, who had perished in Grand Canary twelve or more years ago[8]: as to the reduction of the islands, he convinced himself that it was not a difficult, and would certainly be a very profitable, matter; the healthiness and fertility of the group charmed him; and his political instinct discerned in them an admirable base against the Moslems of Africa, lying near enough to Christendom for constant support. Hence, he

[1] Eg., chs. 9–23, 25.

[2] 'Un vieu chastel que Lancelot Maloisiel avoit jadis fait faire, *quant il consquist le pays*, selon ce que l'on dit,' Eg., ch. 28; Mar., p. 177. The reference to a regular *conquest* of Lanzarote by Malocello is one of Eg.'s most important additions to our knowledge. It is to be found nowhere else. See above, p. 449.

[3] Eg., chs. 25, 29, 30.

[4] Eg., ch. 31.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Eg., ch. 32.

[7] Eg., chs. 32–8. Teneriffe, afterwards called 'Tenerfix' as well (ch. 67), is here 'l'isle d'Enfer' (ch. 37). See above, pp. 422, 426. The later text (Maj., p. 72) has 'isle de Fer,' i. e. Ferro.

[8] Eg., ch. 36. This 'testament' 'ore a xij ans' warned all future visitors not to trust the Canarians 'car ilz sont traistrez.' See above, pp. 442–3. The '12 years' should apparently be 14, i. e. 1389–1403: see above, pp. 442–3.

opined, one might easily get news of Prester John; hence one might also survey the mainland coast from Cape Cantin to Cape Bojador, and from Bojador to the River of Gold[1]. Among Gadifer's projects was one to seize and fortify a defensible point, with a good harbour, on this continental shore; such a point, he believed, might be found in the Isle of Gadez, near the Golden River aforesaid, 160 leagues beyond *Bugeder*[2], and such a design of course involved the complete discovery of the route to the *Fleuve d'Or*, a thing which he considered perfectly practicable. For so it was asserted by explorers of that region; so much might be gathered from the Book of the Spanish Friar[3] (whose travels are reproduced at considerable length in *The Canarian*[4]); and such a conclusion was strengthened by the successful efforts continually being made to penetrate the darkness of those regions. Only a year before the arrival of the French in the neighbouring archipelago (the reference is presumably to 1401) a boat with fifteen men had gone from Fuerteventura to Bojador, had made some captives, and had rejoined their comrades at the Grand Canary[5].

On his return to *Rubicon*, Gadifer was cheered to find the garrison practically masters of Lanzarote, their hands full of prisoners, and those of the natives who had not perished in the war submitting in quick succession[6]. The struggle was ended by the surrender of the Pagan 'King' on February 20, 1404, and by his baptism on the Ash Wednesday following[7]: with this the brave and stubborn Poitevin, who had fought and explored so well, might have hoped to begin the subjugation of the remaining islands.

But on April 19, 1404, Béthencourt re-appeared as Vassal King of the Canaries[8], and La Salle found himself expected to take a lower room. An unappeasable resentment prevented

[1] See Eg., chs. 40, 49, 50. On this notion of 'Prebstre Jean' being in touch, as it were, with *West* Africa, see also Azurara, *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 16.

[2] Eg., ch. 55.

[3] Eg., ch. 55.

[4] Eg., chs. 52–5.

[5] Eg., ch. 54.

[6] Eg., ch. 39.

[7] Eg., ch. 43.

[8] Eg., Preface and ch. 61.

further action in common, save for a short raid on Fuerteventura[1]; a disastrous expedition of Gadifer's to Grand Canary seems to have been altogether a separate venture[2]; and the Original Record of the Conquest closes with the two commanders entrenched in separate forts, Béthencourt in *Richeroque* and Gadifer in *Vauta*[3].

It is hard to know how far we may believe the later and uncontradicted portions of the (revised) Béthencourt Narrative, whose veracity in earlier stages there is so much reason to question; but in the absence of other guidance from this point, we may perhaps follow its indications in the main. The subsequent history of the French enterprise, then, shapes itself as follows. Gadifer, unable to induce his partner to modify his claims, or to agree to any division of the archipelago, goes off to Spain to appeal against the settlement. Béthencourt immediately follows, and the Castillian sovereign supports his favourite, who now returns unchallenged to the sole government of the islands[4]. After much desultory fighting Fuerteventura is completely conquered; two principal chiefs are baptized in January, 1405; and Monsieur Jean returns to Normandy for fresh colonists[5]. In the following May he is back at Lanzarote with his following, which had been carefully selected to include all kinds of handicraftsmen, mechanics, and representatives of 'every trade that could be named'; among the 'people of importance' comes Maciot de Béthencourt, nephew of the Conqueror[6], and the destined successor of his uncle in the sovereignty of the colony. And now there is infinite flourish of trumpets, and plenty of fine dressing and fine speaking in Lanzarote and Fuerteventura; but 'King John' fails miserably in his most cherished scheme, the conquest of Grand Canary[7]. On the voyage, indeed, driven out of his course by adverse winds,

[1] Eg., ch. 62. [2] Eg., ch. 63.

[3] Eg., chs. 62, 64. This is followed only by a description of the islands (Ferro, Palma, Gomera, Teneriffe, Grand Canary, Fuerteventura, and Lanzarote), probably in great part from notes made by Gadifer during his cruises, Eg., chs. 64–70. The ruins of 'Richeroque' are still to be seen, Maj., p. 143.

[4] Maj., pp. 118–21, 140–1.

[5] Maj., pp. 142–51, 159–65.

[6] Maj., pp. 167–71.

[7] Maj., pp. 171–3, 181–2.

he finds himself off the African mainland near (and apparently just beyond) Cape Bojador, and accomplishes a successful foray upon the 'Saracens' of that region[1]: in the same way, after his defeat at Grand Canary, he somewhat retrieves his reputation by his successful treachery at Ferro, resulting in the complete reduction of that westernmost fragment of the Old World[2]. But whether it be that such partial triumphs are no consolation to a disappointed man, or that the 'Conqueror's' nature lacks the perseverance and enthusiasm of Gadifer's, Jean de Béthencourt is now resolved to have done with the Canaries. With the careful forethought of an absentee landlord, he reserves to himself a fifth (or 'double tithe') of all produce in the three islands he has brought to submission; and, after settling his colonists in Ferro, Lanzarote, and Fuerteventura, he hands over the cares of government to a deputy, his nephew Maciot, and leaves his kingdom for ever on December 15, 1406[3].

After this, there is little to record. Although the Béthencourt Narrative deems it needless to say more of Maciot than that he was 'all goodness[4],' we know that eight years of his exactions and tyranny bring his suzerain into the field against him, and that in 1414 Queen Catherine of Castille sends three ships of war under Pedro Barba de Campos, Lord of Castro Forte, to control his action. Béthencourt's saintly nephew then sells his rights to the Castillian commander, and sailing off to Portugal makes a second bargain for the same with Prince Henry the Navigator, while a few years later he effects a third sale of the Canarian Regency to the Count of Niebla. His uncle meantime bequeaths the islands (in 1422) to his brother Reynaud; and the final issue of these delightful entanglements is only reached in 1479, after at least two determined attempts by Henry of Portugal to seize the archipelago, when Castille is recognized as the mistress of the *Fortunatae*, by the Treaty of Alcaçova[5].

[1] Maj., pp. 180–1.
[2] Maj., pp. 183–4.
[3] Maj., pp. 187, 190–1, 197.
[4] 'Tout bon,' Maj., p. 208.
[5] Maj., pp. xxxvi–xxxix.

One other field of Maritime Exploration remains to be considered. For even as late as the middle of the fourteenth century we find a trace of European intercourse with those Far Western or 'American' lands which the Northmen had touched, had begun to explore, and had even for a moment attempted to colonize, more than three centuries before.

After the great age of Viking enterprise comes to an end in the North Atlantic (early in the eleventh century), we hear of only two definite attempts to revisit these Far Western lands. One of these attempts has Vinland, the other Markland, as its object; the former is separated by an interval of more than 200 years from the latter; in neither case does any good result appear to have followed the bold adventure. As to the Vinland enterprise, this is undertaken by Bishop Eric, who sets out from Greenland in search of the Wine Country of Leif and Thorfinn, in 1121[1]. To seek is not, of necessity, to find; and from the fact that in 1124 the Greenlanders provide themselves with a new bishop, Arnold, we may safely infer that no more had been heard of Eric, and that all hopes of his return had been abandoned. So far and no further our lights can guide us; we have no authority for assuming that the missing prelate ever reached Vinland; we only know that, once started on his daring voyage, darkness enfolds him.

As to the subsequent venture to the Wood Land of the Sagas (putting aside the alleged but highly questionable expeditions of 1266 and 1285, when certain clergy from Greenland are said to have sailed to lands in the West, north of Vinland, and when the two Helgasons are supposed to have discovered a country west of Iceland)[2] we have a very

[1] *Islandske Annaler* (ed. G. Storm), A.D. 1121; *Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii. 6–7, &c. Bishop Eric's search for Vinland was probably that of a missionary-explorer: there is no ground for supposing that he carried over reinforcements to an already established Christian colony, or went to be the bishop of Christian settlers who invoked his help.

[2] On the ventures of 1266 and 1285, see also *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 70.

clear and definite statement from the highest authority under the date of 1347.

In this year, according to the Icelandic Annals, a Greenland ship manned by eighteen men, which had sailed to Markland[1], put in at Straumfiord in Iceland. We have no information as to the object of the undertaking; it may have been in search of timber or of better fishing-grounds than the Greenland settlers (more and more harassed and hemmed in by Eskimos[2]) could now command; it may have aimed at prospecting for future colonization or conquest; it may have been a piece of exploration pure and simple. In any case, the expression of the Annals shows us that the eighteen Greenlanders sailed with a definite purpose of reaching a land still recognized in their geography; it also suggests that Icelandic historians had not forgotten the discoveries of Red Eric's House, even in the age of Creçy, and that they still spoke of Markland as they might of any other little-known, but ascertained, country, on the horizon of their knowledge.

The decline and fall of the Norse settlements in Greenland, as illustrated by Ivar Bardsen's visit of 1349, by Ecclesiastical Records, and by Icelandic and Norwegian Annals, so far as it can be treated in a history of exploration and Earth-knowledge, will be described in the next chapter[3], but in closing the present section we must say a few words about the strange traditions of Western discovery embodied in the *Voyages of the Zeni*.

In 1558 one Nicolo Zeno, a descendant of the Antonio who figures in the *Voyages*, published a narrative[4] professedly

[1] 'Det havde faret til Markland,' *Islandske Annaler* (Storm), A. D. 1347. Just as Southern Nova Scotia appears best to answer to Vinland, so the island of Newfoundland still holds the field as the most satisfactory identification for Markland.

[2] See Jos. Fischer, *Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika*, p. 46.

[3] Ch. v, pp. 494–6.

[4] '. . . *Dello Scoprimento dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroueland, Estotilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico* (sic) *da due fratelli Zeni . . . Nicolò et Antonio . . . Con un disegno particolare di tutte le dette parte di Tra-*

compiled from letters of Antonio and his brother Nicolo, (written at the close of the fourteenth century), together with a copy of a map illustrating the letters, which had been found among the archives of the Zeni family.

Startling, indeed, was the story of these letters. For they declared[1] how Nicolo Zeno, brother of Antonio and of that Carlo who had just served the state in the Chioggia War, made a voyage to Flanders and England after the conclusion of the war aforesaid, in *1380*[2]; how he was driven by storms to *Frislanda*, an island of the north, much larger than Iceland, belonging to Norway[3]; how he entered the service of a neighbouring prince, Zichmni by name, lord of certain islands[4] south of *Frisland*, of a region lying 'over against' Scotland[5], and afterwards of *Frisland* itself. Further, they told how Nicolo Zeno, prospering in Zichmni's service, summoned his brother Antonio from Venice to share his good fortune[6]; how he made a voyage to *Engroueland* (or Greenland); how he saw there a wonderful monastery of Friar Preachers, heated by volcanic springs[7]; and how, after his death, Antonio Zeno aided Zichmni in carrying out a great scheme of Western discovery, based upon the recent explorations of some storm-driven fishermen. These fishermen, it is said, at a distance of more than 1,000 miles west of *Frisland*, came[8] to an isle called *Estotilanda*, rather smaller than

montana da lor scoperte . . .' Venice, 1558. With this was also bound up the narrative of the historical and well-authenticated Persian journey of Caterino Zeno (1471-3). The Zeno narrative occupies pages 45 (recto) – 58 (recto) of the volume; it is reproduced in facsimile by F. W. Lucas in his *Voyages of the Brothers Zeni* (London, 1898), where an excellent translation and an exhaustive commentary (with thirty-six map reproductions) will also be found.

[1] For further discussion of all details in this narrative see Lucas, *Zeni*, 64-97.

[2] Yet the Peace of Turin, concluding the War of Chioggia, was not signed till Aug. 8, 1381.

[3] See p. 46 (recto and verso) of the original Zenian narrative, hereafter quoted as Z.

[4] 'Alcune Isole dette *Porlanda*, Z., p. 46 (verso).

[5] 'Duchea di *Sorano* posta dalla banda verso Scotia,' Z., 46 (v°.).

[6] Z., 48 (r°. and v°.).

[7] Z., 49 (r°.)-51 (v°.).

[8] This happened twenty-six years before ('partirono ventisei anni'), Z., 51 (v°.). But before what? The

Iceland but more fertile, where they found a large and beautiful city, with a highly civilized people, under a king[1] whose library contained some Latin books[2], and whose subjects included a (European) castaway able to converse with the strangers. The people of *Estotiland*, we are informed, possessed almost all the arts of Western Europe (save navigation by lode-stone and compass), traded with Greenland, and had store of gold[3]; delighted with the scientific knowledge of their new visitors, they employed them to pilot an expedition to the cannibal country of *Drogio*. The expedition came to grief, and the hapless fishermen would have been eaten, but for their skill in net-making and net-fishing, arts which they imparted, in exchange for their lives, to the naked, brutal, and warlike folk of *Drogio*[4]. To the south-west of the latter, the story proceeds, a man ultimately reached more civilized (though still cannibal) lands, with cities and idol temples and human sacrifices[5].

One of the fishermen at last succeeded in escaping to *Estotiland*, and thence returned to *Frisland*, where his narratives excited an eager curiosity. Zichmni resolved to search for *Estotiland* and *Drogio* himself, under the guidance of the much-travelled fisherman,—Antonio Zeno accompanying the fleet[6]. Even though their pilot died on the eve of sailing, Zichmni and Zeno persisted in the enterprise[7], and after a stormy voyage discovered an island in the West *called Icaria, after its first king, Icarus, son of Daedalus, Lord of Scotland*[8]. The explorers in vain attempted to open intercourse with the islanders, and finally sailed off to another *isle*, which they

preceding sections refer to Nicolo Zeno's 'Engroueland' voyage, whose exact date is of course lacking.

[1] Z., 52 (r°.).

[2] Z., 52 (v°.). This is apparently an original touch.

[3] Z., 52 (v°.).

[4] Z., 52 (v°.). 'Drogio' must be the cannibal country in which the fishermen first showed their net-fishing skill; it is also probably the 'paese grandissimo . . . quasi un nuovo mondo' (53 r°.), whose savage inhabitants are described so carefully; but no name is given in this section of the narrative.

[5] Z., 53 (v°.).

[6] Z., 53 (v°.)-54 (r°.).

[7] Z., 54 (r°.).

[8] Z., 54 (v°.)-55 (r°.).

seem to have considered part of Greenland, and where they found a good harbour near a volcano, in a delightful position and climate[1]. Here Zichmni wished to found a city, but failing to persuade the bulk of his men to remain, he sent off the malcontents to *Frisland* under the care of Antonio Zeno, himself remaining with the row-boats and the few recruits he was able to gain[2].

It is impossible to regard the Zenian Narratives very seriously; in the main they seem to be forgeries of the sixteenth century,—the 'American' portions (relating to *Estotiland, Drogio*, and the lands near *Drogio*) being derived from works of the Columbian age, and the 'Arctic' portions (especially those relative to Greenland) being copied from Olaus Magnus, Bordone, and other writers upon Northern regions, who, with commendable forethought, published their useful works before 1558, in time to aid the researches of Nicolo Zeno, junior, in the archives of his house. Finally, the Zenian Map, ludicrously inconsistent as it often is with the printed Narrative, appears to be the offspring of some eleven designs of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, ranging from 1457 to 1558, and including (so Catholic was Zeno's plagiarism) works of Italian and Catalan, as well as of German, Flemish, and Scandinavian origin.

In the Studies of Dr. Gustav Storm and Mr. F. W. Lucas[3]

[1] Z., 55 (r°.)-56 (v°.). From 57 (v°.) comes the identification of the site of Zichmni's intended colony with some place in 'Engrouiland.'

[2] Z., 57 (r°.).

[3] See Storm's *Om Zeniernes Reiser* (orig. in *Proceedings* of Norwegian Geographical Soc., Dec. 17, 1890), and Lucas, *Voyages of . . . Zeni* (cp. p. 456, n. 4). In this footnote, however, we may give a few examples of Zenian plagiarism: (1) the wonderful monastery in Greenland, heated by volcanic springs, corresponds closely with Olaus Magnus' descriptions of Aaranes-fortress in Sweden, of the hot springs of Iceland, and of the construction of houses in certain northern regions (*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555, bk. ii, chs. 1, 21; bk. xii, chs. 1, 2, 3: see also Bordone's *Isolario*, 1528, fol. 5); (2) Zeno's account of a Greenland kayak suggests a misunderstanding of certain other passages in Olaus (e. g. *De gent. sept.*, p. 68; *Opera brev.*, 1539, under B. A.); (3) the Frisland fisherman's story in general has a most suspicious resemblance to the narrative of Jeronimo Aguilar, who

attempts have been made (and apparently with marked success) to separate the principal pieces of the Zeno mosaic, and to show from what source each piece has been derived; here it is perhaps sufficient to point out that the *Frisland* of the Narrative is principally compounded from descriptions of Iceland and the Färoes; that *Estotiland* is put together from early accounts of Mexico and the Greater Antilles; and that *Drogio* and its neighbour-lands are likewise derived from sixteenth-century notions of the Caribbean coast, of Mexico, and of Peru, founded upon the explorations of the first Spanish conquerors.

accompanied Valdivia in 1511 in his journey from Darien, shared his shipwreck off Jamaica, and witnessed his cruel fate in Yucatan (see Peter Martyr, *Decade IV*; Gomara, *Historia de Mexico*, e. g. fol. 21); (4) the rest of the fisherman's tale, not derivable from Aguilar, may almost all be worked out from Bordone's *Isolario* (e. g. the details about the fine city in 'Estotiland,' the king, the great population, the abundance of good things, including gold and other valuable metals, the four rivers of the country flowing from a single mountain, the separate language and script, as well as the particulars of the savagery, nakedness and stupidity of the 'Drogio' natives, their weapons, cannibalism, and diversity of chiefs and customs: see *Isolario*, fols. 7–12); (5) in the same manner, in his Greenland dwarfs and Daedalian 'Icaria,' Zeno again recalls the *Isolario* (e. g. fol. 46), which apparently shares with the works of Olaus Magnus the honour of shaping the main lines of a fiction ultimately inspired by patriotic jealousy of Genoa, and a determination to suggest Venetian knowledge of America before Columbus.

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CHAPTER V

COMMERCIAL TRAVEL: MINOR INCIDENTS IN THE EXPLORATION OF THE WORLD BY WESTERN EUROPEANS, 1260–1420

WE have now attempted to study (under the 'Great Asiatic Travellers,' the 'Pilgrims,' and 'Maritime Exploration') all the more prominent figures, incidents, and narratives in the history of exploration, both commercial and religious, adventurous and scientific, during the later Middle Ages. It now remains for us to follow, in a separate section, the general commercial activities of the chief European states, the lesser achievements of European merchant-travellers and others, in so far as these contribute to widen the horizon of knowledge or to maintain the more distant outlook of European civilization during the same period (1260–1420). But, as we have suggested in explaining the plan of this volume, and as the preceding chapters have shown in detail, something of commercial enterprise now pervades the whole series of our external activities; it is in mercantile ambitions that we begin to find the motive-power for permanent European expansion, the source of the most fruitful exploration and geographical description. That trade-interests, that projects of commercial gain, inspire the Polos and Pegolotti, the Genoese venturers of 1291, and the Catalans of 1346 (to say nothing of the lay companions or patrons of Friar-travellers whom we meet in Persia and India, in China and Central Asia); and that the same considerations dominate Marino Sanuto, prompt (in all likelihood) the earliest Christian discoveries of Atlantic Islands, and accompany every onward movement of our pioneers along the African coast-route to

Asia, has been, it may be hoped, sufficiently demonstrated. What is left, therefore, to the present chapter is largely a supplementary task, the filling in of certain details upon a sketch whose main outlines have been already traced.

But before commencing this task and resuming[1] the history of Venetian or Genoese, of Pisan, Provençal, or Catalan trade-expansion, it may be well to re-state briefly a few of the general conditions which must be borne in mind throughout the present volume. First, the period now under review (1260–1420) is marked above all by Catholic exploration of the Tartar world, alike in Russia and Kipchak, in Persia and Central Asia, in China, Mongolia and Siberia. And again, in the course of this exploration three chief routes of European advance stand out pre-eminent: those which ran up to Tabriz from Trebizond and from Lajazzo, from the Black Sea and the extreme east of the Mediterranean; and that which started from the Crimean ports or the mouth of the Don, and from Sudak, Kaffa, or Tana led across the Steppes to Astrakhan and to Sarai on the Volga, and to Urganj or Khiva on the Oxus.

How from Tabriz the main stream of traffic under the Mongols flowed south to Ormuz, or east to Bokhara and Samarcand; how, in the former case, a traveller thence pursued the South Asian sea-tracks to India and China on one side, or to Aden, East Africa, and Egypt on the other; how, in the latter event, he made his way to India by the Gates of Termit and the Passes of the Hindu Kush, or passed right on to China by one of the three great roads of Eastern Central Asia—the northern and southern Thian Shan and the northern Kuenlun; how the Tana-Oxus track united with the overland ways from Tabriz in western Central Asia and communicated with the Far East and the Indies by the same roads as already indicated (through Kulja, through Kashgar, or through the Termit defile)—all this is familiar ground. Nor is there any need, in this place, to do more

[1] From *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 392–464.

than glance at the perennial river of commerce which followed the line of the Red Sea, and which by way of the Nile and Alexandria, and by the hands of Moslem middle-men, bore the products of the East and South to exchange with those of the West and North. It is more important to remember that Hanseatic and Novgorodian merchants now penetrated the Northern Forests even to the Urals and the Ob; that river communication in Eastern Europe underwent considerable development; and that a slight but continuous intercourse was still maintained between the main body of European Christendom and the far-outlying and fatally-stricken settlements of the Scandinavian race in Greenland.

With the restoration of the Greek Empire at Constantinople a new and more sombre chapter in *Venetian* enterprise begins. Venice had promoted and shared in the crime of 1204 in order to obtain trade-supremacy within the Mediterranean basin; she had for a time realized her object; now with the overthrow of Latin dominion in Byzantium (1261), she is threatened with expulsion from Eden. Her citadel in the Imperial City is joyfully demolished by Greeks and Genoese; the stones are sent to Genoa as trophies[1]; most Venetians withdraw from the Euxine[2]; it appears as if the Men of St. Mark will be totally excluded in future from the Black Sea commerce. But Michael Palaeologus is no sooner established on the Golden Horn than he begins to see the folly of a too blind devotion to Genoese interests; for a moment he breaks with his allies and opens negotiations with his ancient enemies of the Adriatic[3]; Venice, had she desired it, might perhaps have renewed her old Byzantine friendship. The negotiations of 1265, however, soon convince the Emperor that Venetian ambition is still set upon a restoration of Latin rule in Constantinople; and in spite of the treaties he concludes with

[1] *Annal. Jan.*, p. 243; Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, 1885-6 [hereafter quoted as H.], i. 429.

[2] *Annal. Jan.*, p. 244 (A. D. 1262); H., ii. 156.

[3] H., i. 432.

the Republic in 1268 and 1277[1], he resumes his former attitude of distrust, if not of hostility.

This is not the place to discuss minutely the varying fortunes of Venetian influence in Byzantine waters during the later Middle Age;—the ineffective alliance with Charles of Anjou for the overthrow of the Palaeologi (1281)[2]; the momentary loss of almost all Negropont and many of the Cyclades, the permanent loss of Lemnos, to Michael's captains (1276–8)[3]; the measures taken by the countrymen of Marco Polo to save the relics of their great dominion, public and private, in Greece and the Archipelago[4]; the indifference of Venetian statesmanship to Ottoman advance at Byzantine expense[5]; the incessant struggles with Genoa; or the hesitating policy which refused (in 1346 and 1350) to join Stephen Dushan of Servia in an attack upon the Imperial City, while permitting the *bailo* of the Republic in that very city to broach (in 1355) a scheme of independent Venetian conquest[6]. In the result, however (it may not be improper to observe), the cautious trimming of Venetian statesmanship was fully justified: the bolder sailing of the Genoese flagship proved to be inferior in skill; and the close of the War of Chioggia (1381) left the latter with torn sails and damaged cordage, never again to navigate so brilliantly as of old in the van of the world's marine[7]. To keep open their markets at Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the other Byzantine centres, to retain access to the ports of the Black Sea by the Bosphorus, to maintain with the Eastern Emperors relations good enough to

[1] See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden . . . der Republik Venedig* [hereafter quoted as T.-T., the *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* of G. M. Thomas being cited as T.-T., iv], iii. 92–100, 133–49; Miklosich and Muller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, iii. 84, &c.; H., i. 433, 435.

[2] T.-T., iii. 287; H., i. 435–6.

[3] Sanuto, *Istoria del regno di Romania* ed. Hopf, in *Chroniques gréco-romaines*, p. 99, &c.; H., i. 434–5.

[4] H., i. 468, 470, 472.

[5] H., i. 513.

[6] *Monumenta historica Slav. merid.*, ii. 174, 178, 192, &c., 326, &c.; iii. 119, 175, 177, 181; H., i. 490, 514. The 'bailo' in question was Marino Faliero; his conquest-proposal was of April 16, 1355.

[7] See an excellent summary of the Genoese position at the close of the fourteenth century in Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 449.

yield the utmost possible in the way of commercial advantage, to neutralize the preponderance of their rivals, and at the same time to acquiesce in, and even to encourage, whatever would prevent the Greek Empire from ever again becoming a really powerful state—these were in outline the central objects of the Venetian Government in its later dealings with the Eastern Rome, and in these objects that Government achieved distinct success. The place of Constantinople among the world's markets was no longer what it had been, but that place was still one of primary importance: Pegolotti's evidence, if we had no other, is sufficient to establish this[1]: and in proportion as the Queen of Cities had decayed, the Black Sea commerce had increased in value. Further, the suburb of Pera, though now definitely Genoese, had become so important a harbour for Euxine trade that it was practically impossible for any nation possessing a fair share of that trade to avoid a considerable intercourse with it[2]. Even though their reception might be cold in Stambul and insulting in Pera, even though Greek and Genoese outrages kept them constantly demanding redress[3] or preparing for war, it remained the steady purpose of Venetian merchants not to sacrifice their position on the Bosphorus, either by sulkiness or by cowardice.

For by the Bosphorus, apart from all the attractions of Constantinople itself, they gained access not merely to the Black Sea and its ports, but to the great trade routes which then found their Western termini (as we have so often noticed) at Trebizond, at the mouth of the Don, and on the south coast of the Crimea. A mercantile avenue of some importance also descended by the Danube to the Pontus, and at *Licostomo*[4], near the modern Kilia, and close to the mouth of the great river, the Venetians of the fourteenth century laboured to develop a valuable trade in grain. Here, however, as in so many other Euxine harbours, their position was practically dependent on Genoese toleration, and in 1360 loud complaints are raised of Ligurian hostility in *Lycostomium*. On the

[1] See above, p. 332.
[2] H., i. 516.
[3] H., i. 516–17.
[4] H., i. 533.

East Bulgarian coast we find a Venetian consul at Varna before 1352[1], the year when a fresh commercial treaty is concluded between Venice and the last Bulgar Tsar, John Alexander Asen[2]; Venetian pioneers make pretty frequent journeys in the interior of Bulgaria, both from west and east, both from Dalmatia and from the Euxine; while the rulers of Servia in 1317, 1330, and 1340 invite Venetians bound for the Black Sea regions to pass through their territory[3].

At Trebizond (as the capital of a semi-independent 'empire') the men of St. Mark make their appearance much later than Genoese or Massiliots; they conclude their earliest treaty with a Trebizond 'emperor' only in 1319[4]; but once there they establish themselves more firmly than in some other regions of the Pontus. The native rulers had become weary of the Genoese, and Alexis II, glad to welcome their rivals (who could not well be more insolent), puts the Venetians at once on terms of fullest equality. In 1320 we find Giovanni Sanuto established as Venetian *bailo* in Trebizond, and Michele Dolfino passing through the city on an embassy from the Republic to the Ilkhan at Tabriz; in 1322 the Venetian consul at Tana is ordered to send money to the Trebizond *bailo* to help in the fortification of the Venetian concession at the Table-City[5]. In spite of all the efforts of the Genoese to dislodge them, in spite of the momentary ruin wrought by Turcoman invasion in 1341 and by popular riots in 1343, the Adriatic merchants maintained themselves in *Trapezunt*[6], and in 1367 gained possession of a fresh piece of land, where Clavijo saw and described their *fondaco* in 1402[7], and where they remained down to the ruin of the Trebizond state in 1462[8].

[1] H., i, 530–1.

[2] Marin, *Storia del Commercio dei Veneziani* [hereafter quoted as Marin], iv. 174, &c.; H., i. 531.

[3] H., i. 529.

[4] T.-T., iv. 122, &c.; Marin, iv. 145 (which gives the date 133 [*sic*]); H., ii. 100.

[5] T.-T., iv. 171, &c.; Canale, *Della Crimea*, ii. 443; H., ii. 102 (and 104).

[6] Nicephorus Gregoras, ii. 687; H., ii. 103–4.

[7] Clavijo (Sa.), 83–4; H., ii. 106–7.

[8] On the Venetian treaties of 1391 and 1396 with Trebizond and the negotiations of 1416, see H., ii. 361–2.

On the restoration of the Greek Empire, the Venetians abandon most of their establishments on the north of the Black Sea, but within a few years they re-appear in force; in 1287 there is once more a consul of the Republic at Sudak or Soldaia[1], and by a decree of this year he is formally charged with the supervision of his country's interests throughout all *Gazaria*—here including at any rate the South Crimean littoral, and probably a much wider region[2]. For a moment, indeed, Venice seems ready to fight for the restoration of her old predominance in this part of the world: in 1296 Admiral Giovanni Soranzo masters Kaffa; but by the peace of 1299, at latest, Theodosia is again in Genoese hands[3]. Later attempts of Venetians to extend their influence on the South Crimean coast were even more unlucky, and resulted in the loss of their Sudak concessions. By the peace of 1355 they acquired, it is true, a renewal of their ancient right to trade with all parts of Gazaria, and induced the Krim Emir to grant them a concession in *Provanto*, to open *Caliera*[4] to their commerce, and to restore them to their old status in *Soldaia*. This precipitated the crisis; the Genoese could as little bear this rivalry in the immediate neighbourhood of Kaffa as the English of the nineteenth century could endure a suspicion of foreign interference in India; and the struggle which opened in 1365 with the Ligurians' seizure of *Soldadia*, however favourable to Venice in other parts, cost her the last remains of empire in 'Gothia'[5].

[1] On this great Crimean haven see above, p. 32.

[2] *Annales Ianuenses*, p. 244 (A. D. 1262); T.-T., iii. 245; H., ii. 156, 168. Even as early as 1265, when Michael Palaeologus seemed likely to renew the old Byzantine friendship with the Republic, a Greek ambassador returning from a diplomatic mission to a Tartar Khan, embarked at Soldaia on a Venetian ship; T.-T., iii. 245; H., ii. 168. We have already seen how Marco Polo the Elder is in possession of his Sudak property in 1280 (p. 21 of this volume).

[3] Sanuto, *Vite dei Dogi*, p. 578; H., ii. 169.

[4] Both these lay between Soldaia and Kaffa.

[5] The authorities for this chapter of history are in Marin, vi. 71, &c.; Canale, *Della Crimea*, i. 269; ii. 343, 473, &c.; *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6e série, iv. 589, 590; H., ii. 201–4.

In Tana or Azov, at the mouth of the Don, Venice made a more successful struggle: here indeed was the most brilliant point of her later Pontic history. The foundations of her influence were probably laid by her embassy to the Kipchak Khan between 1293 and 1303[1]; but from 1322 we find a Venetian consul at Tana maintaining regular communications with the Trebizond settlement of the Republic; in 1332 a *fondaco*-concession is granted by Uzbeg Khan[2], and in spite of many a buffeting, the close of our period finds the tenacious Venetians still established in this concession. For some years the anti-Latin policy of Janibeg shuts Tana to all Western traders (from 1343)[3]; but in 1358 Venice is again active in the port[4]; Timur sacks the place in 1395, the Khans of Kipchak in 1410 and 1418, yet the Republic cheerfully devotes many thousands of ducats to re-fortify the city and restore the factory after the last calamity[5]. Nor are the ceaseless intrigues of the Genoese more successful in dislodging the 'limpets of the Lagoons.' The harbour of the *Tanais* estuary ranked with Trebizond and Lajazzo as a leading point of contact between the European and Asiatic worlds, as the starting-point of a great international route; of all ways to Cathay the overland path from Tana seems to have been most in favour in Pegolotti's day (1340); and long after the break-up of the Mongol empire Venetians were able to penetrate at least to the Caspian from this base[6].

[1] *Archivio Veneto*, xviii. 324; H., ii. 182. The Khan, in any case, was Toktagu (1290–1312), Uzbeg's predecessor.

[2] T.-T., iv. 243; H., ii. 182–3.

[3] H., ii. 187. On the curious Venetian embassy, by way of *Lemberg* in Galicia, to Tana and Janibeg's court (Nov. 1343-April, 1344), see T.-T., iv. 266; H., ii. 193.

[4] H., ii. 200.

[5] H., ii. 375–9. How steadily Venice maintained her intercourse with Tana, even in the early fifteenth century, may be seen from the existent evidence of such intercourse under the years 1401–3, 1411, 1415, and 1419 (Canale, *Della Crimea*, ii. 461, &c.), as well as from the position of affairs when Giosafatte Barbaro visited Tana in 1436–52 (see Barbaro, *Viaggi alla Tana*; *Travels to Tana*, Hak. Soc., 1873: pp. 4–6, 9–10, 17–18, 24–5 of the latter).

[6] As evidenced by the daring raid of 1428, which was probably organized from Tana, a parallel to the Genoese incursion of 1374 (Barbaro, pp. 5–6, Hak. Soc.); see below, p. 478.

So much for one extremity of the Azov. At the other, on the Straits of Yenikalé, Venice likewise gained a footing in the fourteenth century, though of this chapter of colonial history only the commencement is now traceable. For we know nothing beyond the fact, that about 1340 the Emir of Krim, a vassal of the Kipchak Khan, offered to the Republic in full possession (subject only to the recognition of Uzbeg as overlord and the payment of a tax on merchandise) the city of Bosphorus, *Vosporo*[1], or Kerch, the key of the passage from the Euxine into the Macotis. We have seen how a Latin bishopric had already been created at *Vosporo* (in 1333), a sufficient evidence of the existence of a western community, and a useful preparative for Western occupation. This offer of a new Kaffa, to have and to hold on terms just as favourable as the Genoese held their great outpost to the west, was joyfully and instantly accepted; but on the further history of the Venetian colony in Kerch there is no light whatever[2].

Passing now from the coasts of the Tartar Empire into the interior, we find some interesting, if fragmentary, evidence of Venetian intercourse with the lands of the Ilkhanate, ruled by the tolerant and cultured successors of Hulagu, who felt the need of Christian support against Islam with peculiar force, and whose fondest dream was the completion of their 'Persian' dominion by the conquest of Syria and Egypt. The first European whom we find settled in the Ilkhans' metropolis of Tabriz is the Venetian Pietro Viglioni; it may be conjectured that he was the agent of a company or financial group; he was evidently a pioneer[3]; and his will of Dec. 10, 1264, opens a fresh chapter of commercial history. It is, however, a chapter with many a blank page, for the next entry which has survived, relative to the first official intercourse of Venice with the Ilkhans, is of 1305–6—when Oljaitu issues a decree, favourable to the trade of the Republic, and

[1] Otherwise *Bosporos, Vosprus*; see p. 241.

[2] Canale, *Della Crimea*, ii. 447, &c.; H., ii. 184–5; see above, p. 241 of this volume.

[3] For his will directs that his effects, or the sums produced by them, should be sent to the Venetian 'bailo' at Acre; *Archivio Veneto*, xxvi. 161–5; H., ii. 110.

containing an express recognition of its long-established intercourse with Persia[1]. This decree appears to have been brought to Europe by the same messengers who carried the Khan's letters to Pope Clement V, to Philip the Fair of France, and to Edward I of England[2].

Another lengthy interval succeeds—till in 1320 we find Venice responding to the Ilkhans' overtures (two years after the creation of the Catholic Hierarchy under a primate at Sultaniyah)[3], with the embassy of Michele Dolfino: this envoy journeys to Tabriz by way of Trebizond, and concludes with Abu Said, Oljaitu's successor, a treaty of great importance. Venetian merchants are now granted absolute liberty of travelling throughout the Mongol-Persian empire, of entering or leaving it at will, and of halting where they would within its borders; they are also freed from vexatious and illegal imposts, ensured against loss from brigands, and even guaranteed armed protection on their request for the same: finally, unreserved permission to establish Christian missions is bestowed on the Latin monks who accompanied the Venetian traders[4]. From the last clause, and from the contemporary events in mission history to which we have referred, there can be little doubt that the Dolfino embassy forms part of the great Catholic assault of 1318–36 upon the heathen world of South-West Asia. The treaty of 1320 should have led to brilliant results, but like the Roman missionary movements of the same time, it proved a disappointment. A Venetian consul, one Marco de Molino, is now installed at Tabriz, but his

[1] That this was really issued by Oljaitu (the 'Cuci' of the only existing text, viz. the Latin translation of Nov., 1306; see T.-T., iv. 47), is demonstrated by Heyd, ii. 122–3. It was issued 'in Mugantis,' probably the Moghan camping-ground, near the south-west angle of the Caspian.

[2] These messengers were Tommaso (perhaps the Tommaso Ugi of Siena who is a witness to a matter connected with the letter of Oljaitu about Venetian trade) and one Mamalak; Tommaso reached the Roman Court in March, 1306, and the English court July 7 following.

[3] See above, p. 206.

[4] The recent decease of a Venetian merchant at Erzinghian is also referred to in this treaty, which exists in the *Liber Pactorum* of the Republic, bk. iv, fol. 84, &c.; see also Marin, iv. 286–8; H., ii. 124–7.

energies seem to have been largely spent in appeasing the intestine quarrels of his countrymen in Persia[1]: in 1328 a special envoy, Marco Cornaro, is sent from home to put things right (with the comic result that he is himself clapped into prison by the Persian authorities)[2]; in 1332 we hear that the Tabriz settlement is heavily in debt[3]; and after the death of Abu Said in 1336 it seems to have ended its troubled existence.

Venetian trade, like Roman proselytism, among the 'Levant Tartars,' appears (for a time) unlikely to survive the decease of the last real Ilkhan. For although in 1357 and 1374 Sultan Oveis appeals to the traders of the Republic to return[4], he does not appear to have re-established the Venetian colony in Tabriz; in or about 1369 and 1373[5] he penitently acknowledges the plundering of Venetian merchants within his borders; and the insecurity revealed by this confession is still further emphasized by the later storms of Timurid conquest and destruction.

Thus ends the history of the intercourse of Venice with Kipchak and the Ilkhanate during the Middle Ages[6]; it is perhaps disappointing in its meagreness; but it is ample indeed by comparison. For in other regions of Tartar Asia (from the Caspian to the Hoang-ho) as with India, Indo-China, and the archipelagos of the Indian Seas, there are but scant traces of Venetian activity after the return of the Polos; and we may fairly conjecture that such activity must in any case have been inferior to that of the Genoese, so clearly attested in the China and Central Asia of the fourteenth century. For when Odoric, in the Ramusian version, is made to declare that he had met many people in Venice who had visited

[1] T.-T., iv. 192, &c.; H., ii. 127-8.

[2] *Archivio Veneto*, xviii. 332-5, 338; H., ii. 128.

[3] Marin, iv. 172; H., ii. 128.

[4] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 742, &c.; H., ii. 129. These letters are addressed to the Venetian 'bailo' and citizens at Trebizond, the great outlet-port for Tabriz trade; it is interesting to find that Venetian galleys at this time also went to *Vadi* or Batum to load the spices coming from Tabriz, &c.; H., ii. 94.

[5] These dates are conjectural, H., ii. 129.

[6] i.e. as we have defined them for our purposes—ending about 1420.

Cansaia or Hangchau, and could support his descriptions of the incredible size and splendour of that city[1], we cannot be certain that this statement comes from the friar himself; it is not represented in any manuscript of the original narrative; and though we may conjecture, from the Polos' case, that it represents an exaggerated statement of the *Beatus*, we cannot treat it with the same confidence as an unquestionably mediaeval record. Once more, the assertion, found in one form of the 'Mandeville' text, that Venetian merchants frequented Malabar for the pepper and ginger trade, is in itself probable enough[2], but who can rely on any statement from such an authority? Still less can we be certain that Nicolo Bredani, as would appear from a passage in the Acts of the Venetian Senate, represented the Republic in Siam about 1390[3]—the word *Siam* here being, in all probability, a corruption of *Sham* or Damascus. Finally, although Venetian maps of the fifteenth century[4], like the Catalan Atlas of the fourteenth, show a knowledge of Lake Issyk-kul, and although such knowledge may have been derived from the travels of Venetian merchants along commercial routes in the neighbourhood of this basin, we are bound to admit that no clear evidence of Venetian exploration, or even of direct Venetian trade, in Central Asia, can be produced after the Polo journey.

As to Venetian dealings, between 1260 and 1420, with the nearer Levantine countries—with Turkish Asia Minor, Little Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt—we must content ourselves with the briefest summary[5]. The city of St. Mark apparently maintains a consul and a factory at Sinope during the fourteenth century[6]; her latter intercourse with the Turkish

[1] Od., ch. 32; cf. Yule, *Cathay*, i. 114.

[2] Jordanus' remark in his Gujerat letter of Oct. 12, 1321 (see above, p. 219), that 'Latin merchants' had told him of the way to Ethiopia being open, may imply the presence of Venetians, among others, on the Indian Ocean coasts.

[3] *Senato Misti*, xli, fol. 124, verso; H., ii. 153-5. The whole context appears to refer to Venetian establishments in *Syria*.

[4] Especially that of Fra Mauro, 1457-9.

[5] For some additional illustrations of this subject see H., ii. 5, 20, 37, 43, 48, 55, 62, 76, 80, 407-22, 428, 432, 460, &c.

[6] Marin, iv. 90, &c.; H., i. 552-3. This consulate is at any rate posterior

lords of the East Aegaean Coast is marked by several treaties, notably those of 1348 and 1355[1]; her activity at Lajazzo and other Cilician markets is evidenced by conventions and negotiations of 1271, 1307, and 1320-3, and seems to have continued down to the ruin of *Laias* in 1347[2]; her consulates and factories at Beyrout and Tripoli, at Damascus and Aleppo, may be traced long after the close of the Crusading Age; while the treaty of 1375 safeguards her trade throughout Syria, and especially in the Syrian capital[3]. In the same way we find Venice, now the chief pilgrim port of Latin Christendom, demanding and obtaining permission to lodge a consul at Jerusalem itself in 1415[4]; the suspension of her Syrian trade at certain periods (as in 1313–17), is but temporary; and if in Cyprus her influence, especially after 1373, is markedly inferior to that of Genoa, in Egypt, on the other hand, strengthened by the pacts of 1344, 1355, and 1361, it is as markedly superior[5]. No Western state in fact, under the Mameluke dynasty, for a moment rivals Venice in the land of the Pharaohs: her factories[6] in Alexandria and Cairo are the common resort of all Latin visitors[7]; her consuls regularly appear as the chief representatives of Catholic nations at the Sultan's court, sometimes as the chief hostages for the good behaviour of Catholic seamen towards Egyptian shipping. It is mainly through her Egyptian markets that

to the overthrow of Byzantine rule at Sinope in 1214.

[1] T.-T., iv. 313, &c.; H., i. 543, 545.

[2] Langlois, *Trésor*, 151, 167, 183; T.-T., iii. 115, &c.; H., ii. 80–2. On the Venetian settlements in, and trade with, Little Armenia, see also Langlois, 153, 169, 176–7, 180–1, 184, 191, 193–4.

[3] Cf. H., ii. 462–70. Venetian interests in N. Syria, decidedly greater than those of any other Christian power, are seriously affected at the opening of the fifteenth century, by Timur's sack of Damascus and Aleppo, and by Boucicaut's expedition of 1403.

[4] H., ii. 467.

[5] T.-T., iv. 289, &c.; Marin, vi. 137–41, &c.; H., ii. 41, 43, 45, 48, 54–5, 62, 407–17, &c.

[6] The chief Venetian *fondachi* in the Levant (1260–1420) are at Negropont (the chief of all Venetian bases in East Mediterranean waters), Constantinople, Trebizond, Rhodes, Laodicea, Limisso, Aleppo, Orontes Bridge, Beyrout, Tripoli, Damascus, Alexandria (2), and Cairo; see H., i. 282, 286, 307, 364, 374–5, 377, 403, 405, 411; ii. 362, 430–3, 462–3, 491.

[7] See above, p. 398.

she maintains her position as head centre of the pepper and slave trades in Europe; her interests in the Delta make her statesmen and her citizens obstinate to evade the orthodox restrictions or prohibitions of infidel trade[1]; her dependence on the Red Sea and Nile commerce at last drives her into a policy of alliance with Moslem powers against a Christian people. For was it not better that Portugal should perish than that the Cape Route should divert the wealth of the Indies from Alexandria and the Adriatic?

It would carry us far beyond the limits of our subject were we to attempt a picture of Venetian dealings with the West and North of Europe, or with the Barbary States, between 1260 and 1420[2]. We have seen that she plays no part in the African and Atlantic discoveries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; her nearest approach to this field of enterprise may be seen in the opening (from 1317) of a direct and regular maritime traffic with Flanders and England, and in the development of intercourse with the ocean ports of the Spanish peninsula, such as Cadiz and Lisbon[3]. That her trade with German lands was now (as in the earlier Middle Ages), of great importance, is a truism[4]; that she had dealings with Scandinavian and Russian, and even with the islander of the Northern Ocean as far as Iceland, before the days of Josafat Barbaro, is beyond dispute; but none of these connexions must detain us here.

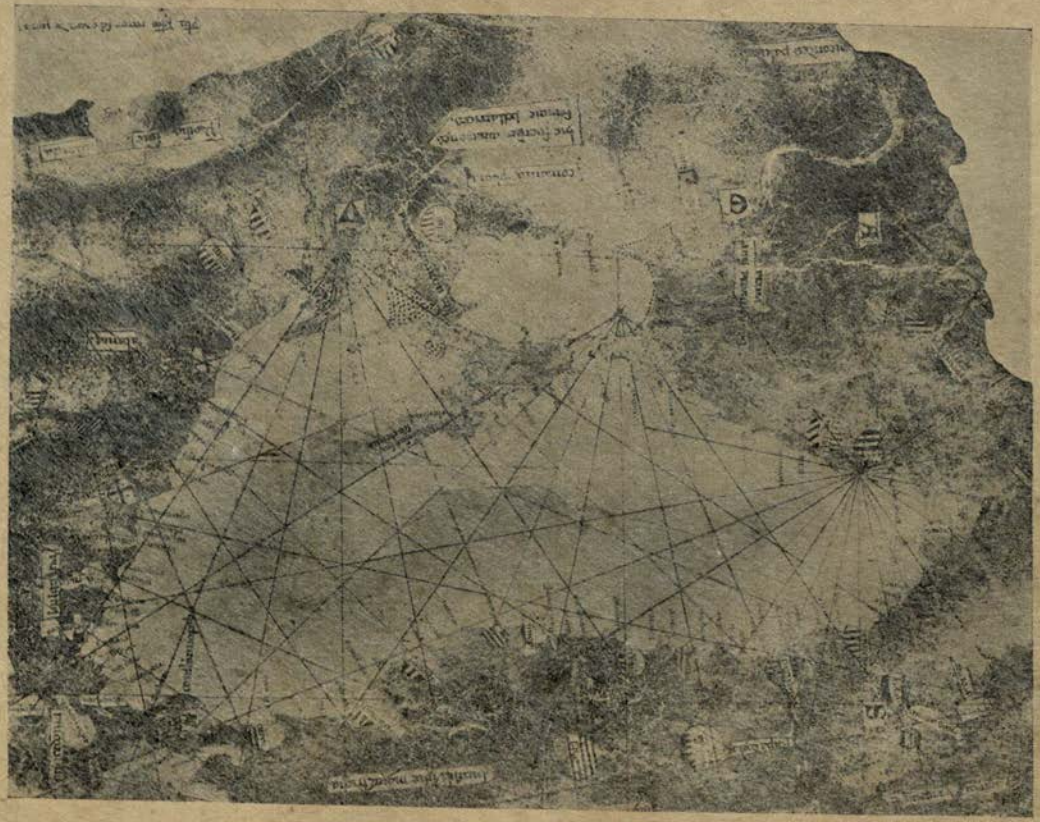
The 120 years between the Greek Restoration and the Peace of Turin (1261–1381) are the great age of Genoa. We have already seen how prominent is the place of her seamen in maritime exploration, how they initiate oceanic discovery

[1] H., ii. 40–3, 561, 663. The Venetian tribunal for conducting negotiations and adjudicating disputes with Saracens is also significant.

[2] But cf. H., ii. 713–36; Mas Latrie, *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Paris, 1886), pp. 253, 308–11, 386–8, 423–32, for a few additional remarks and illustrations in this connexion.

[3] H., ii. 719, &c., 725, 727.

[4] Cf. H., ii. 731–2; the 'fondaco dei Tedeschi' at Venice is perhaps, with the London steel-yard of the Hanse merchants, the most famous factory in mediaeval Europe.



THE G. DA CARIGNANO, OF 1300–5: BLACK SEA

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among the Atlantic islands and along the African coast-route to India: on land Genoese merchants are scarcely less active.

Enough has already been said of the change of masters at Constantinople in 1261, and of the consequent ascendency of the Genoese in Byzantine waters: as to their desperate and continuous struggle with Venice for the maintenance of that ascendency, the significance of their colony at Galata, their domineering patronage of the Palaeologi, and the restiveness of the Greeks under the insolence and rapacity of these allies, a bare allusion must also suffice.

But the Black Sea enterprises of the Ligurian Republic are of such importance in the history of European expansion, and belong so largely to the field of discovery, that we must examine them with some minuteness.

Genoese relations with the West Euxine countries, and especially with Bulgaria, undoubtedly commence much earlier than 1387, but they are first clearly defined by the treaty of that year with the Despot *Juanchus*[1]; with *Licostomo*, by the Danube estuary, they date at least from 1332, and by 1360, as we have pointed out, they are so intimate and so exclusive as to threaten Venetian traders with complete expulsion from the famous grain market.

At Trebizond a Genoese colony unmistakably appears before the end of the thirteenth century; in 1291 Galfridus de Langele, bound for Persia as the envoy of Edward I of England, meets in Genoa one Buscarello de Ghizolfi, who like many of his countrymen had entered the Ilkhan's service, who had visited Europe with diplomatic commissions from Arghun to the courts of Rome, France, and England, and who returned to Persia, with Langele and others, by way of Trebizond, where the party bought a horse of one Genoese trader, a certain Benedetto, and left some baggage in the house of another, Nicolo Doria by name[2]. About the year

[1] Otherwise 'Ivanko.' Cf. *Notices et Extraits*, XI. i. pp. 65-71; H., i. 532.

[2] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* [hereafter quoted as *Atti Lig.*], xiii. 552, &c., 567, &c., 591, 594-6, 605, 607-8, 617, 637, 641, &c. Lan-

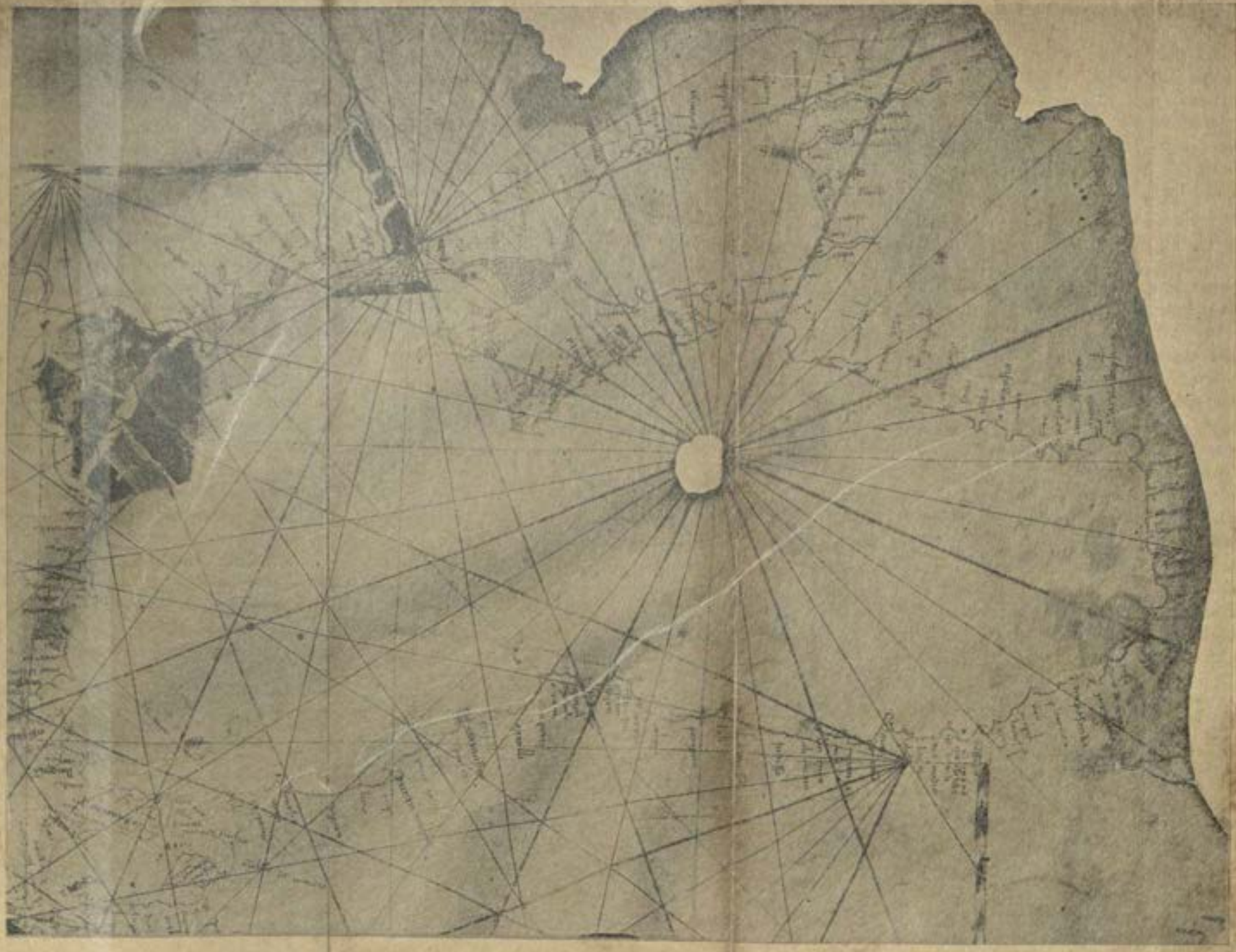
1300 Ghizolfi's fellow citizens won from the Emperors of *Trapesunda* the concession of a special quarter and the protection of their own tribunal; even before 1297, according to documents of the next century, they had received grants of land from the same princes. The mother-city attached a peculiar value to the Trebizond factory; the Genoese consuls, in this settlement, were appointed not from Kaffa, as in the case of inferior Pontic colonies, but directly by the Central Bureau at home, that *Officium Gazariae* which from 1314 directed the entire Euxine trade and enterprise of the Republic[1]. Here as elsewhere, however, the arrogance of monopoly over-reached itself; the resentment of the Trebizond kinglets enabled the Venetians to slip in; and from 1319 the latter acquired, as we have remarked, so privileged a status that they could challenge, with a fair measure of success, the earlier preponderance of their rivals[2]. But in the Crimea, in *Gazaria* proper, Genoa did not simply maintain the advantages she had gained by the expulsion of the Latin Emperors from the Eastern Rome; during the later Middle Age she extended and consolidated her Tauric dominion until she had acquired a real colonial empire in the peninsula. At the same time she threw out her pioneers into yet more distant regions. At least as early as 1294 Marco Polo notices that the Genoese now brought their vessels into the Caspian, and navigated that sea with their own resources[3]; doubtless they accomplished this feat in the same manner and by the same route as the raiders of 1374, sailing up the Don to where Kalach now stands, dragging their craft across the narrow portage to a point near our Tsaritsyn, and dropping down the Volga, by Astrakhan, into the *Sea of Baku*. Before the close of the thirteenth century we likewise find the earliest traces of what

gele's embassy was the English response to Arghun's letters sent by Buscarello. See below, p. 492.

[1] T.-T., iv. 289; *Atti Lig.*, xiii. 536, 553; H., ii. 96. The 'Officium Gazariae' is not formally so styled until 1341, but it practically begins with the institution of the 'Octo sapientes constituti super factis navigandi et maris maioris,' in 1314.

[2] See above, p. 466.

[3] See above, pp. 54-5.



THE P. VESCONTE, OF 1311: BLACK SEA

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ultimately becomes, with Galata, the colonial capital of the Latin Orient—the settlement at Kaffa or Theodosia on the south-east coast of the Crimea. In 1289 this settlement is so vigorous and so patriotic that its assembly, convoked by the consul Paolino Doria, resolves to send the aid of three warships, under the consul aforesaid, to the Genoese of Tripoli, hard pressed by Sultan Kelaun. That this fleet was actually dispatched, that it reached Syria too late, and that the metropolis repaid the expenses of her brave daughter, are equally matters of history[1]. How the Kaffa colony is for a moment overpowered by Venetian arms in 1296; how quickly it is restored to Genoa; how after being lost again in 1306 (this time to the Tartars) it is rebuilt and refortified in 1312–14, repels the attacks of infidel foes in 1345–6 and 1361, and becomes steadily more prosperous down to the Peace of Turin (1381) and even to the days of Schiltberger (*c.* 1420), the seat (from 1318[2]) of a great mission diocese embracing Sarai on the east and Varna on the west, a city boasting 40,000 houses and a population equal to Seville and not far inferior to Constantinople—all this must be borne in mind, if we would realize the value of Kaffa, not merely to the Genoese, but to the whole Latin world[3].

Kaffa, however, was but the most important item in the Crimean activities of the Republic, during the later Middle Age. Its merchants, at least from 1316, aim at controlling the neighbouring inland market of Solgat-Krim, the native capital of the Tauric Chersonese under Tartar rule; in 1365

[1] *Annal. Ian.*, p. 324; H., ii. 164.

[2] The first Latin bishop of Kaffa is appointed in 1268 (see p. 239 of this vol.), but he has no successor till 1318, and the wide extension of the diocese here referred to seems to date from the latter year.

[3] See *Atti Lig.* x. 500; H., ii. 169–74, 195; pp. 239, 241, 371 of this volume. Pope Clement VI in 1348 himself defrayed the cost of one of the Kaffa wall-towers, and on one day of 1345 (Dec. 18) he sent out two briefs relating to the defence of the city against the Tartars (Raynaldus, A. D. 1245, § vii). On the family of Dell' Orto, which played a great part in the earliest days of the Genoese settlement, and especially on Petranus Dell' Orto, 'olim dominus (i. e., probably, consul) de Capha,' see above, p. 249 of this volume, and Canale, *Della Crimea*, i. 152–3.

they seize Soldaia[1]; and by 1380 they have made themselves masters of all the coastal fringe of *Gothia*, from Sudak to *Cembalo* or Balaclava. On the other hand, Cherson (the *Russian* Sevastopol), and *Calamita* or Inkerman, with the remainder of the 'Gothic' lands, are not included in this dominion[2].

In the Azov, meanwhile, Genoa maintains an active trade with Tana, Matracha, and Copa; in the former, their colony, probably founded between 1316 and 1332, seems to have preceded that of the Venetians, dating only from 1332; yet their efforts to obtain a monopoly or a preponderating share of the Tana trade are only partially and momentarily successful; and in the Time of Troubles at the opening of the fifteenth century, Venice appears as the chief representative of Latin civilization at the mouth of the Don[3]. Matracha, on the contrary, passes into the absolute possession of the Ghizolfi family, about 1419[4]; while in Copa, on the Lower Kuban, a great place of caviare export, the Genoese are perhaps established from 1328[5]. The pioneers of the Republic, as we have seen, begin to navigate the Caspian before the end of the thirteenth century, throughout the fourteenth we have repeated traces of their presence upon the great inland sea, upon the Lower Volga, and in other parts of what is now South Russia. Thus in 1307 the Kipchak Khan seizes Genoese goods and traders at Sarai[6]; in 1374 Luchino Tarigo and a party of Genoese buccaneers, starting from Kaffa, pass into the Caspian by the Don and Volga, acquire a considerable booty, and return in safety to their Crimean base[7]; while on the other side of the Krim peninsula, at the mouth of the

[1] Here they created one of their greatest Pontic fortresses; see above, p. 32.

[2] H., ii. 174-6, 204-15.

[3] H., ii. 181-4, 191-2. We may recall how the Russian pilgrims of 1389 (Pimen, Ignatius of Smolensk, &c.) find 'Franks' and Germans dominant at Tana; see p. 406 of this volume.

[4] *Atti Lig.*, vii. 1, 841, &c.; Canale, *Della Crimea*, i. 311; H., ii. 379-80.

[5] On this Copa settlement of the Genoese, see Niceph. Greg., i. 417; *Atti Lig.*, vi. 104, 280, vii. 1, 790; H., ii. 190, &c., 379, 394. The Genoese consulate at Vosporo (Kerch) was not founded till 1429.

[6] *Atti Lig.*, x. 500; H., ii. 170.

[7] *Annali di Geografia . . ., da Giacomo Gråberg* (Gråberg of Hemso), ii. 289-90.

Dnieper, some Ligurian adventurers found a settlement, the *Castrum Ilicis*, or *Castello di Lerici*, which cannot be precisely dated, but which seems to have been abandoned before 1420[1]. Passing to the harbours of Caucasia, we find a Genoese consul (probably not the first of his line) stationed in Sebastopolis or Sukhum-Kale, at the extreme east of the Black Sea, in 1354[2]; we have already noted the appearance of this *Sebastopol* in Catholic mission-history, and referred to the bitter cry of its English bishop, Petrus Gerardus, in 1330[3]. The neighbouring settlement of *Mapà* or Anapa, though organized on a more modest scale, without a consul, and in strict dependance upon Kaffa, is another proof of the ubiquitous Pontic enterprise of the Genoese[4]. But, for this, no proof is more convincing than the evidence of maps—the remarkable and detailed accuracy with which the earliest portolani, largely of Genoese origin, depict every coast-land of the Euxine littoral and above all the shores of Colchis and the Crimea[5].

The Genoese penetration of Persia was of later date than the Venetian, but as we have gathered from Marco Polo, the 'marchians de Jene' have begun to touch this country before 1295. William Adam, the missionary bishop, afterwards metropolitan of Sultaniyah, in a writing of 1316[6], tells us of a grandiose scheme which they had ere this proposed to Arghun (1284–91), and from which Marino Sanuto probably drew largely. For this suggestion was nothing less than to create a central port for Indian trade upon the Persian Gulf, to divert hither the whole volume of Indian traffic with Western lands, and to station a fleet of Genoese vessels at Aden, to destroy the Red Sea commerce, and cut the communications between Egypt and the treasuries of Asia.

Such suggestions, daring as they were, not unnaturally resulted from the close and confidential intercourse between

[1] *Atti Lig.*, v. 245, 248, xiii. 219; H., ii. 397.

[2] H., ii. 192, 380. The Genoese consul in 1354 was Ambrogio di Pietro.

[3] See above, pp. 214, 313.

[4] H., ii. 396.

[5] See ch. vi of this volume.

[6] *De modo exstirpandi Saracenos* (which I have examined in the Paris copy, National Libr., MSS. Lat. nouv. acq. 1775); H., ii. 111. See also pp. 313–18 of this volume.

some of the Ilkhans (Arghun and Ghazan, in particular) and the Genoese traders and travellers among the 'Levant Tartars.' In the negotiations which these successors of Hulagu carried on with Catholic powers, generally for the purpose of a Mongol-Christian alliance against Egypt, they made especial use of two citizens of the Ligurian Republic, Buscarello de Ghizolfi and Tommaso degli Anfossi[1]. The former, a body-servant of Arghun, brought the Khan's letters of 1288 to Europe, and returned to Persia through Trebizond (as we have noticed) with the English mission under Langele: the latter appears in the same way as a Mongol envoy in 1285 and 1288. Far on in the fourteenth century Genoa maintains diplomatic relations, not always of the happiest description, with the lands of the Persian Khanate: in 1344, after a suspension of friendly intercourse, a fraudulent embassy from Prince Eshref of Azerbaijan visits the great western city, and induces some of its merchants to revisit his dominions, thus securing a large plunder for this brigand-ruler[2]. But after his death, the trade revives in earnest, and by 1360 we find the Genoese possessing a considerable piece of land just outside Tabriz, and even planning to construct a castle here, a pretty plan which is only ruined by the prompt interference of Sultan Oveis[3]. Even the Timurid deluge does not wholly prevent the traders both of Genoa and of Venice from visiting the markets of Sultaniyah at the beginning of the next century (1402–5)[4]. But in the earlier Ilkhan period the stake of either Republic in Persian commerce must have been far more considerable than in Clavijo's day; it is unquestionably as an aid to commerce that a Genoese compiles the famous Latin-Persian-Kuman dictionary of 1303[5]; it is for the same

[1] Otherwise 'De Anfusis'; he was also known as 'Bancherius' or 'Banchrui.' See Rémusat, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, vii (1824), pp. 113, 358, &c., 362, &c., 388, 430, &c.; H., ii. 111; and p. 189 of this volume.

[2] Stella, p. 1081; H., ii. 129, 131.

[3] See Clavijo, p. 109 (Sa.), where Sultan Oveis appears as 'Soltanvays.'

[4] See Clavijo, p. 342 of this volume.

[5] Now in St. Mark's Library, Venice, MSS. Marciana Lat., *Fondo antico*, 549; best edition by Count Geza-Kuun, Buda-Pesth, 1880 (*Codex Cumanicus Bibliothecae . . . D. Marci . . .*); see also H., ii. 110, 242.

end that Genoa labours to ensure the security of the Trebizond-Tabriz route. Even if we reject the notion that in the ancient fortifications of Baiburt, Erzerum, Hassan-Kalé, and Bayazid the remains of Genoese work may still be traced, the popular tradition is perhaps not altogether unfounded which ascribes to the agency of Italian traders the foundation of certain caravanserais along the great Armeno-Persian highway [1].

Among the European traffickers who invade the more distant regions of Asia, after the Polos' day, none have left such clear traces of themselves and their nationality as the men of Genoa. For in Andalo di Savignone we see clearly enough a merchant of this city who, like Andrew the Frank (if he be not identical with that worthy [2]), quits China as an envoy of the Great Khan to the West, and who goes back to the Far East, after discharging his commission, in 1338 (the very year of the departure of Marignolli's embassy), making the first part of his return journey with a Venetian fleet, probably bound for Tana. Again we find Andrew of *Zayton*, in 1326, indicating with the same plainness the presence of Genoese men of business in China, and apparently in the great port of Fokien, then the chief Celestial harbour for direct Western traffic: these are obviously the same as the merchants of Genoa noticed in this very haven by Ibn Batuta (about 1336) and implied by Marignolli (about 1346) [3]. Once more, in Southern India, upon the Malabar coast we have also heard something from John Marignolli (c. 1347–8) about the kidnapping activity of Genoese traders: in Western India, at Tana of Salsette, we have come upon a Genoese who helped Jordanus to collect the relics of the Four Martyrs (1321); and in Central Asia, at Almalig or Kulja in the Balkhash basin, we

[1] H., ii. 121.

[2] As Desimoni suggests, *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* (1878), i. 307. But on the whole Bishop Andrew of Perugia and *Zayton* appears a more likely identification for this 'Andreas Francus': cf. pp. 181 183–4, of this vol. On Andalo di Savignone, see Marin, v. 261; H., ii. 218, 711.

[3] Marignolli does not mention Genoese by name, but he distinctly implies the presence of Latin merchants at *Zayton*; see above, pp. 180, 295, and ch. vii of this volume.

have seen how a Genoese *mercatante* shares the fate of Pascal of Vittoria and his comrades (c. 1340)[1].

A word must suffice upon the vast and intricate subject of Genoese relations, between 1260 and 1420, with the nearer Moslem East, from Cappadocia to Egypt, with North Africa, and with the lands of Christendom. For the development of Latin commerce (whether Venetian, Genoese, or other) in these regions has long passed beyond the stage of exploration; it is no longer possible to preserve, in this field, that detailed treatment which we attempted in the earlier Mediaeval period.

As to Mohammedan Asia Minor, therefore, it will be sufficient to note that Genoa, in the later Middle Ages, has wide-spread interests,—both on the north coast, where her consulates at Samsun, Sinope, and *Samastri* date at least from 1317, 1351, and 1398, respectively;—in the interior, where another consulate at Siwas (reaching back to 1300), and a less definite connexion with Iconium and Brusa, witness to the energy of her citizens;—and on the western littoral, where her treaty-rights in Altoluogo or Ephesus, and her concessions in Smyrna and Phocaea, to say nothing of her control of Chios, have long been recognized as important items in general Levantine history[2]. Some of the best illustrations of thirteenth-

[1] See above, pp. 217, 247, 299 of this volume. In 1404 Archbishop John of Sultaniyah was sent by Timur to negotiate both with Genoa and Venice; *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, &c. (1822), vi. 479, 515; H., ii. 266.

[2] The Laurentian Portolano of 1351 has a Genoese flag at Sinope, implying a consulate, otherwise unnoticed till 1449; the same symbol appears on this map at 'Simisso' or (*Christian*, as opposed to *Turkish*) Samsun; see also *Officium Gazariae*, p. 366; H., i. 553. For the 'Samastri' (Amastris) consulate, see *Atti Lig.*, xiv. 101–10; H., ii. 368: Clavijo (p. 80, Sa.) treats 'Samastri' as absolutely Genoese; it was, like Sinope and Samsun, a leading port of call in the coasting voyage from Constantinople to Trebizond, Batum, Sevastopolis, &c. On the Siwas consulate, cf. *Miscell. di storia patria*, xi. 761; H., ii. 79: on the Iconium and Brusa trade, Rubruquis, 392; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 374; H., ii. 79, 352; on the Altoluogo treaty of 1351, H., i. 543; on the Smyrna concession of 1304, *Atti Lig.*, xiii. 106; H., i. 461: on the Genoese conquest of Smyrna in 1344, T.-T., iv. 286; Villani, iv. 68–70; H., i. 539. As to the Genoese in 'Foglia' or Phocaea, see H., i. 462–3, 493; in Chios, H., i. 463, 491–2.

century trade between Christian and Moslem are to be found in the journeys of Genoese spice-caravans (as in 1288) from Lajazzo into the heart of Asia Minor[1], or in the expeditions of Genoese merchants (like Simon Lercari in 1274[2]) from the same great Cilician harbour to that *Savasto*[3] which figured so prominently in the Lajazzo-Tabriz trade-route, and to whose markets the Ligurians, it is evident, paid especial attention.

Even less need be said about Genoese influence in the trade-centres of Little Armenia; that they played a great part in the later commerce of Lajazzo and the other Cilician marts might be inferred as a practical certainty if it were not an ascertained fact; if Marco Polo did not notice the 'marcaandies de Jene' at *Laias*[4]; if we had not Genoese notarial deeds executed here, from 1271[5]; or if we did not know of the trade-ventures of 1274 and 1288 noticed above, did not possess the text of the treaty of 1288[6], and were ignorant of the Genoese consuls and 'viscounts' settled in *Armenia Minor* from (and even before) the year 1274[7].

Between this Armenia on one hand, and Syria and Egypt on the other, Genoa also maintains an active carrying trade[8]; her factories at Beyrout and Damascus, her consulates at Rama and Jerusalem, were regarded as valuable assets[9]; at the beginning of the fifteenth century she protests against the intrusion of a Venetian consul into the Holy City[9]; and while

[1] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, i. 754; H., ii. 79.

[2] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 448–9. Simon was furnished with 600 Iconium dirhems ('darenos soldaninos de Turchia') by his partner Quirico Lercari: see below, p. 484, n. 2.

[3] The Catalan Atlas (1375) has this form for Sebaste or Siwas.

[4] See above, p. 52.

[5] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 434–440, 441–534, &c.

[6] *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Ianuensis*, i. 183, &c.; H., ii. 84.

[7] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 445, 451, 456, 458, 476, 483, 501, 505, 524. Like the Venetians, the Genoese possessed a church and cemetery at Lajazzo, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 452, 454, 456, 493, 497, 499, 503–4, &c.; H., ii. 82, 84.

[8] The Syrian Moslems maintained a valuable cotton-trade with Lajazzo; the merchant Yusuf of Baghdad had a regular establishment here, Langlois, *Trésor*, 175, 197; H., ii. 80. As to the timber export from Selefkeh to Damietta, carried on by the Genoese, see *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 449, 459, 465, 509–10; H., ii. 83.

[9] *Notices et Extraits*, xi. 73; H., ii. 461–2, 467.

in Cyprus her influence dominates all other[1], in Egypt (after a short experiment in the policy of boycott[2]) she frankly abandons the 'continental system' preached by ecclesiastics, and follows in, though far behind, the steps of Venice. By 1304 she has a consul[3], by 1322 a fully-organized *fondaco* at Alexandria[4]; with Damietta she possesses an important commerce[5]; at the same time her Egyptian influence in the Mameluke period is a feeble thing in comparison with that of her Adriatic rival; and whereas in the middle of the fourteenth century the latter is consolidated by a series of fresh treaties[6], the efforts of the Genoese, as time goes on, are more and more narrowly limited to a modest conservation of past privileges, and of past privileges only within limits. It is by other ways, and especially by the Black Sea, that they now seek for new markets and new colonies.

With the Mohammedan states of North Africa, Genoa, like Venice, like Pisa, like Aragon, like most of the commercial states of Western Christendom which took an active part in Mediterranean trade, maintained an active coastal traffic, wholly unconnected with exploration, strictly limited to the shore-line, and continuing without important change (save for three notable exceptions) the mercantile and other conditions of the Crusading Age. The three exceptions we have to notice are the momentary conquest of Gerbi Island (near the frontier of Tunis and Tripoli) in 1388, the unsuccessful attack on the Tunisian port of El-Mehadiah or *Africa* in 1390, and the sack of

[1] H., ii. 15–20.

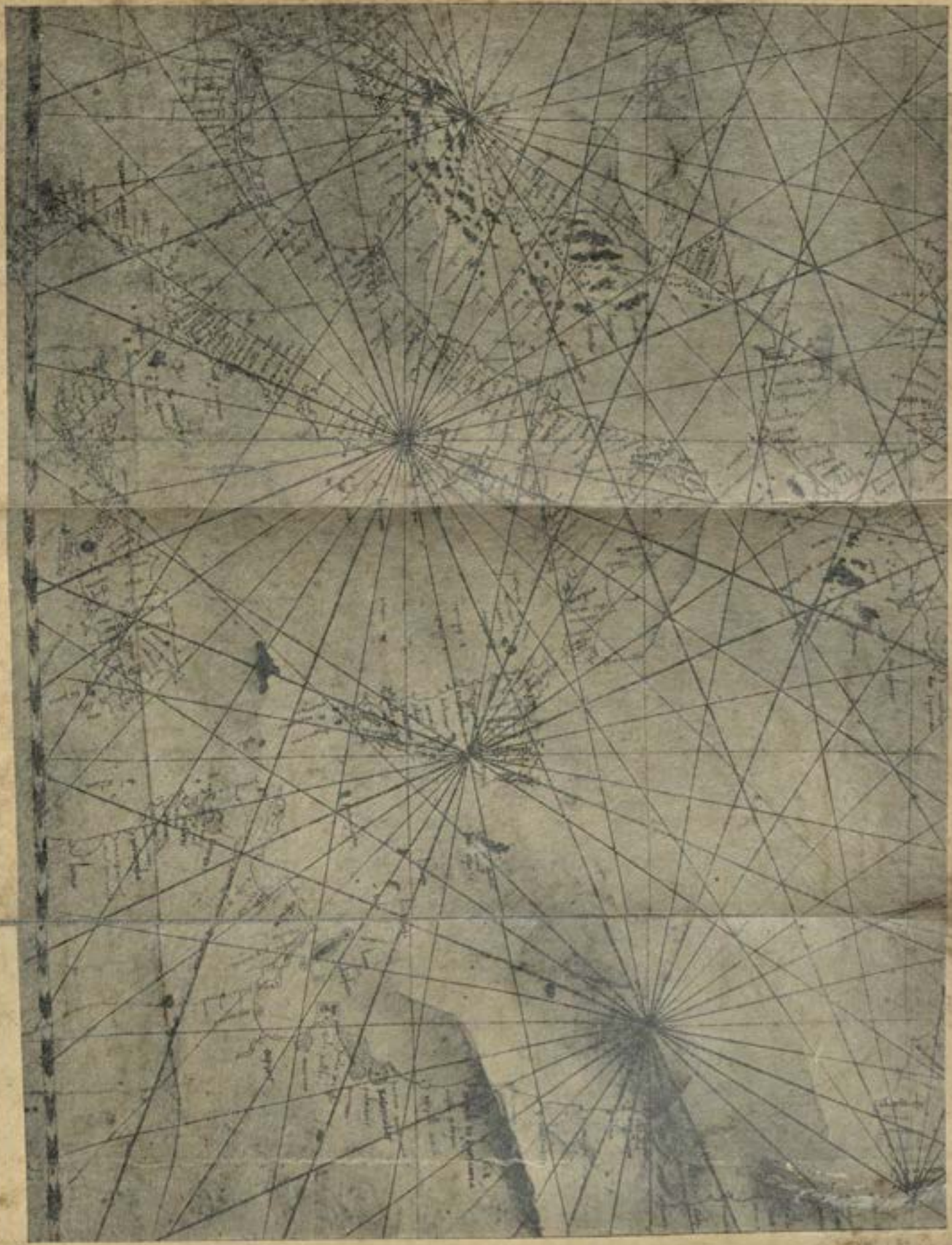
[2] This policy, identical with that recommended by Marino Sanuto (see above, pp. 313–14, &c.), finds an example in the fine inflicted on the commercial house of Lercari and Company, for trading with Alexandria in 1291, *Annal. Ian.*, p. 338; H., ii. 34: see above, p. 483, n. 2.

[3] Document of Oct. 24, 1304, in T.-T., iv. 31; H., ii. 37. This was a revival of a consulate which had existed much earlier, e.g. before 1204, *Annal. Ian.*, p. 121; H., i. 414.

[4] This is testified by the Irish Franciscan pilgrim Simon Simeonis (ed. Nasmith, *Itineraria Symonis*, &c., pp. 19–22) who stayed in the Massiliot factory at Alexandria, on his way to Jerusalem, Oct. 14–22, 1322.

[5] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 449, 459, 465, 509–10; H., ii. 83. In 1345 the pilgrim Nicolo da Poggibonsi stays with the Christian (perhaps Genoese) merchant Damiano at Damietta, *Libro d'oltramare*, ii. 185 (Bologna edition of 1881); H., ii, 58.

[6] See above, p. 473.



THE P. VESCONTE, OF 1311: CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

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Tripoli in 1355[1]. Each of these events might have resulted in the plantation of a colony and the formation of a fresh trade-centre; none of them did in fact produce any permanent effect; and neither in such military operations, nor in the mercantile treaties of 1272, 1287, 1383, and 1391 with the rulers of Tunis[2], is there anything of real moment to our subject, anything which affects the extension of Christian earth-knowledge.

While the Genoese play a part of such primary importance in the earliest Atlantic exploration, while the genius of their seamen is called upon to create the first Portuguese navy[3], it is only to be expected that Genoa's position in the trade of the Iberian peninsula should be one of great importance. Far more surprising is her thirteenth-century connexion with the Low Countries by the way of the sea. For Genoese galleys are apparently the pioneers (in 1224) of all direct maritime intercourse between Italy and Flanders[4]; and although, from the imperfection of our records, we cannot be sure that this trade was regularly maintained at such an early date, we may yet conjecture that the city which could send out men to discover the Canaries, and to begin the search for the Ocean route to India, before the close of the thirteenth century, must have speedily converted this Netherland sea-commerce, giving direct access to markets already so promising, into something periodic, if not annual[5]. Coasting voyages to the Straits of Dover and the Scheldt may have served to train the first

[1] Mas Latrie, *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale*, pp. 384–6, 415–18. Gerbi had been previously conquered by Roger Doria, as Admiral of Aragon, in 1289: it was held in Christian hands till 1335, and it is to this earlier occupation that Sanuto alludes (see above, p. 317). The Franco-Genoese attack on El-Mehadiah, under the Duke of Bourbon and Giovanni Centurione, is connected with the history of Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle, the conquerors of the Canaries (see above, pp. 446–7).

[2] Mas Latrie, *Relations*, pp. 253, 314, 415, 422.

[3] See above, ch. iv, and especially pp. 411–24.

[4] *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 425; H., ii. 720.

[5] It is from about 1309 that this regular intercourse appears with certainty: in 1340 we have a series of regulations for Genoese galleys making the Flanders voyage, H., ii. 720.

Oceanic discoverers of the modern world: men who had sailed to Bruges and Antwerp may have formed the crews of Malocello and the Vivaldi (c. 1270–91).

With England Genoese relations seem to have been comparatively slight, though the mercantile marine of the Republic had begun to visit British ports in the fourteenth century; with Germany, again, it was natural that Venice should enjoy, by virtue of her position, a decisive preponderance over her Western competitor; but it is interesting, nevertheless, to observe how large a body of Teuton commerce is controlled or affected by Genoa[1], the best intermediary, as events proved, for the trade between the Empire and Spain[1]. Still more curious and significant is the suggestion, thrown out by the Emperor Sigismund about 1410 (in the heat of his quarrel with Venice), not merely for increasing the traffic between German lands and Genoa, but also for developing a direct overland commerce between Kaffa and the markets of Prussia[2].

We now come to *Pisa*. And here, as in the remainder of this chapter, we shall still further abridge that general survey of commercial relations which we have attempted in the case of the two leading mercantile states of the West. For it will now be more than ever unnecessary to pay attention to matters not strictly concerned with distant and little known regions; our sole concern (in treating of the lesser mercantile cities) must be with what bears a definite relation to the exploration of *Terra incognita*.

And among such matters, in the later history of Pisan commerce, the most salient is perhaps the appearance of a certain *Iolus* or *Ozolus*, already noticed as a protector and abetter of Catholic missions in Persia during the reign of Arghun (1284–91). The residence of this *noble* Tuscan was at Tabriz; from

[1] Thus in 1398 Johann Breitfeld, in the name of a great association of Suabian, Franconian, and other cities, asks for a lowering of Genoese dues, and carries his point, H., ii. 732–3.

[2] *Deutsche Reichstagsacten*, vii. 359, &c., 364, 415, &c.; *Acten der Städtetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens* (ed. Töppen), i. 368; H., ii. 733.

letters of Pope Nicholas IV., written in 1289 and 1291 [1], he appears to have been, like Peter of Lucolongo, a successful merchant, an ever-ready patron of the friars, and an active agent of Roman proselytism in the Ilkhanate.

And along with this we must take the more legendary record of one 'Joanninus son of Hugolinus the Pisan merchant [2],' possessor of a relic of the Tana martyrs, and possibly a trader (or the descendant of a trader) on that West Indian coast near Bombay, marked by the tragedy of April 7, 1321.

But apart from these ecclesiastical notices we have no indication of Pisan activity in Higher, Southern, or Further Asia, after the end of the Crusading Age; nor do Pisans appear elsewhere—either in Russia, in the Black Sea regions, or in the nearer Moslem East—as pioneers of Western advance. Their post-Crusading consulates in Little Armenia, in Cyprus, in Syria, and in Egypt [3]—their post-Crusading trade with North Africa and the Mohammedans of Spain [4]—are unquestionable facts; but the bearing of these facts is, equally beyond question, rather antiquarian than practical in the fourteenth century; they are, after all, survivals from the time of Pisan greatness, they merely prove how gallantly the men of the Arno could struggle to conceal the bankruptcy of their power [5].

The case is just reversed with *Florence*. For down to the

[1] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, v. 198, addressed 'nobili viro Iolo de Pisis,' and dated July 13, 1289; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 1291, § xxxiii, dated August 13: see above, p. 204 of this volume. Here is the only known reference to Pisan activity in the Persian market.

[2] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi. 359.

[3] H., i. 333, 340, 413-14; ii. 5, 33, 87.

[4] To the golden age of Pisa belongs the Tunisian treaty of 1264, to the age of her decay that of 1313 with Tunis, that of 1358 with Marocco. Mas Latrie, *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale*, pp. 234, 312, 391. For the Spanish trade of Pisa, see H., ii. 724.

[5] After the Meloria catastrophe of 1282 Pisa tends to sink into dependance first on Genoa, then on Florence. The ruin of the Crusading States also affects her most prejudicially; she had made great sacrifices to help their foundation and to preserve their existence; her commercial colonies and concessions in the Christian Levant were very important; and the practical loss of this field of trade is severely felt.

close of the thirteenth century she is only beginning to take rank as an important mercantile state: it is not till the opening of the fifteenth that she is able to send her own vessels from her own ports. Yet it is clear, from Pegolotti's work, that Florentine traders, however dependent on the hire of Genoese, Pisan, or other bottoms, have already won a considerable position in the markets of Europe and the Nearer East, before the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War (1338) it is evident, from the same work, that a Florentine commercial house, between 1315 and 1340, can command the services of a man of extraordinary business knowledge, whose grasp of the whole field of commerce is shown in the best trade-manual of the Middle Ages. From this manual we have already endeavoured to gain a general idea of the great Asiatic trade-routes, and especially of those from Cilicia and the Black Sea to North Persia, and from the Don estuary to China[1]: we may also gather from the *Pratica* how high was now the reputation of Florentine exports[2] in the Levant, how prominent the position of her citizens in Levantine traffic; but we cannot gather from it (or from any other record of the time) that Florentine traders take a personal part in commercial *exploration*. Down to the age of Henry the Navigator all the real pioneer work done by the fellow citizens of John Marignolli goes to the credit of *mission*-travel; the Florentine merchants at 'Russian' Tana in 1343[3], the Florentine colony and consulate at Alex-

[1] See above, pp. 326–32.

[2] Especially cloth, which was in great demand in Byzantine lands and elsewhere.

[3] This is proved by Villani's express mention of Florentines among the Westerns attacked by Tartars after the Venetian ruffian Andreolo Civrano had murdered Khoja Omar (Marin, vi. 58; Canale, *Della Crimea*, ii. 458; H., ii. 187). Pegolotti's elaborate details about Tana trade (Pagnini, *Della Decima*, iii. pp. 4–5), probably compiled soon after 1330, like his account of the grain port of Lifetti, near our Eupatoria, in the north-west of the Crimea (Pag., 25, 39), of Kabardi, possibly our Taganrog (Pag., 39), of 'Balzimachi,' 'Bacinachi' or Yeisk, on the east coast of the Azov, of Pesce (apparently the site of a Genoese fishing-station), of S. Giorgio, and of Tar (Pag., 39), between Yeisk and the Strait of Kerch, prove Florentine interest in these Maeotid ports, and perhaps a lively hope of ultimately controlling their markets; they do not (except in the case of Tana, where other sources supply the want) make it

andria[1], the Florentine banks at Alexandria and Damascus[2], the Florentine participation in the slave and alum trade[3] of the Eastern Mediterranean, all these are merely instances of co-operation in matters and markets familiar to every enterprising business man of Venice or of Genoa.

Catalan commerce, during the later Middle Age, shows an immense and varied activity; Catalan merchants appear in all parts of the Nearer East, from Alexandria to Tana; Catalan consulates—in Egypt and on the Bosphorus, in Cyprus, in Little Armenia, and in Syria[4]—testify to the vigour and organization of Catalan trade-enterprise in the Levant; in North Africa, Catalan influence tends to overshadow that of every other Christian community[5]. But for the best examples of commercial exploration, properly speaking, on the part of the rulers and people of Aragon, we must look at the Rio d'Ouro venture of 1346, and at the embassies dispatched by James II to the Court of the Persian Ilkhans in 1293 and 1300. The venture of 1346 has been fully discussed in the preceding chapter; as to the mission of 1293[6], it was under the leadership of one Pedro do Puerto—*Petrus de Portis*,—it combined diplomatic with commercial business, it was essentially concerned with the favourite idea of a new crusade, and it was

certain that Florentine traders had yet penetrated to these havens. See also H., ii. 167, 177, 190.

[1] H., ii. 478-80. In 1384, on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Giorgio Gucci finds the Florentine colony established at Alexandria (p. 274 of Gargiolli's edition of 1862).

[2] H., ii. 478. In 1384, Frescobaldi, travelling with Gucci, carries letters of credit from the Portinari bank in Florence, whose branch at Damascus was administered, he tells us, by Andrea di Sinibaldo, while the Alexandria branch was under Guido de' Ricci (pp. 13, 22, 142 of Gargiolli's edition).

[3] H., ii. 561, 566.

[4] H., i. 423; ii. 15, 33, 88, 422, 456, 464, 468, 472, 476, 477, 482, 486. In 1408 the Catalan consul in Alexandria was bastinadoed for the misdeeds of his countrymen; Capmany, *Memorias historicas . . . de Barcellona*, II. i. 58. For the Catalan consulates in Modon, Chios, and Crete, see H., ii. 292, 348.

[5] Mas Latrie, *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 253-5, 284-5, &c., 299-304, 316-29, 390-4, 432-6.

[6] Navarrete, in *Memorias de la Academia de Madrid*; v. 177, &c.; H., ii. 15, 88.

accredited not only to Kaikhatu [1], the usurping successor of Arghun, but also to the Kings of Cyprus and Armenia the Less.

The legation of 1300 [2], headed by Pedro Olivero of Barcelona, brought to Ghazan Khan still more definite offers of anti-Moslem alliance from the same sovereign; in his haste to divide the bear-skin, James cannily stipulates for his fair share in all lands to be conquered from the Mameluke Sultans; in particular, he demands freedom from tax and toll for any of his subjects journeying to Syria and visiting the Holy Places [3].

But no definite results followed on these negotiations; and although in 1395 we find Catalan (and *Biscayan*) traders among the European sufferers from Timurid devastations in the famous port of the *Tanais* [4], Aragonese activity, after the days of James II, seems to have been limited, with rare exceptions, to the coasts of the Mediterranean proper.

Two *Marseillais*, acting as envoys from Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, to Andronicus II and to Abagha Khan, in 1267, are the first Latin merchants who appear in the City and Empire of Trebizond, and are (if they pursued their commission to the end) among the earliest Catholics to penetrate Mongol Persia [5]: again, at the end of the thirteenth century, we find Marseilles exporting French wine, though in Genoese bottoms and through Genoese agents, to the Crimea [6]. But we have no further light upon Massiliot enterprise along the Black Sea waterways or along the Trebizond-Tabriz land-route; upon Massiliot trade with Kaffa; or, indeed, upon Massiliot activity in any of the regions lying outside the ordinary field of Western commerce in the post-Crusading Age. Within that field,—from Marocco to Constantinople and from Flanders to Egypt,—

[1] On the Polos' relations with Kaikhatu, see above, p. 154.

[2] Capmany, *Memorias históricas . . . de Barcellona*, IV. 28.

[3] Such a proviso, where Catalonia was concerned, obviously had especial relation to commerce.

[4] H., ii. 375, referring particularly to the *Chronicle of Treviso*.

[5] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 434; Del Giudice, *Cod. dipl. di Carlo d'Angio*, i. 219, &c.; H., ii. 94.

[6] Canale, *Della Crimea*, i. 315, &c. H., ii. 177.

factories and consulates, commercial treaties and commercial missions may be found to witness to the vigour, organization, and persistence, of Provençal traders [1]; but however interesting is the testimony of Simon Simeonis (in 1322) to the Massiliot house in Alexandria [2], and however instructive it may be to detect Marseillais trafficking, throughout the fourteenth century, in the ports of North Africa and in the Bosphorus, in Little Armenia and in Cyprus, we cannot pursue the subject any further in this place.

Although the *French* Kings maintain a lively correspondence with some of the Mongol Ilkhans, and are regarded (after the fall of Acre) as natural leaders of a fresh crusade, with all its attendant schemes of trade-development along the Persian routes, and a fleet in the Indian Ocean [3]; and although French missionaries appear in some of the most distant fields of Mediaeval proselytism [4]—the merchants of the French Kingdom play no very conspicuous part in commercial *exploration*. True, they have their quarters or factories in Constantinople and Alexandria [5], a respectable Levantine trade, the glory of a citizenship without a rival in Crusading honour, the support of a Government second to none in Christendom, the mastery for a moment even of Genoa itself (1396–1409); but nowhere do they appear as leaders of European traffic-advance, opening new markets, or giving a momentous development to distant and neglected ones. Perhaps their most remarkable achievement, between 1260 and 1420, may be found in the prosecution and improvement of their Egyptian relations, as illustrated by the partly-commercial, partly-diplomatic, mission of Guillaume

[1] H., i. 20, 329, ii. 33; Mas Latrie, *Relations*, 265–6, 398–9, 402.

[2] *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, ed. Nasmith (1778), p. 21. Simon was an Irish Franciscan, on his way to the Holy Land; he and his friends seem to have lodged in the Marseilles *fondaco* (Oct. 14–22, 1322) from deliberate preference for the latter over its Genoese, Venetian, and Catalan rivals; his narrative is extremely important for the history of European trade in Egypt.

[3] See above, pp. 205–6, 210–11, 311–12.

[4] e.g. Jordanus in W. and S. India, see above, pp. 215–22.

[5] H., i. 226, 263, 432, 455, 484.

Bonnesmains, a trader of Figeac origin, perhaps connected in later life with Montpellier, who in 1327–9 travels to the Mameluke Court as an envoy from Charles IV, in the company of various merchants from Catalan and South French lands, and obtains, among other things, a period of respite for the sore-persecuted native Christians of the Nile[1].

English trade, beyond the ordinary limits of Catholic influence, gives even less evidence of life. For the Persian embassy committed by Edward I, in 1291, to Galfridus de Langele, though closely connected by the force of circumstances with the movements of Genoese commerce, and occupying an important place among the diplomatic explorations of the thirteenth century, appears to have little significance for English interests, apart from politics; no definite purpose of furthering English trade in the Levant is here revealed; nor should we have any ground for assuming an English trade in the Levant at all, either in the Crusading or the post-Crusading period, apart from the 'vicus Anglorum' of Crusading Acre (c. 1250)—a 'vicus' not necessarily, though probably, commercial, possibly unconnected with the Mother-Country, and almost certainly extinguished, after a brief existence, before 1291[2].

Langele's mission, indeed, seems to have been nothing more and nothing less than the response of an able and vigilant Christian sovereign and government, ruling a country then far removed from all the great lines of Asiatic trade, to the friendly advances of Arghun Khan, advances which had been just communicated afresh to the Courts of Rome, of Paris, and of London, by the Khan's faithful and energetic diplomatist, Buscarello de' Ghizolfi[3] of Genoa. It is Buscarello whom Langele hastens to join in Italy, before proceeding to the East; it is with Buscarello, his brother Percivalle, and his nephew Corrado, that the ambassador journeys to the Persian Court by way of Trebizond; we have already seen that the

[1] Simon Simeonis, p. 53 (Nasmith); H., ii. 33; see also H., ii. 483, &c.

[2] H., ii. 725.

[3] Otherwise 'Guisulfi.'

history of the embassy gives us the earliest proof of a Genoese colony in the Table-City. When we find our Englishmen at Siwas and Kaisariyah in Cappadocia, at Khoi by the present Russo-Perso-Turkish frontier, at Erjish on the north side of the lake of Van, or at Melazkirt and Erzerum [1] on the Armenian section of the Tabriz-Trebizond high-road, we shall not draw from these facts any conclusions about English commerce in the Ilkhanate; we shall rather see in them proofs of Genoese knowledge of the ground, of Genoese capacity—and willingness—to guide other Latin Christians in South-West Asia, premising only that these 'Latins' were men who by no possibility could endanger the traffic of the Republic [2].

The *German* traders of the Hanseatic League do not often come before us as explorers; but in their penetration of the East Baltic lands and their establishment at Great Novgorod, they make some claim to pioneer honours; and if we can in any way associate German energy with the later Novgorodian advance into the Forest Regions of the Far North, these honours must be greatly multiplied. Yet, ages before the Hansa, the *Russians* of *Holmgarth* [3], Scandinavian rulers and Slavonic subjects, had begun (as they claim) to pierce the darkness of these *Obscure Lands* so dim to Marco Polo [4]. May we believe that, even before the close of the first Christian Millennium (as

[1] On the stations of the return journey see *Atti Lig.*, 610–14.

[2] The record of Langele's mission, kept by his esquire, Nicolas of Chartres, is now indexed in the London Public Record Office as *Accounts, etc., King's Remembrancer, Bundle 308, nos. 13, 14, 15* (the older reference is *Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Miscellanea, no. 49*). It is edited by Desimoni in *Atti Lig.*, XIII. iii. 537–698 (text, 591–643); see above, p. 197 of this volume. The record is primarily and mainly one of expenses (e. g. 'expensae factae apud Ianuam in itinere versus Tartariam per Dom. Percivalem de Gysolphis,' *Atti Lig.*, p. 591; 'expensae factae per Buskerellum' [in Trebizond], p. 595; 'expensae Nicolai morando apud Savastum expectando Rex [*sic*] Tartarorum,' p. 596; 'equi empti apud Trapesende de Benedicto mercatore de Ianua,' p. 608; &c.). The embassy started on April 15, 1291, and returned to Genoa, June 11, 1293. See also H., ii. 95, 120, and p. 475 of this volume.

[3] The favourite name of Novgorod in the Norse Sagas: see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 22, 37, 105.

[4] See above, pp. 158–9.

we have noticed in an earlier volume[1]), the Novgorodian outposts reach the upper waters of the Sukhona-Dvina; that in the course of the eleventh century they even touch the Pechora; that by the time of the First Crusade (1096) they have not merely exploited, but rendered tributary, a large section of Western *Uralia*? And, again, can we accept the pretensions of the same proud city as to a conquest of some portion of Siberia before 1187 (identifying the *Yugria* of this tradition with the lower valley of the Ob-Irtish), or as to a *recovery* of these regions, on both sides of the Russian Schwarzwald[2], in 1264, after a futile struggle in 1193[3]? In any case, the influence and trade-empire of Novgorod seems widely spread and firmly rooted over much of modern Archangel and Vologda, Perm and Vyatka, from the Urals to the Lapland coast[4],—and Novgorodian commerce appears to include within the sphere of its activity certain parts both of our Tobolsk and of trans-Uralian Perm,—before the days of Schiltberger (1396–1427).

From the North-East, let us turn, in conclusion, to the North-West. The latter Middle Ages, witnesses of so brilliant an expansion of European energy on the side of Asia, witnesses also of so much steady progress among the islands of the

[1] *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 38–9.

[2] That the Urals and their woodlands represent a vastly magnified Black Forest will hardly be disputed by any one who has seen them.

[3] Cf. S. Sommier, *Sirieni, Ostiacchi, e Samoiedi dell' Ob*, Florence, 1887; Rabot, *A travers la Russie boréale*, 160–70.

[4] In the preceding volume (*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 38) we have noticed how in 1323, by the treaty of peace between Prince Yuri Danilovich of Novgorod and King Magnus II of Sweden, Varanger Fiord was made the boundary between Scandinavian and Russian spheres of influence in Lapland; how Kola, so long the capital of the latter, is mentioned in Russian annals as early as 1264; how Ivan II of Moscow names Kholmogori, the chief Slavonic settlement near the White Sea, in a letter of 1355–6 to the Governor of the Dvina; and how Novgorodian colonies, in the basins of the Northern Dvina, Onega, and Mezen, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are recorded by early Russian chroniclers. The conversion of the Zyrians of the Upper Dvina and Vychegda was commenced by St. Stephen 'of Perm,' under Moscovite auspices, in the later fourteenth century (1376–96); under his successor Isaac, Christianity penetrated to the Pechora. Cf. Engelhardt, *A Russian Province of the North*, pp. 34, 42, 54–5, 110–11, 256–8.

Central Atlantic and along the African Ocean coast, on the side of Greenland and North America can only testify to the loss of the gains of earlier time, to the slowly-ebbing life of isolated and decadent communities. We have already attempted to deal with the last traces of Scandinavian interest in Vinland and those other countries of the Far West which Northmen had once hoped to conquer and to colonize[1]; it remains to add the briefest of references to the decline and fall of the Greenland colonies.

After the definite incorporation of the latter with the realm of Norway in 1261, a 'king's ship' seems to have plied between Bergen and the Greenland harbours, at irregular intervals, down to a late period of the fourteenth century[2]; its business was usually commercial; but on its voyage in 1355 it is especially equipped for war against the Esquimaux: after the sack of Bergen in 1393, even this slender link is broken[2]. Greenland's latest recorded visitors from the outer world are certain Norsemen, bound for Iceland, but driven out of their course by storms, in 1406[3]: some intercourse, however, must have been still maintained with Catholic authority for more than three-quarters of a century; a papal letter of 1448 refers to the sufferings of this Hyperborean province of the Church; and it is only in 1492, with another papal document, that we finally take leave of Mediaeval *Gronlandia*.

Yet in 1364, when Ivar Bardsen, leaving his work as Steward of the Gardar bishopric, comes to Norway, and when that *Descriptio Groenlandiae* is compiled for which Ivar stands sponsor, matters are already looking black enough. The settlement of the Western Bay, too long unsupported, has now (for fifteen years) been absolutely blotted out; a few sheep

[1] See above, pp. 455-6 of this volume.

[2] This ship, the *Knorr*, is noticed as returning prosperously from Greenland in 1346, as sailing again to maintain Christianity in the latter and drive back the colonists' foes in 1355, and as foundering (a little North of Bergen) in 1367; see *Gronlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii. 14, &c., 37, &c., 121, &c.; *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, A.D. 1346; Fischer, *Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika*, pp. 47-9.

[3] *Mindesmærker*, iii. 41; *Islandske Annaler*, A.D. 1406.

and cattle, running wild, are the only relics of civilization [1]; the same fate threatens the remaining plantations of the *Osterbygd*. The ruin, thus commenced in 1349, becomes almost total in the early years of the next century,—when 'heathen from the neighbouring coasts' come with a 'fleet' to waste the country, burn the churches, and enslave or exterminate the people: only a few poor folk escape, in small and distant parishes, protected by the roughness and remoteness of their habitations. So Nicholas V declares, in 1448 [2], of events which had befallen some thirty years before (about 1418): it is doubtless to these miserable survivors, whose lack of bread and wine was painfully supplied with dried fish and oil, who for more than one hundred years had seen no Christian priest, but who still, with pathetic constancy, preserved (and once a year exhibited) the corporal on which the Eucharist had last been consecrated in their land, that Alexander Borgia refers, in the very year of Columbus' re-discovery of America [3].

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTERS II, IV, V.

NONE of the Catholic attempts to open up the Barbary States of North Africa through missionary enterprise were successful. By 1233 the Franciscans had established so promising a cause in Marocco that a bishopric was created, with its seat (nominally) at Fez: in 1291–2, 1306, and 1314–5, Raymond Lull, the 'Doctor Illuminatus,' himself a Franciscan Tertiary and a pioneer advocate, it is said, of African circumnavigation (see above, p. 311 of this vol.), preached in Tunis and Bugia. But neither Latin proselytism nor Latin commerce really penetrated into the Upland of Barbary, or performed any appre-

[1] Ivar Bardsen (text and versions) in Major, *Voyages of the Zeni*, 52–3.

[2] Fischer, *Entdeckungen*, pp. 52–3; J. C. Heywood, *Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto Vaticano*, pp. 9, &c.

[3] Fischer, pp. 49–50; Heywood, p. 12; discovered and first published by Jelič (*L'Évangélisation de l'Amérique avant . . . Colomb*) in the Proceedings of the Catholic Scientific Congress of 1891 (Paris).

ciable work for exploration in this part of the world,—except so far as missionaries and merchants obtained and transmitted to Europe more or less definite news of the Sahara and Sudan trade and trade-routes. We know that Henry the Navigator, in later time, was greatly indebted to such information: among his most useful correspondents was an Oran merchant who kept him posted up in the affairs of Negroland, doubtless from caravan gossip (Diego Gomez in *Henry the Navigator*, pp. 291–2). The conquest of Ceuta (in 1415) naturally gave the fifteenth-century Portuguese a great advantage here: but the earlier African explorers (1270–1406) can hardly have failed to derive some suggestions from the extensive trade-relations maintained, even before the twelfth century, between the Moorish States (now, from the commencement of the Crusading Age, in pretty regular communication with the Black Men's country beyond the Desert) and the chief commercial powers of Western Europe.

As to mission enterprise in East Africa, besides the (Dominican) embassy sent by Innocent IV to Sultan Salah Nujmuddin Ayub of Egypt in 1247 (Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 1247, §§ lviii, lxviii, lxxiv), and the embassy of 1327 from John XXII, asking for the Sultan's favour and protection to Catholic Christians in the same country, we have the statement of Nicolo Fortiguera (addressing Benedict XIII, 1394–1417), that Innocent IV (1243–54) selected Dominicans for the Abyssinian mission-field, and that Alexander IV, Nicolas III and Nicolas IV, Innocent V, Clement IV and Clement V, Urban IV, Benedict XI, and John XXII, all wrote letters to the 'Emperor of Ethiopia.' Two, at any rate, of these briefs exist: (1) from Nicolas IV (in Raynaldus, A.D. 1289, § lix, and in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. v, p. 201; A.D. 1289, § x; also referred to by Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III. ii. 527); (2) from John XXII (in Raynaldus, A.D. 1329, § xcviii, and in Wadding, vol. vii, pp. 102–3; A.D. 1329, §§ xiv, xv). Assemani (as above) asserts that the letter of 1289 was entrusted to John de Monte Corvino (see above, p. 163 of this vol.); in Raynaldus and Wadding it certainly follows immediately

upon Monte Corvino's papal 'introductions' of this year to Eastern princes; and the Ethiopian embassy which came to visit him (in Peking?), and entreated him to revive Christianity in the land where St. Matthew had once preached (i.e. Nubia; see above, pp. 174–5), lends a certain support to Assemani's statement, but we have no satisfactory authority for it. The form used in the first epistle (of July 11, 1289) is also employed by Nicolas IV in writing 'ad universos Nestorianos, tum ad... Demetrium Georgianorum Davidemque Hiberorum reges' (Raynaldus, as above); the form of the second letter (of Sept. 11, 1329) is identical with that of the contemporary brief 'ad universos Christianos in Imperio Persidis' (Wadding, as above). Innocent IV's Abyssinian projects are referred to in certain bulls of the same pontiff, which imply that missionaries had been actually dispatched by him to Nubia and Ethiopia (see Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, i. 360: Rome, 1759).

Under John XXII (1316–34) we have more definite traces of intercourse between Rome and East Africa. In 1316 eight Dominicans, returning from Palestine to Egypt, succeeded in penetrating (probably by stealth and against all Egyptian precautions) to Nubia and Abyssinia. Here they preached with success, especially in Abyssinia, where they baptized many, and even enrolled some proselytes, including one of royal blood, in their Order (see Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, A.D. 1316, p. 172: Rome, 1675). Again, in the course of the same pontificate, at a date unfixed, but of course between 1316 and 1334, the Dominican Bartholomew of Tivoli was consecrated Bishop of Dongola (see Cavalieri, *Galleria de' Sommi Pontifici*, iv. 137, &c.: Benevento, 1696). He left Europe with two other Dominicans, 'Florentius' and 'Subiacus,' and, after visiting Jerusalem, made his way to Nubia and Abyssinia. The history of his successes—baptisms of converts, consecrations of priests, church buildings and restorations—probably refers wholly to Abyssinia, for Nubian Christianity was now rapidly failing, and at this very time the ruler of Dongola, as Ibn Batuta relates, went over to Islam. Bishop Bartholomew is also said to have founded the Dominican

house of *Alleluia* in Abyssinia, noticed in sixteenth-century records of the Order: the names of several of his more distinguished Abyssinian converts are given, e. g., Philip, a man of royal family, Teclaimanot, and Thaclavareth; but with this all information of Ethiopic Missions ceases: see pp. 416–17 of this volume on Sorleone Vivaldo's alleged journey to Magadoxo in the earlier part of the fourteenth century; and cf. also Ludovicus de Paramo, *De Origine... S. Inquisitionis* (1598), tit. 2, cap. 19, on the Dominicans of 1316 in Abyssinia. We may recall how eagerly Friar Jordanus, of the same Order of Preachers, writing from India, calls for men to evangelize Ethiopia (see above, pp. 219–20, 231, of this vol., and, on the whole subject of this enterprise, Fr. Kunstmann, *Die Missionen in Afrika im XIVten Jahrhundert*, in vol. xxxix of Phillips and Görres' *Historisch-politische Blätter*, pp. 489–507: Munich, 1857). It may be that Pope Alexander III, when writing on Sept. 27, 1177, 'Indorum regi sacerdotum sanctissimo,' had the Abyssinian 'Prester John' in his mind, but from Carpini and all other Latins who refer to the Priest-King down to the end of the thirteenth century, it would seem more probable that the pontiff was thinking of a purely Asiatic Prester.

CHAPTER VI

GEOGRAPHICAL THEORY

THE later Middle Ages witnessed so momentous a revolution in map science and in the art of navigation, that from one point of view it would be preferable in this chapter to concentrate our attention entirely upon the development of the first true maps, and upon the progressive utilization of the magnet and compass. As to geographical and cosmographical treatises of Dark Age type we have already said enough in the sixth chapter of the first volume. Descriptions of a higher order, from all parts of the Mediaeval field, we have treated in other portions of this inquiry[1]. But before we come to the Portolani and the beginnings of scientific seamanship, we may briefly speak of certain scattered contributions of the great schoolmen to true Earth-knowledge. For those of the scholastics (such as Vincent of Beauvais, Albert of Bollstädt, and Roger Bacon) in whom non-theological interests were strong and active, touched upon geography and cognate subjects among the other matters of their encyclopaedic survey, and touched upon them with remarkable intelligence.

From Arab writers, and especially from the ninth-century astronomers Al Kharizmi and Al Ferghani—the Man of Khiva and the Man of Ferghanah[2]—Latin scientists, as early as the twelfth century, had already gained a considerable acquaintance with such questions as the size of the earth and the length of the degree. Thus Adelard of Bath, who studied at Toledo and died in 1187, gave Western Europe the Kharizmian tables of latitude and longitude[3]; thus Adelard's younger contemporary, Gerard of Cremona, translated the corrected tables of

[1] e. g. *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 340–3, 345–59; ii. 467–548 (ch. vii, §§ 1, 2).

[2] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 410–11.

[3] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 9, 183; Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde* (1865), p. 180 [hereafter quoted as P.].

Zarkala [1]; thus in the next century the 'Alphonsine' tables were compiled at Toledo, under the patronage of Alfonso X of Castille (1252–84), by Mohammedan and Jewish astronomers [2]. The Alphonsine computations, with all their defects, estimated the length of the Mediterranean far more truly than Ptolemy [3]: in the same way Roger Bacon, taking a measure of nearly fifty-seven miles for a degree of longitude at the Equator, arrived at a reckoning of the earth's circumference only one-fourteenth smaller than the truth [4]; while Ristoro, in his independent reckoning of the latitude of Arezzo in 1288, was in error merely to the extent of 1° 13′ [5]. The method of calculating longitudes from differences of time in different places at the beginning of eclipses was known to Latin science in the thirteenth century [6]; but all such calculation was hampered by the infantile state of scientific statistic.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat that the roundness of the earth, so clearly stated by Bacon and so finely illustrated by Dante [7], is everywhere assumed by the greater schoolmen

[1] Reinaud, *Aboulféda*, Introduction, ccxli, ccxlvi; P., 180. Zarkala corrected previous reckonings westward from Arim, the supposed central meridian point equidistant from the Poles and from the Eastern and Western extremities of the 'Habitable World.'

[2] P., 183. In the same way Roger Bacon refers to his contemporaries Hermannus Germanus and Michael Scot employing Arabic and Hebrew labour in translation, the former depending on Spanish Moslems, the latter on Andrew the Jew, for all the hard work of the versions they cunningly published as their own (see Rog. Bacon, *Opera inedita*, ed. J. S. Brewer in Rolls Series, London, 1859, lix–lx).

[3] The Alphonsine Tables gave fifty-two degrees and Ptolemy sixty-two; the greatest dimension of the Mediterranean being really about forty-two degrees. Bacon refers to the *Tabulae Toletanae* in the *Opus Maius*, i. 298–9 (Oxford edition of 1897; hereafter quoted as O. M.).

[4] O. M., i. 224–7; Bacon's degree here is 56⅔ miles, with a little over, or 56 miles *plus* 2984 cubits and a fraction (O. M., i. 226). On Bacon's measurements, mile-standard, &c., see also O. M., i. 228–36.

[5] Ristoro d'Arezzo, *La Composizione del Mondo* (Enrico Narducci, Rome, 1859); P., 183.

[6] P., 183. For Roger Bacon's discussion of lunar eclipses see O. M., i. 127.

[7] See Bacon, O. M., i. 152–3 ('necesse est vero mundum extra habere figuram sphaericam,' &c.); Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto xxvii, lines 1–4, which picture midday on the Ganges, when it was dawn in Jerusalem and midnight on the Ebro:—

(writing as geographers), from the thirteenth, and even from the twelfth, century; before the time of the Friars they were already too well acquainted with the results of Greek thought to be in any doubt on this matter; it is remarkable but characteristic that with such a high development of scientific knowledge, so few attempts are made to arrive at fresh measurements of the earth, and that such entire complacency is shown in the reproduction of ancient estimates[1]: a notable exception to this traditionalism is seen in the protest of Albert, Bacon, and others against the time-honoured reckoning of 180°, or an exact half of the world-circuit, for the length of the Inhabited World 'from Spain to India.' Even though the objection is founded on a gigantic error—the supposed nearness of East Asia to West Europe, the smallness of the sea-expanse beyond Gibraltar Straits—; and even though in this case classical authority may be and is invoked against classical authority, and Pliny, Seneca, and Aristotle are all arrayed against Ptolemy[2]—we should do wrong not to see a real superiority in such criticism over an uncritical reproduction of a dominant view, to say nothing of the blessings of an optimistic blunder which did so much to stimulate oceanic exploration, and led directly to the discovery of America.

'Sì come quando i primi raggi vibra
Là dove il suo Fattore il sangue sparse,
Cadendo Ibero sotto l'alta Libra,
E l'onde in Gange da nona riarse.'

Both the rotundity of the world and the antipodean region opposite the *terra firma* on which Christ suffered are also described in the *Inferno*, Canto xxxiv, lines 106–24.

[1] Especially those of Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, the former assuming 500 stadia (roughly fifty miles) for a degree of longitude at the Equator, the latter 700; see Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Naturale*, bk. vi, ch. 13), John of Holywood, otherwise Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Sphericum Opusculum*, in the ch. *De quantitate absoluta terrae*.

[2] See Albertus Magnus, *De Caelo et Mundo*, II. iv. 11 (vol. ii, pp. 145–7 of the Lyons edition of 1651); Bacon, *O. M.*, i. 290–3, quoting not only Aristotle and Seneca but Pliny and Esdras (cf. Arist., *De Coelo*, ii. 14, § 15; Sen., *Nat. Quaest.*, i. Prolog.; Pl., *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 67; Esdr., II. vi. 42). Part of this passage was reproduced by Pierre d'Ailly (of course without acknowledgement) in his *Imago Mundi*, ch. viii (*De quantitate Terrae Habitabilis*), and was, in this reproduction, closely studied by Columbus, who cites it e. g. in a letter of October, 1498, to Ferdinand and Isabella (from Hispaniola).

Nowhere perhaps in their physical geography did the Catholic schoolmen show a more independent and inquisitive temper than in their references to the formation of the Earth's crust. The conception of a central World-Fire and a slowly cooling husk [1], the realization of the place of water in moulding land [2], the belief in the occasional production of mountain regions by upheaval [3], are more scientific, but not perhaps more original, expressions of the inquiring spirit than the romantic speculations also to be found in works of the best scholastic period upon the saltness of the sea as due to its consumption of 'bitter earth' along the coasts of *terra firma* [4], or upon the underground penetration of the sea, gradually sweetened by long contact with the soil, as the origin of springs, lakes, and rivers [5]. And if we find in some passages of the School-Philosophy wild suggestions of the absolutely starless [6] or absolutely landless [7] character of the southern hemisphere, of the tides as gaseous inflations of the ocean [8], or of wind as the cause of earthquakes, we must not forget to set on the other side of the account the admirable treatment in the same Philosophy both of latitude and altitude, as influencing local climate and determining variations of racial type in men, animals, and

[1] Ristoro of Arezzo expresses himself in most scientific language upon this question, as well as upon the causes of earthquakes, the meaning of fossils, and the action of water upon stones; cf. P., 200–1.

[2] See especially Albertus Magnus, *Meteor.*, II. iii. 2 (Lyons ed., 1651, ii. 54–6); and cf. P., 201; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 457.

[3] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale*, vi. 20. This process of upheaval, however, which he believed apparent in the hill-formations near Toledo, he regards as very exceptional; 'since the Flood' mountains must have usually lost in size. In the same passage he notes (like Ristoro, and Albert, *De Mineralibus*, I. i. 8; Lyons ed., 1651, ii. 216–17) the existence and teaching of fossil animals.

[4] See *Notices et Extraits*, v. 265, quoting an anonymous manuscript treatise of 1265.

[5] *Notices et Extraits*, v. 264.

[6] This was the view of Ristoro of Arezzo, P., 200.

[7] Cf. P., 202.

[8] Bacon, O. M., i. 139–42 (who, however, has plenty to say of lunar causation); Albert, *Meteor.*, II. iii. 6 (Lyons ed., 1651, ii. 57–9); Robert of Lincoln, *Opuscula*, p. 11, b. in Venice edition of 1814; Honorius of Autun, *De imagine mundi*, i. 40. Upon spring and neap tides Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, v. 14, repeats older authors, especially Macrobius.

plants. For among the thirteenth-century 'scientists of the Church,' the first to give us the phrase of *eternal snow*[1], we have a better treatment than had yet been attempted, either in Antiquity or in the Moslem World, of the part played by mountains in nature[2]; we have also a better and freer conception of the effect of the terrestrial zones upon type[3]. The Classical World had made every variation depend rigidly upon latitude; at the same time it had neglected the whole subject of the influence of level and aspect; both these errors, of excess and defect, find at least implicit correction in Albert of Bollstädt and Ristoro of Arezzo, just as they do in Jordanus of Columbum, William of Rubruck, and John de Plano Carpini[4].

Nor did the schoolmen, in certain cases, neglect to make use of the most recent and advanced work in exploration; thus, while Vincent of Beauvais reproduces or selects from the narratives of John de Plano Carpini and Simon of St. Quentin, recording the first European penetration of the Mongol World (1245–7), Roger Bacon summarizes the later travels of William of Rubruck in that same Tartar Empire (1253–5)[5]. Scholastic appreciation of the value of map-science is shown in the (now lost) designs which both Albert the Great and Roger Bacon bequeathed to a careless posterity[6]; the impor-

[1] This comes from Albert, *Meteor.*, II. i. 17; *De Mineral.*, I. i. 8 (Lyons ed., 1651, ii. 36, 217); *De Natura Locorum*, i. 2; see also P., 205.

[2] See especially Albert, *Meteor.*, II. i. 17 (Lyons ed., 1651, ii. 36); *De Natura Locorum*, ch. xiii; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, vi. 20–3. Albert's discussions of the influence of mountain-range *directions* upon local climate, and the comparative warmth, cold, wet, and dryness which accompanied a southern, northern, western, or eastern aspect, are excellent.

[3] Thus Albert, *De Natura Locorum*, i. 2; ii. 1, tries to trace the influence of latitude upon wheat; beyond 40° N. Lat., he thinks, it degenerates into 'siligo.'

[4] See, e. g., *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 281–2, 287–8, 351; iii. 225–30.

[5] Rubruquis is mentioned or referred to in O. M., i. 268, 303, 305, 322; ii. 368, 383, 387–8; of his book Bacon says 'diligenter vidi, et cum eius auctore contuli, et similiter cum multis aliis, qui loca Orientis et Meridiana rimati sunt' (O. M., i. 305). Among these 'others' Carpini (whose 'liber de vita Tartarorum' is named in O. M., i. 368) may be intended.

[6] Bacon's map is described or noticed by himself in O. M., i. 296,

tance of the magnet is clearly realized by the German as well as by the English doctor[1]; while Bacon, in his exposition of 'mathematical science,' passes from the treatment of the Christian Kalendar to a synopsis of general and detailed geography, so excellent in method, and so representative in character, that we may profitably conclude this section with some account of it.

Beginning with a reference to the world-sphere, as divided (for theoretical purposes) into four equal parts by the equator and the great circle which passed through the poles[2], Bacon proceeds to consider the proportion of land and water on the earth-surface, and suggests (as we have seen) that the Western Ocean, dividing the two longitudinal extremities of the *Terra Habitabilis*, was not extensive; and that the aforesaid *Inhabited World* extended over *more* than half the whole circuit of 360 degrees[3]. The disposition of land and water, he further conjectures, on the other side of the Northern Hemisphere, and in both the great divisions of the Southern Hemisphere, was probably similar to that on 'this side[4].'

From this fantastic speculation the English thinker passes to the consideration of the 'climates' or zones of latitude, to the exposition of their differences, and to the criticism of inaccurate measurements of longitude. By the precise determination of latitude and longitude at any point upon the terrestrial

300; Albert's in *De Nat. Loc.*, iii. 1; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 642, and below, p. 529.

[1] Cf. Albert, *De Mineralibus*, II. ii. 11; II. iii. 6; Bacon does not refer to the magnet in O. M., but Brunetto Latini records that when he visited the great 'naturalist' in Oxford about 1258, the latter showed him the black stone which could not only draw iron to itself but could impart to a needle the property of pointing towards the pole-star (*Letters to Guido Cavalcanti*, quoted in T. Wright's [Rolls Series] edition of Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, xxxvii–viii, 1863 [see below, p. 510, n. 3], as well as in the *Monthly Magazine* or *British Register*, vol. xiii, part i, p. 449, London, 1802).

[2] O. M., i. 288–90.

[3] O. M., i. 290–3. At the very least more than one-quarter of the whole earth-surface was habitable land, the sea occupying less than three-quarters of the same; the proportion of land might be, of course, very much greater, as the Book of Esdras seemed to teach.

[4] 'Citra'; cf. O. M., i. 293–4.

surface, and by this alone, could a perfect knowledge of its position be attained; by the multiplication of positions thus ascertained, and by this only, could a satisfactory world-map be constructed [1].

Here turning aside to address the authorities of the Church, and to demand their support in the advancement of geographical (as of other) science, Bacon points out how valuable it might be in the solution of various questions of sacred knowledge, such as the precise home of the lost Ten Tribes, and the residence of Antichrist, now more and more clearly identified (by the recent investigations of Rubruquis) with the original habitat of the Mongol Tartars [2]. As to the Tropics, so called from the *turnings* of the sun towards the equator on reaching the furthest points of its declination to the north and south, the *Opus Maius* defines Cancer as a zone wherein one began to find shadowless places at the summer solstice, adding that everywhere in Capricorn this phenomenon occurred twice a year, and that to the *south* of Capricorn one knew of regions where the noonday shadow was always to the south [3]. In these Antarctic climes Bacon supposes the heat and cold to be extreme, the seasons the reverse of 'ours,' but he will not deny the possible existence, even there, of beings of human race. What was true of Taprobane was probably true also of those other lands in and beyond the Tropic of Capricorn [4].

A description of regions follows, commencing with India, which is evidently conceived as including our Indo-China; as occupying a third of the Known World of land; as extending so far southwards into the Southern Tropic that from the mouth of the Red Sea it was a year's good sailing; and as washed by an arm of the ocean which lay between India and

[1] O. M., i. 294–301.
[2] O. M., i. 301–5.
[3] O. M., i. 305–6.
[4] O. M., i. 306–8. The 'locus ultra tropicum Capricorni,' indeed, might be 'optimae habitationis, quia est superior pars in mundo et nobilior, per Aristotelem et Averroem . . .'; 'tamen non invenimus apud aliquem auctorem terram illam describi, nec homines illorum locorum vocari, nec quod ad nos venerunt, nec nostri ad nos' (p. 307).

Spain, a sea which also bounded the south of Ethiopia [1]. An insular Africa, in addition to a traversable equatorial zone, and an inhabited 'Australian' world, are thus clearly suggested by the *Opus Maius*.

As to Ethiopia, Egypt, the Nile, and Africa in general, Bacon says nothing very remarkable; he chiefly relies, like Anaxagoras and Aristotle, on melting snow and heavy rainfall for his explanations of the Nile flood [2]; in thoroughly mediaeval spirit he derives the name of the Dark Continent from *Affer*, Abraham's descendant; and he adds that much of its north coast was inhabited by Persians and Armenians, who had been brought there by Hercules [3]. But neither here nor in South-Western Asia (where he seems to believe in an underground Tigris joining the Euphrates at Nineveh [4], and repeats without criticism the venerable fable of the Dead Sea fruit [5]) does the Oxford doctor show particular merit; the fuller knowledge gained by the Polos and the later friar-travellers he could not anticipate; but he could make use of the most detailed of the earlier Franciscan explorations, and with the aid of William of Rubruck he does give us (though with a few misapprehensions) an admirable sketch of northern regions, from the Black Sea to the western edge of the Chinese horizon, firmly asserting the inland character of the Caspian [6], and correctly describing the Steppes from the Danube to the Don and the position of the nations that bordered this vast prairie zone [7].

But the two outstanding achievements of the Mediaeval

[1] O. M., i. 309–11.

[2] O. M., i. 323–4. Here Bacon shows a distinct preference for the snow-theory of Anaxagoras over the rain-theory of Aristotle.

[3] O. M., i. 315–16.

[4] O. M., i. 334.

[5] O. M., i. 339.

[6] O. M., i. 354, 365–6.

[7] O. M., i. 353–66. All Bacon's up-to-date knowledge of Caucasia and Armenia (e. g. as to 'Naxua,' p. 363, the Caspian Gates, pp. 364–5) comes also from Rubruquis, as well as his perception of the Black Sea's 'contraction' between Sinope and the Crimea (p. 357) and his information about the 'Great' or Volga Bulgaria (pp. 366–7), the Kara-Khitai empire (pp. 366–7), the origin of the Mongol power and Prester John (367–9), the present extent of Mongol dominion (370–1), the religions of that empire (372–4), and China or 'Magna Cathaia' (372). See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 321–73.

Renaissance in geographical science were the discovery and employment of a portable mariner's guide, independent of the heavenly bodies, and the gradual elaboration of the first true maps.

The fact that steel or hardened iron, rubbed with a lode-stone, acquired the quality of definite polar direction[1], was known to the Chinese (as we have seen in an earlier volume) as far back as the second century of the Christian era[2]; and magnetic cars, or magnetic figures, were used (at least occasionally) by Chinese junks and Chinese land-travellers, from about A.D. 120. But the first mention of such a discovery in the Latin West comes from the middle of the Crusading Age.

The ancient classical civilization had only known the attraction of the magnet for iron[3], and had never noticed its power of imparting geographical direction; but with Alexander Neckam, the student of St. Albans and professor of Paris (c. 1180–90)[4], and with Guyot de Provins, the satirist of Languedoc (c. 1203–8), we find an English schoolman and a French poet in full possession of the mystery. Englishmen had taken a fair share in the spread of earth-knowledge by exploration; through the writings of Bede[5] they had played a meritorious

[1] Three stages in magnet-knowledge may be distinguished: (1) the discovery that the lode-stone attracted iron; (2) the discovery that to steel or hardened iron could be imparted the attractive power of the lode-stone; (3) the discovery that the magnet or magnetized iron possessed the quality of indicating the North. To (1) Plato, Theophrastus, Pliny, Ptolemy, Claudian, and other representatives of ancient culture and science allude; cf. Ptolemy's eleventh Asiatic map, showing the 'Magnet Islands' of the Indian Ocean, which drew out the iron nails of ships.

[2] The Chinese even claimed to have known the greater secret of the magnet, and to have constructed magnetic cars, 'provided with a pointer showing south,' more than 2,000 years before Christ. The discovery was then forgotten during many centuries. See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 489.

[3] This is likewise all that is known to Raban Maur in the ninth century A.D. See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 274, 334, 373.

[4] On Neckam's foster-brother relationship with Richard Cœur de Lion (born Sept., 1157), and on his later life, professorship at Paris (c. 1180–6), and abbacy at Cirencester (c. 1213–17), see T. Wright's edition of Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*, in the Rolls Series (1863), pp. ix–xii.

[5] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 370–2.

part in reviving the true spherical doctrine of the world; the activity of the French as travellers and theorists has been sufficiently observed; an Englishman and a Frenchman are here the pioneer witnesses to a momentous revolution in geographical science; yet neither Neckam nor De Provins have in the least the air of discoverers. They make not the slightest pretence of imparting any novelty; they merely record what had come to pass already, either by transmission from Cathay (through Islamic or Byzantine channels)[1], or by the original research of Catholic mariners and students. It was perhaps during his residence at the University of Paris, the chief intellectual centre of his time, that Neckam learnt of the mysterious aid to navigation which must have been for some time in regular and open use among certain European seamen. For he tells us in one place how a ship, among its other stores, must have a *needle mounted on a pivot, which needle would revolve until its point looked north*, and thus guide sailors when the Cynosure was hidden[2]; while, in another work, he remarks how mariners, when they could not see the sun, or tell the way their prow was tending, in murky weather or at night, habitually placed *above a magnet a needle, which revolved until it pointed north*, and then stood still[3].

Guyot, moreover, simply interprets his sarcastic wish that the Pope would imitate the fixedness and certainty of the pole-star by an illustration of the heavenly guide's immovability; for the seaman, his verse declares, could always find its place,

[1] We must also bear in mind the possibility of an independent Moslem or Byzantine discovery; see below, pp. 515–16.

[2] This passage (which does not explicitly name the magnet at all, but implies a very advanced stage of magnet-knowledge, with needle working on pivot, whereas the next French references are only concerned with the rough and ready use of a cork or straw) is obviously corrupt, but should read 'habeat etiam acum iaculo *superpositam* (text, *suppositam*). Rotabitur enim et circumvolvetur acus, donec cuspis acus respiciat *septentrionem* (text, *orientem*), sicque comprehendunt quo tendere debeant nautae, cum Cynosura latet.' Neckam, *De Utensilibus*, in Wright, *Volume of Vocabularies*, p. 114.

[3] Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, bk. ii, ch. xcviii (*De vi attractiva*), p. 183 of Rolls Series edition, London, 1863.

even in mist and darkness, with the aid of a needle, once rubbed by the *brown* and ugly, iron-attracting, stone; such needle, run through a straw and poised upon water, would infallibly indicate *La Tresmontaigne* [1].

And in the same way another versifier, contemporary with Guyot, compares his love to the pole-star, whose abode, however concealed by darkness, was known beyond doubt by the artifice of the needle of iron, rubbed upon the *brown* lode-stone, thrust into the cork, and left to float. 'As soon as the water is quiet, wherever the point may turn, there is the Star of the North [2].'

Here, then, is good evidence of regular, well-established, public usage; of some one (whether Amalfitan or other) having given to Western sailors 'the use of the magnet,' at least in the age of Frederic Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard Cœur de Lion, if not in a still earlier time; yet when, in the middle of the thirteenth century, Brunetto Latini, the teacher of Dante, visits Roger Bacon at Oxford (1258), and is shown the same '*black* and ugly' stone, from which an iron needle could receive the mysterious power of indicating 'the Star [3],' he professes to consider it a thing of no practical utility. For master-mariners

[1] See Barbazan, *Fabliaux et Contes des poètes franç.*, vol. ii, pp. 327-8 (lines 622-53 of Guyot's *Bible* are those relating to the magnet):—'De nostre pere l'apostoile, Volsisse qu'il semblast l'estoile Qui ne se muet. . . . Li marinier . . . Par cele estoile vont et viennent . . . Un art font qui mentir ne puet, Par la vertu de la manete. Une pierre laide et brunete, Ou li fers volentiers se joint, Ont; si esgardent le droit point, Puis c'une aguile i ont touchie, Et en un festu l'ont couchie, En l'eve la metent sanz plus . . . Puis se torne la pointe toute Contre l'estoile si sanz doute, Que ja nas hom n'en doutera . . . Quant la mers est obscure et brune, C'on ne voit estoile ne lune, Dont font a l'aiguille alumer, Puis n'ont il garde d'esgarer. . . .'

[2] 'Qui une aiguille de fer boute, Si qu'ele pert presque toute, En un poi de liege, et l'atise, A la pierre d'aimant bise; S'en un vaissel plain d'yave est mise, . . . Si tost comme l'iave s'aserise, Car dous quel part la pointe vise La tresmontaine est la sans doute'; Fr. Michel, *Laïs inédits.*

[3] 'Il me monstra la magnete, pierre laide et noire; ob ele li fer volontiers se joint. L'on touche ob une aiguillet, et en festu l'on fiche; puis l'on met en l'aigue, et se tient dessus, et la pointe se tourne contre l'etoile. Quant l'on . . . ne voit estoille ni lune, poet li marinier tenir droite voie'; see the Rolls *Neckam*, xxxvii-viii.

would not steer by it, nor would sailors venture themselves at sea with an instrument so like one of infernal make. May we see in this timidity (if we may trust Latini and believe in its existence) one more evidence of that struggle between Orthodoxy and Free Thought which had raged since Neckam's day, and to which we owe the Albigensian wars, the Mediaeval Inquisition, and the momentary rejection of Aristotle as an heretical doctor[1]?

Yet in any case Latini's words can only express a very partial truth; in the fiercest days of the Albigensian struggles Catholic priests themselves preserve a knowledge of the mariner's new secret; it is about 1218 that James de Vitry's *Oriental* or *Jerusalem History*[2] records this fact, so 'very necessary to those who navigate the sea'; shortly after the time of Brunetto's Oxford visit Raymond Lull (in 1272) echoes the very language of Neckam[3]; while Albert the Great speaks[4] in the same manner of sailors using that magnet stone which drew iron, and whose poles indicated *Zoron* and *Aphron*, north and south.

Italian navigators or Italian scientists are, as we have suggested, the most likely originators of this *art without deceit or failure*[5], in the Catholic world of the twelfth, or even of the eleventh, century; with the Italian Flavio Gioja, or Gisia, of Amalfi (c. 1320), it is possible that the utilization of the magnet reached completeness in the perfecting of the compass-box and compass-card. In this sense, perhaps, if in no other, the old boast is true:—'prima dedit nautis usum magnetis Amalphis.'

With the compass it is natural to consider the so-called

[1] The great burning of Aristotelian works by the Sorbonne was in 1220.

[2] *Historia Hierosolymitana*, book i, ch. 89 (Bongars, i. 1106).

[3] See Lull's *De Contemplatione*: 'sicut acus per naturam vertitur ad septentrionem dum sit tacta a magnete . . . sicut acus nautica dirigit marinarios in sua navigatione.'

[4] *De Mineralibus*, II. iii. 6 (vol. ii, p. 243, Lyons edition, 1651). As to *Zoron* and *Aphron* see P., 187.

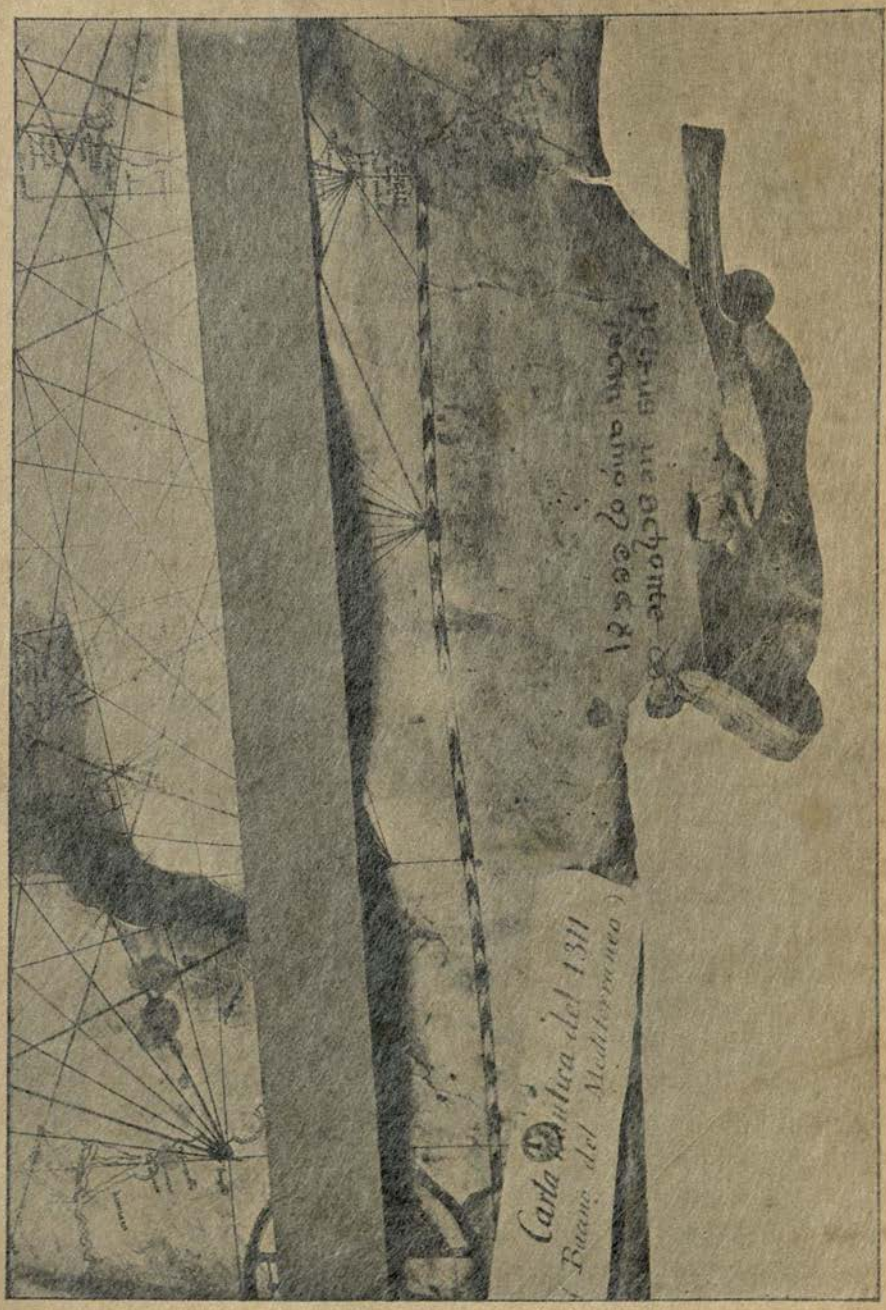
[5] Guyot (as above, p. 510, n. 1): 'Un art . . . qui mentir ne puet . . . uns ars (*sic*) qui ne puet faillir.'

compass-chart: it is at any rate clear that the development of the first accurate type of map was contemporary with the gradual popularization and improvement of the magnetic needle. For although the *portolano*, or 'handy-plan'—the coast-chart of the Mediterranean which first laid down any considerable part of the earth surface from close, continuous, and what we may call scientific observation—appears with comparative perfection in its very earliest examples (c. A.D. 1300), there can be no question of one man, one year, or one decade producing this type of design. It did not spring from any school, or any example, of mediaeval student-map. It was apparently unconnected with any classical model. Many years, probably some centuries, of painfully recorded experience must have gone to create it; the notes, plans, and oral traditions of generations of pilots and captains are certainly to be seen in its results. Nothing in the history of cartography is more significant; at no point, perhaps, is there a more impressive advance in human knowledge than when we pass from the highest designs of the pre-portolan type—designs on the whole quite abreast of Ptolemy's—to that *Carte Pisane* with which opens the great series of the mediaeval *peripli*.

In the process of developing such a chart, sectional plans—pilot or skipper maps of certain specially important and frequented sections of the coast—were probably combined, by slow degrees, into a scheme of the Mediterranean shore-line as a whole. It is possible that the sketches of small portions of that shore-line, which we have in fifteenth-century manuscripts of Leonardo Dati's poem on the *Sphere*[1], are really copies, but slightly modified, of some of these oldest embryonic forms of the modern atlas. Once more, it may be that the sea-chart which is mentioned in connexion with the Seventh Crusade, and which St. Louis apparently employed to aid his attack upon Tunis (c. 1270), was a thirteenth-century portolan of the North African coast[2]. And in the *charta* which Raymond

[1] *La Sfera*, usually assigned to Leonardo Dati (1360–1425), is claimed by some for his brother, Goro or Gregorio Dati (d. 1436).

[2] See d'Avezac, *Boll. d. Soc. geog. ital.*, 1874, p. 408.



THE EARLIEST DATED PORTOLANO: THE P. VESCONTE, OF 1311: SIGNATURE, DATE, AND LEVANT COASTS [PART]

To face p. 513

Lull mentions (in his *Arbor Scientiae*[1], of about 1295) as necessary for sailors, along with compass, needle, and 'star of the sea,' we may have a reference to a more complete 'handy-map' of the 'Mare Internum' and the adjacent coasts, a few years earlier than our oldest known example: just as in Andrea Bianco's planisphere of 1436 may be embodied, almost without change, another portolano of 'pre-portolan' time. But, as things stand at present, it is with the *Carte Pisane* (of about 1300), and with the oldest design of Giovanni da Carignano (of about 1300–1305), that the maps of the new time begin; the earliest dated portolan is the Vesconte of 1311; and not till about 1330–40 do we seem to have reached, in the delineation of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, something like a permanent standard, and to be able to consider the general qualities of a map which is, for the ordinary purposes of Italian, Provençal, and Catalan seamen, practically complete.

This map, it must be allowed, embraces only the coast-lines, and the towns and natural features in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast; the attempts made later to fill up the land-interiors are obvious and confessed additions to the primitive portolan. With this restriction, however, the latter calls for little but admiration. Not only does it give a general delineation of Mediterranean, Euxine, and even Caspian, coasts with which it is absurd to compare any other of ancient or mediaeval time—not only does it silently correct in these regions the chief errors of Ptolemy's tables—but it portrays with remarkable minuteness and accuracy all the points important for the Middle-Age navigation of the great inland basins; sometimes working out in disproportionate size the particular islets, bays, cliffs, and headlands on which the coaster most depended; indicating in red all the ports especially suitable for calling, watering, and revictualling; frequently marking shallows (and that by a sign still used at the present day); and furnishing a list of shore-names hitherto without parallel, and

[1] Lyons edition, fol. cxci: 'marinarii quomodo mensurant miliaria in mari? . . . Et ad hoc instrumentum habent chartam, compassum, acum, et stellam maris.'

marking, by itself, the opening of a new era in geographical design. Thus along the north coast of the Mediterranean we have (by 1330–40) about 630 names; on the Black Sea, Marmora, Bosphorus, and Dardanelles some 260; on the shores of Asia Minor and Syria some 160; on the North African seaboard some 240;—in all about 1,280, without counting the very numerous island-names that are dotted along these same coast-lines, or the inscriptions on the Caspian littoral, or along the ocean front of Europe and Africa, to the Elbe on one side and to Cape Nun on the other.

The true portolano is without graduation; but instead of lines of latitude and longitude, there appears a network of 'loxodromes'—straight lines in the direction of the various winds, proceeding from a number of crossing points regularly distributed over the map. This network, however, in contrast with nearly every other feature of the portolan map-type, varies infinitely; hardly any two examples give the same system of loxodromes.

But from the close resemblance between the draughtsmanship, colouring, and nomenclature of successive generations of portolani in the regions of the Mediterranean and Euxine, it is obvious that the great mass of these works are merely copies of a few normal or typical designs [1]; it is possible that the whole may be traceable to two or three intimately related charts.

A distance-scale, with the same measure of length, occurs on all the portolani; this unit, which has been called the *portolan-*

[1] Besides the evidence of an identical distance-scale and of a practically identical Mediterranean and Black Sea coast-contour, we may notice that the conventional shapes or designations given to certain islands, capes, &c., in the early portolani of the fourteenth century often continue almost unaltered down to the end of the sixteenth. Thus Rhodes, long after the Turkish conquest, regularly appears in white with a black cross, symbolic of the Hospitallers; while red or reddish-brown is always kept for the Red Sea. The portolan colours are originally employed according to certain definite rules, and these rules are often obstinately followed when the reasons for their existence had been removed or modified. For further details of the characteristics of the primitive portolan see Th. Fischer, *Sammlung . . . Welt- und See-Karten*, 56–97; Nordenskjöld, *Periplus*, 16–24, 45–7.

mile, corresponds more nearly with the Catalan *legua* than with any other mediaeval measure of probable application. A Catalan league as the basis of the portolan measure points, some have thought, to Catalan mariners as the originators, or at least the principal moulders, of the portolan type of map.

But admitting that Catalan skill makes a distinct contribution in the fourteenth century (and above all in the work of 1375, if not in that of 1339) to the perfecting of this type, I cannot but think that the seamen of North-West Italy, and especially of Genoa and Pisa, deserve the chief place in the roll of honour. The indications of sectional map-work in Dati's *Sfera* it is unnatural to assign to any but Italians; if these sketches may be considered as copies of material contained in much older works, they strengthen the suggestion that portolan draughting was being practised by Italians in Italy before 1300. Of the earliest surviving portolani all, except the 'Dulcert' of 1339, are likewise and beyond dispute Italian, and even the 'Dulcert' aforesaid has been claimed for the countrymen of Dante[1].

In 1881 Fiorini[2] suggested that the mariners of Western Europe learnt from the Byzantines the art of making and using maps founded on close study of distance, and characterized by a careful draughtsmanship (that is to say, portolani of a kind) as early as the eleventh century. This idea has met with a very sympathetic reception. Yet it is surrounded by difficulties. For no Greek portolan has yet been found; nor is Greek influence anywhere to be detected in the language, legend-allusions, contours, or other details of the early portolani.

Fragments of Latin, fragments of Italian and Catalan dialects, fragments of a *lingua franca* composed of various Romance tongues,—these are the media through which the early portolan draughtsmen convey information. But of Greek they make no use[3], and of Byzantine geography, history,

[1] See below, p. 522. Out of 500 works usually classed as portolani, 413 are of Italian authorship.

[2] *Le projezioni delle carte geografiche*, p. 648.

[3] On the Byzantine influence apparent in the T-O Map of 1110, now in the Library of St. John's College,

harbours or coast-routes, they show no special knowledge. We may give weight to the fact that the Byzantine navy was one of the chief Christian weapons in the ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries; that Constantinople was then the greatest trade-centre in Christendom; and that the seamen of the Greek islands were very prominent in Mediterranean navigation during the ages of the great Byzantine revival (c. 860–1060 A.D.). But all this is far from proving a Byzantine claim to the invention of the portolan coast-chart, even in the form of pilot-charts of limited sections of shore-line [1].

Oxford, an almost unique example of Graeco-Latin type in the twelfth century, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 578, 629–30.

[1] The *Stadiasmus of the Great Sea* (*Σταδιασμὸς ἤτοι Περίπλους τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης*), giving, in its extant portions, a description of the Mediterranean coasts along N. Africa, from Alexandria to Utica, and along Syria and Asia Minor, from Carnae (or Antaradus) in Phoenicia to Miletus, together with an account of Crete and Cyprus, is only known to us through a manuscript of the tenth century. To a Byzantine editor of this period is apparently due the title of the *Stadiasmus*, and the brief introduction prefixed to the main work, originally drawn up perhaps as early as the third or fourth century, while Roman power still controlled the whole of the 'Inner Sea'; and if we remember the Venetian, Amalfitan, and other Italian trade with Constantinople in the time aforesaid (c. 950), we may see in this edition of a periplus of extraordinary merit a matter of some suggestiveness.

Unlike all other existing *peripli*, the *Stadiasmus* is really something like a practical manual for the use of navigators; it contains minute sailing directions; (e. g. in §§ 14, 18, 57; and in its treatment of the African North coast, more especially, the seamen of the age of Byzantine revival may have found a stimulus to fresh work of their own.

Unluckily, no one at present can prove (however possible or likely one may think it) that the first germ of the portolani really lies in this re-issue of an old imperial coast-description, a work which, after all, like its fellows, is absolutely without graphic illustration, and is far from affording an adequate basis (at the most it only gives some elementary written direction) for the construction of a true chart of any portion of the Mediterranean. Cf. C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, proleg., cxxiii–viii, and vol. i, p. 427, &c.; Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, ii. 665–7, 672–4; Th. Fischer, *Sammlung . . . Welt- und See-Karten*, pp. 65–7; Nordenskjöld, *Periplus*, 10–14.

Excellent reproductions of the map-sketches from Dati's *Sfera* (possible examples of the sectional charts from which the normal portolan was gradually compiled, by the greatest 'Homeric' feat in mediaeval cartography) may be found on plates ii and iii at the end of Nordenskjöld's *Periplus*.

We have seen that no conclusive evidence exists for the supposition that any designs of portolan character were executed either under the civilizations of the ancient, pre-Christian, world, or under that of pre-Crusading Islam. The only Arabic portolan which has yet been found is almost certainly a late fourteenth-century copy of an Italian original[1]; while the classical *peripli*, though occasionally furnishing material appropriate for a true chart, are in no case accompanied by any scheme[2]; they are simply written sailing directions, and nothing more. To judge Graeco-Roman map-work, one must examine the sole certain surviving examples:—the designs illustrating the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy (c. A. D. 130–70), and that road-plan of the Caesars' Empire, perhaps originally drafted under Augustus and his uncle, which we only possess in a (somewhat mediaevalized) thirteenth-century copy, and know as the *Peutinger Table*[3]; but neither of these has in the least the character of a portolano. Whatever their merits, minute knowledge of coast-lines and serviceable accuracy in delineation are not among them; we must look elsewhere for material which could really assist the practical mariner; in the history of human knowledge there are few stranger chapters than that which records the influence of Ptolemaic revival in delaying the formation of an accurate world-map in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries[4].

[1] See Theobald Fischer, *Sammlung mittelalterlicher Welt- und See-Karten italienischen Ursprungs* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erdkunde und der Kartographie in Italien im Mittelalter*; hereafter quoted as *Sammlung*), pp. 219–45, especially p. 220; Nordenskjöld, *Periplus*, p. 47, considers it 'probable that the Arabic chart is a manufacture of still later date.'

[2] That is, of course, so far as we possess them: some (even most) *peripli* may have been illustrated by coast-maps, but we have no proof that any single one was so illustrated. See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 380.

[3] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 381–4.

[4] Already, with Roger Bacon (e. g. *Opus Maius*, i. 294–5, Oxford, 1897), we find Ptolemy exercising great influence upon geographical theory and description among the Schoolmen; but, except for the Edrisian Africa of Sanuto-Vesconte, Ptolemaic influence in cartography (even of an indirect sort) does not loom very large, till the later fifteenth century.

And now we may pass to a brief examination of the early portolani, one by one: within the limits of our subject maps of this type are not very numerous, and the whole mass of them, down to 1420, may be considered under about eleven groups or isolated examples.

1. The anonymous and undated *Carte Pisane*, so named by Jomard in the belief that it originally belonged to a Pisan family, though probably (as we have said) the most ancient existing specimen of portolan workmanship, itself appears to be a copy of an older chart or charts[1]. Its area is very limited, for outside the Mediterranean proper there is hardly any evidence of proper survey work: the ocean coast of Europe (which runs from Gibraltar to Bruges, Flanders, and the commencement of *Germany*, in what we should call Holland and Zealand), shows only the beginnings of a true understanding; Britain is grotesque; and, apart from the suggestion of a (greatly exaggerated) Crimean peninsula, and a small portion of the South and West seaboard, the Euxine and its lands, like the Northern territories and waters of Europe, do not appear. Even in the Mediterranean contours the *Carte Pisane* is strikingly inferior to the more developed portolans of the next half-century.

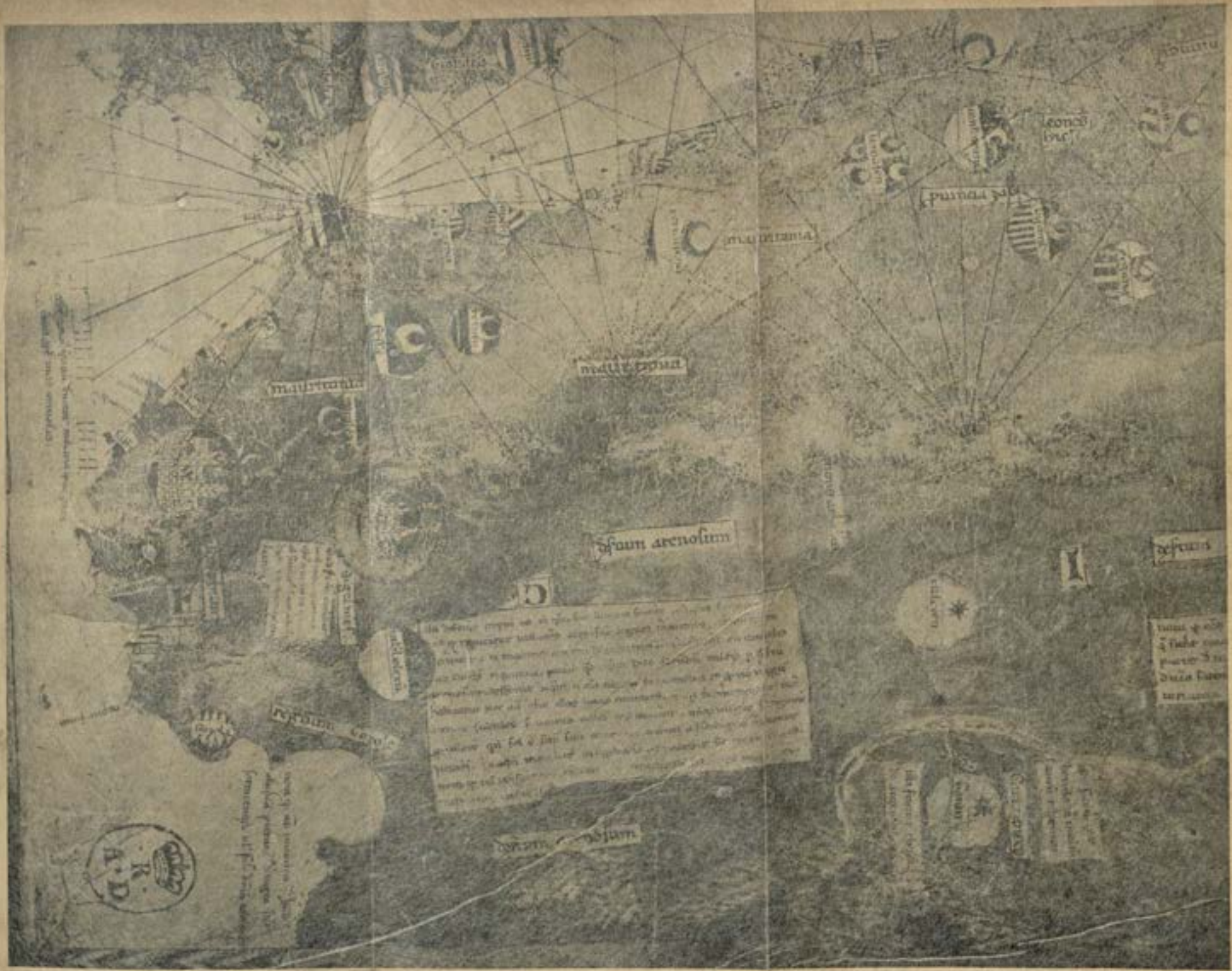
2. Of far more complete scope and of far more perfect workmanship is the admirable, albeit damaged, portolano-map left us by 'John, rector of St. Mark in the Gate of Genoa[2],' a personage

[1] Cf. Nordenskjöld, *Periplus*, p. 56: 'It seems as though a map of the East Mediterranean and one of the West had been joined to (sectional) coast-maps of the Black Sea, England, the countries round Gibraltar, &c., without the revision of the *loxodromę-net* [see above, p. 514, on this network of straight lines, in the direction of the different winds, proceeding from a number of crossing points, and found, with embarrassing prominence, on all the portolani], rendered necessary by the combination. The incomplete manner in which the distance-scale is carried out shows in any case that the map is a copy of some older work.' For other details of the *Carte Pisane*, now in the National Library at Paris (Map Department), see the photograph of the original in this volume.

[2] Now in the National Library at Florence (Map Department), and inscribed *Iohannes Presbyter rector Sancti Marci de portu Ianuae me fecit.*

THE OLDEST PORTOLANO KNOWN, THE 'CARTE PISANE,' C. A.D. 1300

To face p. 518



The G. da Carignano, of 1300–5: N. and W. Africa and S. Spain

To face p. 519

probably identical with that Giovanni da *Carignano*, who appears as rector of the aforesaid church in 1306, 1311, and 1314, and dies in 1344[1]. On this chart[2] the Black Sea is represented in its entirety, with a general contour little inferior to that of the Mediterranean; the South and West of Britain, from about the Isle of Wight to the Mull of Cantyre, together with the East Irish coast, are of surprising excellence; while the ocean shore of Europe, from Cadiz to Calais, appears with a comparative accuracy equally meritorious, though less unexpected. The projection of Denmark, again, though crowded up too close upon England and the Channel, is well conceived; Scandinavia, though clearly outside the horizon of detailed knowledge[3], is shown as a peninsula, for the first time in existing cartography; and the Azov sea, even if somewhat exaggerated upon its Western side, is pretty well realized upon its Eastern.

Here, on the other hand, the Baltic forms a sort of Northern Mediterranean, almost equal in length, and roughly parallel in main direction, to the 'Roman Sea'; the more distant Caspian shores do not appear, nor any of the Atlantic islands (though for these omissions the intentional limitation of the draughtsman's scheme[4] is perhaps sufficient reason); while knowledge of Africa obviously ends at Cape Nun, Father John's *Caput Finis*. The ocean gulf beyond this point, along the coast of the kingdom of *Gozola*, is only an example of a strangely obstinate convention[5].

[1] Desimoni in *Giornale Ligustico*, 1875, p. 44, and in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1879, p. 11; Fischer, *Sammlung*, p. 119.

[2] Which I venture to consider as of about 1300–5, while Desimoni dates it in any case before 1333, and inclines to put it nearer, though subsequent, to 1306.

[3] The 'loxodrome-net' (see above, p. 514) ends immediately South of Scandinavia, and covers only a part of Denmark.

[4] The Western and undamaged edge of the map is too close to the Old World mainland to admit of any ocean islands being shown; the Eastern margin is badly torn, but most of Caucasia, with the Baku peninsula, and a 'Mare Caspium' inscription, may still be detected.

[5] For other details of the Carignano map, which is very rich in its recognition of recent exploration, see the photograph of the original in this volume; and Fischer, *Sammlung*, 117–26.

3. The portolan which is known as the *Tammar Luxoro*, from its having belonged to the Genoese savant of that name, and which (like the works just described) is of North-West Italian origin, here and there surpasses its forerunners in accuracy of contour and minuteness of detail—especially on the Euxine and Azov littoral, on the South-East and East of England, and on the East and South of Ireland. But, upon the whole, it does not impress one as a scheme of any remarkable novelty or suggestiveness; it is simply a well-executed copy of the ordinary 'handy-map'; and in date it is nothing to marvel at. For though assigned by its first editors to the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is probably a generation later than the *Carte Pisane* (c. 1330)[1].

4 and 5. Besides the text of the *Book of Secrets* which he composed, between 1306 and 1321, *for the faithful followers of the Cross*[2], Marino Sanuto was the part- or nominal-author (at least) of seven maps and three plans, all apparently illustrative of the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*. The plans depict Jerusalem, Antioch, and Acre; five of the maps are charts of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the West coast of Europe, forming a typical and ordinary portolan; of the remaining two, one is concerned with Palestine[3], the other is a *mappe-monde*, which combines a central 'Mediterranean' world of portolan character with a production of the ordinary and traditional pre-portolan type, in remoter regions. Practically the whole of Sanuto's map-work corresponds, in all important respects, with that which Pietro Vesconte has left under his own name[4]; much of it is abso-

[1] For other details of the Tammar Luxoro portolan, still in 1882 the property of Professor Tammar Luxoro in Genoa, see Desimoni and Belgrano in *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, vol. v, fasc. 1, Genoa, 1867.

[2] On the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* see above, pp. 309–19.

[3] On this and the city-plans of the *Secreta*, see above, pp. 311, 391; below, p. 529.

[4] Thus Sanuto's map of the Mediterranean (with the Black Sea and West European coasts) forms a 'normal portolan' closely resembling (both as to draughtsmanship and 'legends') the two 1318 atlases of Pietro Vesconte's, now at Vienna and Venice; while the Sanutan Palestine, Acre, and Jerusalem (like the World-Map) are paralleled in all essential respects by the Vescontean

THE WORLD-MAP OF MARINO SANUTO, C. A.D. 1306–21

To face p. 521

lutely indistinguishable; and there can be no doubt either that Vesconte and the 'Man of Torcello' consciously collaborated, or that one of the two copied from the other. Probability points to the less famous individual as the true author of the Sanutan designs as well as of those which he has signed himself—*Petrus Veschonte fecit.*

In both editions of the world-map, Sanutan[1] and Vescontean, the shore-lines of the countries well known to Italian traders and mariners, from Bayonne, and even from Flanders, to Batum and Azov, are laid down in the manner of the 'handy-chart,' though with less care in detail; the Caspian and the Scandinavian coasts have an evident, though far slighter, relation to practical knowledge; and some idea is shown of the greater continental rivers of the North, from the Danube to the Don and Volga, and from the Vistula to the Oxus and Jaxartes. In this fluvial detail, however, as in the delineation of the Caspian, Vesconte is more traditional and unnatural than Sanuto; on the other hand, the former's draughting of the British Isles and of the Scandinavian regions is distinctly truer. Neither editor can boast of much advantage in his conventionalized Africa, with its South-East projected, after the manner of Edrisi, so as to face Indian Asia, and with a Western Nile traversing the continent, from the neighbourhood of the Moon Mountains and the sources of the river of Egypt to the Atlantic. Nor has either draughtsman, in his delineation of East Asia and of Northern regions, from China to Denmark, taken any account of recent discoveries, or modified in any noticeable degree the Dark Age type of design, so completely discarded in the *Catalan Atlas*, half a century later[2].

work of 1320, preserved in the Vatican library. We have already mentioned that the earliest known chart of Vesconte's—the fragmentary plan of 1311, containing only the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea—is the first dated portolano. See the reproduction in this volume.

[1] See the photograph of the Paris original in this volume, and K. Ketschmer, *M. Sanudo*, as cited in following note.

[2] Vesconte's *mappe-monde* was discovered by Kretschmer in the Vatican Library, and first reproduced in his *Marino Sanudo der Ältere und die*

6. In the representation of land interiors, in the extension of portolano-work from coasts to upland, the large 'handy chart' constructed by Angelino 'Dalorto,' or Dell' Orto, of Genoa, in 1325[1], shows a distinct advance upon its predecessors, and is worthy of close attention. Like Marino Sanuto or Vesconte (in their world-map or maps) Dalorto's portolan attempts to give a picture of knowledge away from those shore-lines of the Mediterranean basin and the North-East Atlantic, which are of course his primary concern, and with regard to which his information is as detailed and as true as in the best charts of this date.

7. Whether the Angelino 'Dalorto' who draughted this map was the same as the Angelino 'Dulcert' who composed in August, 1339, and in the 'city of the Majorcans,' another portolan of great merit[2], is still open to question; an absolute identification has not been established, only a possibility; if this possibility be at last translated into certainty, it would beyond question weaken the last remnants of a Catalan claim to anything like co-equality with Italy in the development of the portolano type. In any case, the design of 1339 marks the beginning of a new age; it first shows us the recent discoveries of the Genoese in the Canaries, just as in its *Capraria* and *Canaria*, upon the exact place of the Madeira group[3], it

Karten des Petrus Vesconte (*Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, xxvi, 1891): for further details of this and other Vescontean work see also Fischer, *Sammlung*, 111–16.

[1] This (inscribed *hoc opus fecit Angellinus de Dalorto ano dñi MCCCXXV de mense martii composuit hoc*) is now in the possession of Prince Tommaso Corsini; and has been reproduced, and edited, for the Third Italian Geographical Congress, by Alberto Magnaghi, Florence, 1898. In spite of considerable similarity with the 'Dulcert' of 1339 (e. g. in the Atlas Mountains, in the rivers of Europe, and in the general features of the extra-Mediterranean coasts, especially the Bay of Biscay), the differences are anything but negligible. For other details of this map, see Magnaghi's edition, and on the Dell' Orto family, p. 249 of this volume.

[2] For further details on this map (now in the possession of M. Lesouef, of 109, Boulevard Beaumarchais, Paris, and inscribed *ano* [sic] *MCCCXXXVIIII mense Augusto Angelino Dulcert* (or perhaps *Dulceri*, but by no possibility *Dalorto*) *in civitate Maioricarum composuit*) see the studies of E. T. Hamy, as quoted in additional note 2, p. 529.

[3] On this priority of 'Dulcert' in the delineation of the Canaries, if not of the Madeira group, and in the

probably intends to depict other discoveries of our earliest mid-Atlantic explorers.

For the rest, 'Dulcert's' Majorcan workmanship is of a very high order, along all the shore-line of the normal portolan: he gives to the Baltic an extension somewhat similar to Carignano's; but his place-names are here more numerous, and most of them can be identified. His delineation, moreover, both of the Azov and of the Bay of Biscay shows real progress, and only a little less noteworthy is his drawing of the south British littoral from Pembroke to the Wash, and of the Irish coast from Kerry to Down. Lastly, he even appreciates something of the momentary approach and renewed divergence of Don and Volga in their lower course, something of the meeting of Kama and Volga in north-east Russia, something of the junction of Blue and White Niles in the Sudan;—of any advanced exploration along the West African coast he has, on the contrary, no conception [1].

8. Upon the 'Dulcert' of 1339, but at twelve years' interval of time, and perhaps a century's interval of African merit, follows what is in some respects the most remarkable of mediaeval maps—the *Laurentian Portolano* or *Medicean Atlas* of 1351 [2], a collection of eight sheets, bound in one volume, and representing, first, the world as far east as the middle of the western coast of India; second, the Mediterranean basin and 'normal portolan' area [3]; and third, the specially-treated regions of the Archipelago, Adriatic, and Caspian. Apart from some disputed dialectical indications, the prominence of Genoese empire in the Black Sea, the flags and inscriptions which here mark her Pontic harbours, forts, and factories [4], point to a Ligurian author.

In the world-map, as we have noticed in an earlier chapter [5],

marking of Lanzarote with a Genoese flag, see above, p. 425, n. 2, p. 441, n. 2.

[1] Placing only *Damon* and *Plegie arene* beyond *Caput Non*.

[2] This is now in the Laurentian Library, Florence, catalogued as *Gaddiani Reliqui* 9. For other details, see Fischer, *Sammlung*, 127–47.

[3] This area includes the Caspian, and four sheets in all are given to it.

[4] e.g. at 'Cembalo' or Balaclava.

[5] Ch. iv.

the general shape of Africa, the southern projection of the Dark Continent towards the Cape, and especially the great line of the Gulf of Guinea, are represented with such an approach to reality, that we cannot believe the designer was merely guessing at the truth. In particular, the shore-line between our Sierra Leone and Cameroons must have been here laid down with some help from actual knowledge [1].

Again, in the western section of the detailed four-sheet portolan, the Atlantic islands appear (the Azores for the first time) with the fullness and accuracy of a pilot-chart, or at least of a work immediately derived from pilot-charts.

Among other features of this atlas (some to be found in the general map of the Western World, others in the detailed sheets which follow) is the near approach of Scotland to Norway; separated only by a narrow strait, these northern lands almost make of the German Ocean another Euxine [2]. Again, in Asia, where several traces of Polo influence occur, the beginnings of an Indian peninsula may be deduced from the contour of South Asia at the extreme east of the design. The lake- and river-system of Europe is realized, at least in some particulars [3], with uncommon clearness; no earlier designer has given us so good a shape for the Red Sea and the Caspian; and even if the Somali peninsula is practically wanting to the Dark Continent; if a western Nile [4], rising in close neighbourhood to the White, is drawn half-way across Africa to the Atlantic; if the Persian and Cambayan Gulfs, like the north coasts of Britain, are badly distorted; and if the Baltic, though less exaggerated

[1] See above, pp. 439-40. The picture of Africa's southward extension seems, as already suggested, to be in the nature of a conjecture reached from real knowledge of coasts tending *towards* the South, e.g. the East African shore-line, of which some Europeans had already gained an inkling. Cf. Marco Polo's references to Madagascar and Zanzibar, Sorleone Vivaldo's alleged journey to Magadoxo, &c.

[2] This is also observable in the 'Dulcert' of 1339.

[3] Such as the courses of the Don, Volga, and Kama, and the position and form of the lakes of Constance, Como, Maggiore, and Lugano.

[4] Its direction is here roughly E.-W., as on Carignano, &c., but its size has been reduced to something like reality.

than of old, is still misdirected, these are but the typical shortcomings of the best map-science of the time.

9. The Venetian cartographer now joins his work to that of the North-West Italian school. In 1367 the brothers Marco and Francesco *Pizigano* produce a fine map of the Western World, based upon a 'normal portolan' of the Mediterranean basin and other shores now usually included in the 'handy chart[1]': in 1373 Francesco Pizigano, apparently without the co-operation of Marco, publishes another design of more restricted character. Splendid illustrations of prominent buildings at Venice and Genoa have been bound up with this latter portolan, but these are probably of far more modern date; and neither of the Pizigani maps, in spite of many curious and interesting features[2], are of decisive importance in the history of cartography.

10. Save for the Majorcan chart of 1339, perhaps executed (though in a Catalan island) by a Genoese draughtsman, the *mappe-monde* of 1375, made for King Charles V of France, and commonly known as the *Atlas Catalan*[3], is the earliest certain portolan-product of a region where some have professed to descry the very source and root of portolan-science.

This splendid *quarte de mer en tableaux*[4] will hardly by itself vindicate for Aragonese skippers, pilots, or map-makers, a position of priority to that North-West Italian school whose productions we have followed throughout the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century; at the same time the

[1] On the Pizigani maps, see also Fischer, *Sammlung*, 148–50. The design of 1367 is inscribed *MCCCLXVII. Hoc opus compoxuid Franciscus Pizigano Veneciār et dom̄nus Pizigano in Venexia meffecit Marcus die XII Decembris;* it is now in the National Library at Parma. The portolan of 1373, preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, is entitled and dated *MCCCLXXIII a die VIII de Zugno Francischo Pisigany Venician in Venexia me fecit.*

[2] See above, p. 430.

[3] On the Catalan Atlas (now in the MS. Department of the National Library at Paris [*Armoire X, no. 11, Espagnol 30*]) see also Buchon and Tastu, in *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. 2, Paris, 1841.

[4] It is so inscribed in the library-catalogue of Charles V:—'une quarte de mer en tableaux faicte par maniere de unes tables, [*sic*] painte et historiee, figuree et escripte, et fermant a quatre fermouers de cuivre.'

'Catalan Atlas' is unquestionably the most magnificent and comprehensive map-design, and in relation to Asia by far the most scientific, yet produced in Christendom.

For in the Eastern Continent it gives us, more fully than any other plan of the Middle Ages, the results won by the great overland travellers. Here (as already noticed) the peninsular shape of India, partially but very inadequately suggested by the Laurentian Portolano, is first truly exhibited; here the position, extent, chief divisions, towns, and rivers of China[1] are first approximately represented. If in the Asiatic islands fact is jostled by fiction, and a good Sumatra is balanced by a strange *Taprobana* and a still stranger archipelago fringing all the 'sunrise coast,' in the interior of the Mongol and Indian worlds the Catalan Atlas displays conspicuous excellence. A work of Wycliffe's age which names Lake Issyk-Kul and locates it with so fair an approach to nature; and which portrays so many other features of the most inaccessible Orient —to say nothing of the Van and Urmi basins, of the Don, Volga, Aras, Kuban, and Oxus rivers, and of Multan and Delhi, Urganj and Khamil, Kansu and Bolghar, Samarcand and Bokhara, Sarai and Astrakhan, Lop, and Rey[2]—is indeed one to whose faults we may be almost blind.

In Africa, of course, the special feature of the Atlas Catalan is the entry of the Majorcan discovery of 1346 upon the west coast, the detailed record of this achievement, and the picture of Jayme Ferrer's vessel to the south-west of the new Finisterre of Bojador. Here unfortunately the map ends; unlike the Medicean Atlas, it attempts no representation, conjectural or other, of the southern portion of the continent. But in the space allowed it shows some conception of the Upper Nile, both Blue and White; and its treatment of the Atlantic islands

[1] The chief divisions of the Mongol Empire as a whole (Cathayan, Chagataian or 'Medic,' Kipchak, and Persian) also appear with very good understanding on the map of 1375.

[2] On the Catalan Atlas the lakes appear as *Yssicol*, the *Sea of Argis* [Arjish], and the *Sea of Marga* [Maragha]; the Don and Volga are the *Tanay* and *Edil*; the Oxus is the *Organci*; *Moltan*, *Delly*, *Organci*, *Camull*, *Borgar*, *Samarchati*, *Bocar*, *Sarra*, *Agitarcham*, *Lop*, and *Rey* are obvious enough.

—Azores, Canaries, and Madeira group—is more complete than anything of earlier time.

11. With the Catalan Atlas we reach the zenith of mediaeval map-work, as we have understood the Middle Ages in this connexion.

The remaining portolani need not keep us long. For the two Majorcan charts of Guglielmo Soleri (1380–5)[1], and the probably Genoese atlas known as the Pinelli-Walckenaer[2] (1384), the chief remaining examples of the scientific type of map during the remaining years of the fourteenth century, are not comparable, except in bulk, to the designs we have already examined, and call for nothing more than the briefest notice in this place.

In none of these works is any addition made to earlier knowledge of the Atlantic Islands[3] or of the West African coast; in none of them is the treatment of other portions of

[1] The former work, of about 1380 (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), which, like that of 1385, is concerned only with the 'Normal-Portolan' area, i. e. the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts, and the Ocean shores of Europe and West Africa as far as then known, is undated, but signed *Guillmo Soleri civis Maioricarum me fecit*; the latter (in the Archivio di Stato, Florence) is dated *MCCCLXXXV*, and has the same declaration of authorship, *Guillmus Solerii* (&c., as above). The West African coast ends with C. Bojador. For other details of both maps, see *Catalogue des Documents géogr.*, Paris, 1892, p. 4; *Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.* 3e série, vii, Paris, 1847, p. 302.

[2] This is a 'Normal-Portolan,' with special charts of the Adriatic and Archipelago. Ten names occur beyond C. Non, reaching down to *Enbucder* or Bojador, to the south of which the harbour apparently referred to by the French Conquerors of the Canaries (1402–4; see above, pp. 452, 454) seems indicated, but less clearly than on the Catalan Atlas; the latter's extension of the African shore-line some distance beyond this harbour is wanting in Pinelli-Walckenaer. Though in all probability a Genoese work, the atlas of 1384 (so dated, conjecturally, because, as in the case of the Laurentian Portolano, a certain year, 1384 in this case, 1351 in the other, is used as the starting-point for the Kalendar) is named after the Venetian family of Pinelli, to whom it belonged for many years: at the sale of their library in 1790 it was purchased by Baron Walckenaer of Paris.

[3] Thus the Soleri of 1380 gives but twenty Atlantic islands, the Soleri of 1385 only nineteen, by the side of the twenty-eight of the Catalan Atlas. See also preceding note.

the world-surface original or remarkable enough to attract notice, by the side of the Laurentian Portalano and the Catalan Atlas.

Still less need we here make a long story of the anonymous Catalan planisphere of about 1410, of the 1413 work (likewise Catalan) of Mecia de Viladestes, of the Nicolo Pasqualini of 1408, or of the Combitis and one or two other portolans [1] of uncertain date, probably belonging to the first two decades of the fifteenth century.

The non-scientific maps of the later Middle Ages, contrasted with the portolani, are of such complete futility; they affect the history of earth-knowledge (at least from the thirteenth century) so little; and their chief types have already been so fully discussed [2], that a bare allusion to the monstrosities of *Hereford* and *Ebstorf* should suffice. That these two giant 'wheels' belong to the last years of the thirteenth century (1275–1300); that they are related to the *Psalter* map of about 1250 [3]; that they draw their material very largely from the standard manuals of Dark Age learning; that their scientific Bible is formed of excerpts from Pliny and the Antonine Itinerary, from Orosius and Martianus Capella, from Solinus and the Aethici, from the Alexander Romance, and from certain *Bestiaries* and *Herbaria* [4]—these and such like generalities are all we need to notice at this point.

[1] Of these works the first is now in the National Library at Florence; the second (signed *Mecia de Viladestes me fecit in ano MCCCCXIIII*) in the National Library at Paris; the third in the Imperial Library at Vienna; the fourth (inscribed *Haec tabula ex · testamento Nicolai de Combitis devenit in monasterio Cartusiae Florentinae*) in St. Mark's Library at Venice.

[2] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 375–91; ii. 549–642.

[3] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 568–9, 617–21.

[4] Thus the 'Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford' who apparently claims the authorship of the Hereford map (and who appears as Treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral c. 1260–76, as a Prebendary of Hereford in 1305, and as Archdeacon of Berks. in 1312), draws from *Orosius* many of his general notions of world-outline, and in particular refers to him on the position of the Ganges, the course of the Nile, and the names of various

Nor can we, in conclusion, find room for any fuller treatment, within the narrow limits of this chapter, of the Sanutan [1] or Sanuto-Vescontean map of Palestine (in which a sort of unscientific substitute for lines of latitude and longitude is the most remarkable feature) [2], of the same author's sketch of the Levant coasts from Cyrene to Rhodes and Cos, or even of his plans of Jerusalem and Acre [3], the latter a scheme of great geographical merit and of the deepest historical interest [4].

mountain ranges in Asia and Africa. From *Solinus* he naturally takes most of his *mirabilia*; and from *Isidore* the chief part of his ethnology. *Capella* is especially used by him in reference to Mediterranean islands; *Aethicus* of Istria supplies material for the regions of the Far North. See also Appendix, p. 556.

[1] On the probable Vescontean draughtsmanship of this and the other Sanutan maps see above, pp 520–1.

[2] We may also remark that the Holy Land is too wide on the North and too contracted on the South; that Merom is too large and the Dead Sea too small; that Damascus is placed considerably West of Hermon and close to the Jordan sources, East of which appears the *Tribus Neptalin*; and that the author's notions of the Palestine rivers flowing into the Mediterranean, of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, and of the Trans-Jordanic country as a whole (where most localities are pushed far too much Northward) are peculiarly wild.

[3] In the plan of Jerusalem the drawing of the South wall of the city, the marking of the *Piscina Inferior* near the junction of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, and the placing of *Mons Syon* on the South of Olivet, are noteworthy.

[4] For any further discussion of the Acre plan (wherein we have the most perfect illustration known of the great Crusading fortress on the eve of its destruction), as well as of the cartography of Ranulf Hygden, of certain minor works of the period 1300–1420, and of lost maps, such as those of Albert the Great and Roger Bacon (see above, pp. 504–5), we must also refer to the bibliography in the Appendix, p. 556.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

(1) Henry the Navigator's speech to his unsuccessful explorers in 1433, assuming a knowledge of 'needle and sailing-chart' among all the best seamen of the time, is in Azurara, *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 9.

(2) E. T. Hamy's studies on the map of 1339 are (1) *La Mappemonde d'Angelino Dulcert*, 1887; (2) *Les origines de la cartographie de l'Europe septentrionale*, 1888. See also *Gresques lo Juheu: note sur un géographe juif catalan*, 1891. All in *Bulletin de Géog. histor. et descript.*, Paris.

CHAPTER VII

LATER MOSLEM AND OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN GEOGRAPHY[1]

NOTHING but a brief and meagre summary of the later Moslem earth-knowledge, completing the narrative given in the first volume of this work[2], is possible in the space that remains.

After Masudi and Ibn Haukal, the next Musulman who leaves a deep mark upon geographical inquiry is the Ghaznevide Aristotle, Abu Raihan, surnamed Al Biruni, who flourished at the court of Mahmud and Masud in the earlier years of the eleventh century. This truly 'Subtle'[3] Doctor of Islam, in the course of works which embraced, or at least touched, almost the whole range of human knowledge, as understood by the best minds of the age (c. A. D. 1000–1039), composed a treatise on mathematical and astronomical geography which later ages revered as the *Canon Masudicus*[4], as well as a work of extraordinary brilliancy upon India[5]. He is perhaps wrongly credited with the first suggestion of the Deccan *peninsula*, so inconceivable to Ptolemy, but none save Chinese appear to anticipate him in his knowledge of the routes leading from Ferghanah to Eastern Turkestan, and in his notice of the chief cities of the latter[6].

We now pass to the other extreme of the Islamic world—

[1] For additional notes to this ch. (as to chs. V and VI) see Appendix, Part III.

[2] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 392–468.

[3] Often called by his contemporaries *muhakkik* (*subtilis*). See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, xcv.

[4] From its dedication to Masud of Ghazni, A. D. 1036.

[5] *A description of all Categories of Hindu Thought, as well those which are admissible as those which must be rejected.* The geography of this work is chiefly to be found in chapters xxviii–xxxi.

[6] See A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (esp. his second map); Peschel, *Erdkunde*, p. 101.

from Afghanistan, Khiva, and the Indus, to Spain, Barbary, and Sicily. For in the generations immediately succeeding Al Biruni, the most active school of Mohammedan geography is to be found in the Far West—where 'Arzakhel' or Al Zarkala of Toledo and Al Bekri of Seville studied and wrote in the age of Hildebrand, at the very time their fellow countryman Abu Bekr Mohammed of Tortosa ('Al Tortushi') was visiting the Rhine-land, and making notes upon the trade of Mainz[1]. With Abu Hamid of Granada, who in the next century (1117–31) runs over so much of the Known World from Andalusia to the Oxus, and from the Sahara to Kazan, Spanish Islam explores more widely still. But the Description of the entire *Oikoumene* attempted in the middle of the same twelfth century by Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn Idrisi, the 'Edrisi' of most European writers, is certainly the chief accomplishment of Western Islam, in all those departments of knowledge which may be grouped as 'geographical,' during the Crusading Age.

Whether born at Ceuta or no, in or about 1090 or later; whether truly or falsely credited with personal travels in Southern and Western Spain, in various regions of Marocco and Algeria, in France, and even in England,—Edrisi certainly seems to have resided in later life at the court of Roger II of Sicily, and to have composed his masterpiece under the patronage of the same prince, who created him a noble, and dispatched men even to remote Scandinavia to gather materials for his work.

Edrisi was therefore in closer official relations with the men and thought of Christendom than most Arabic savants, and it is disappointing to find so few direct traces of his influence on European speculation and cartography. For although in the world-maps of Marino Sanuto and Pietro Vesconte we find this

[1] Al Zarkala's fame began about A.D. 1075; Al Bekri died in 1094; Al Tortushi visited Mainz shortly before 1083. For purely astronomical geography, we may trace back this Spanish school much earlier: e.g., in 961 Bishop Harib of Cordova made a Latin version of the Arab *Almanack* known as the *Book of the Constellations*.

influence very apparent[1] here and there, and although his record of the *Deceived Men* of Lisbon and their explorations in the Western Ocean[2] may have had a certain effect in stimu-

[1] See above, p. 521.

[2] These *Maghrurin* or *Deluded Folk* were eight in number, all related to one another as cousins-german. They built a boat, fitted for ocean sailing and for the transport of a large amount of fresh water and provisions, and thus equipped for many months they set out from Lisbon with the first east wind. After eleven days they reached a sea, whose thick waters had a foetid smell, concealed numerous reefs, and were but faintly lighted. Fearing for their lives, they changed their course, and sailed to the south for twelve days more. In this way they reached an island which they found to be uninhabited, except by large flocks of sheep. Some of these they killed on landing, but they found the flesh so bitter that they could not eat it, and only took the skins. Some wild figs and a spring of fresh water were the only other things they remarked in the island, which they called *Al Ghanam* ('the Isle of Sheep,' identified by many with our Madeira). Again they sailed southwards, for twelve days, and so came to another island (one of the Canaries?), dotted with houses and cultivated fields. They landed, and were at once surrounded, made prisoners, and carried in their own boats to a city on the sea shore. Here they were confined in a house, where they saw some of the inhabitants, men of tall stature and tawny colour, with straight hair (not frizzled like the blacks). Along with these were some women of great beauty. For three days they were left alone, but on the fourth day, the king's interpreter came to them and questioned them in Arabic. Two days afterwards they were brought out of their prison and presented to the king, who asked them the same questions as the interpreter had done. Especially he wished to know what they wanted in his country. They replied that they were seeking out the wonders of the ocean and its limits. At this the king laughed heartily and said to the interpreter:—'Tell them my father once ordered some of his slaves to venture out upon that sea, and they sailed across the breadth of it for a month, but then they found themselves deprived of the light of the sun, and returned without having learnt anything.' So saying, he dismissed the Wanderers, and sent them back to their prison, where they remained until a west wind arose. At this they were brought out, blindfolded, put into a boat, and sent off to sea again; in three days the breeze took them to the mainland of Africa. Here they were put ashore, with their hands tied, and so left,—a little before the dawn. Soon after the rising of the sun, they heard shouts of laughter, and the chatter of many voices; and they cried out to attract the attention of these people. The latter came to them, unbound them, and told them they were in the country of the Berbers, a journey of two months from their home. The Wanderers noticed that the Berber chief incessantly exclaimed, Alas, Alas,—*wasafi*; and so they called the name of that place *Asafi*—as it is marked on Edrisi's map and those of his Moslem imitators. The explorers returned to Spain

lating the later Atlantic enterprise of Christian mariners, this *Rogerian*[1] *Description* of the world never seems to have become a European textbook. From a modern point of view Edrisi's Ptolemaic leanings give a markedly retrograde character to certain portions of his work, such as East Africa and South Asia; despite his narrative of the Lisbon Wanderers, he fully shares the common Moslem dread of the Atlantic[2]; and his rigid *climatic* system, treating the *Terra Habitabilis* under seven zones, from equatorial to polar regions[3], and ignoring all divisions, whether physical, political, linguistic, or religious, which did not harmonize with these of latitude, is unfortunate and confusing. At the same time his encyclopaedic breadth of outlook, his clear recognition of scientific axioms which Latin geography was only beginning to admit[4], his extensive knowledge and intelligent application of preceding work[5], and the very considerable body of private and special information embodied in his own[6], must not be under-valued. Nor can

and to their native city of Lisbon, 'in the extremity of the west'; and from their exploits, a street in that town, at the foot of the public bath or *hammam*, took the name of *Street of the Maghrurin*. Edrisi, Climate iv, § 1. This expedition must have taken place before A. D. 1147, when Lisbon finally fell into Christian hands.

[1] Edrisi's work, from its composition at King Roger's instance, was often called *Al Rojari*.

[2] Thus, at the beginning of the First, Fourth, and Sixth Climates, he dwells upon the thick and perpetual darkness brooding over the Western Ocean, and adding to the terrors of these black, viscous, stormy, and wind-swept waters, whose Western limits no one knew. The same ideas are suggested in one part of the *Maghrurin* record: see above.

[3] Each climate is again subdivided into ten sections, and the Description proceeds section by section, *from West to East*, through each zone, beginning with the most Southerly and finishing in the extreme North. The earth circumference is reckoned by Edrisi at 132,000,000 cubits; Eratosthenes, he admits, had made it one-twelfth more than this.

[4] Thus, on the shape of the world (remaining 'stable in space like the yellow in an egg'), he is perfectly satisfied with the 'opinions of most philosophers,' and believes it to be unquestionably spherical. 'Some object that waters could not remain upon a curved surface, but it is certain that they do so remain, maintained by an equilibrium which experiences no variation'; see his Introduction to the Climates.

[5] Thus he utilizes, not only Ptolemy, but Masudi and a lost treatise of Al Jayhani.

[6] This is especially evident in his

we forget that his map, with all its shortcomings, is the most conspicuous, and perhaps the most satisfactory, product of that strangely feeble thing—the early Mohammedan cartography.

The residence of Edrisi at a Christian court, and his dependence upon Christian patronage, are unquestionably significant of a change in the relations of Western Christendom and Western Islam; they point not only to a political and social decline already in process of accomplishment within the latter, but to a coming decay of intellectual independence; yet the next two centuries are, in respect of individual accomplishment, the most brilliant in Mohammedan travel, if not in geographical inquiry. Thus, in the age of Saladin, Mohammed Ibn Jubair of Valentia, and Ali, son of Abu Bekr, surnamed Al Herawi, or the Man of Herat[1] (to say nothing of the less noteworthy Valentian, Al Abdari, and the Sevillian, Al Arabi, younger contemporaries of Ibn Batuta and Edrisi respectively), rank as princes among Arabic explorers, the one for his exceptional qualities as observer and historian, the other for his inordinate energy and inquisitiveness. Still more remarkable, in its own way, is the work of Yakut Al Rumi, by birth a Greek slave, who has left us (from the beginning of the thirteenth century[2]) the

delineation and description of Scandinavia, portions of the African coast, Egypt, Syria, Italy, France, the Adriatic shore-lands, and Germany, as well as in the tradition he preserves of the Atlantic voyage of the Lisbon *Maghrurin*.

[1] Ibn Jubair's travels end in A.D. 1185, Al Herawi's in 1215. The insatiable appetite of the latter for travel gained him the surname of *Al Sayh*. Syria and Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and many of the lands of the Greek Empire (where he marked the course of his journey by indefatigable scribblings of his name), he described from personal knowledge: his account of Abyssinia and the Barbary States is second-hand. He visited Jerusalem in 1173 while still in Christian hands; in Sicily he witnessed an eruption of Etna; during his stay in Constantinople he is said to have been admitted to intercourse with the Emperor Manuel. In 1191 he fell in with the Crusading fleet on its way to Acre, and was despoiled of part of the material he had laboriously collected for his works: in return, he had the satisfaction of refusing to see Richard Cœur de Lion, who was anxious to converse with so eminent a citizen of the world. His death took place at Aleppo in 1215. Though his family was of Herat origin, he was himself born at Mosul.

[2] In any case from before A.D. 1229.

greatest of Moslem Gazetteers; even without Yakut's *Dictionary* we have in the writings of Ibn Said of Granada (1214–74)[1] and of Zakarya Ibn Mohammed of Kazvin, commonly known as 'Al Kazwini' (1233–83), good evidence of the persistence of the higher Moslem culture in an age of Moslem depression hitherto unequalled.

Yet it is with the final re-settlement of Mohammedan Asia, with the permanent victory of Islam over Mongol heathendom to the west of the Gobi, that Musulman exploration and world-study reach their fulfilment; it is with the fourteenth-century encyclopaedia of 'Abulfeda,' with the work of Ibn Al Wardi and Ibn Khaldun, and above all with the journeys and narratives of Ibn Batuta, that 'Arabic' geography utters its last word. From the days of Al Kharizmi[2] and Sallam we have met with enthusiastic and unwearied seekers after truth; from Masudi to Al Herawi we have had examples of wide-reaching and intelligent travel; but surely no follower of the Prophet had ever surveyed all lands and all existence with the completeness, the accuracy, and the vivacious interest of the Sheikh of Tangier.

Abu Abdallah Mohammed, surnamed Ibn Batuta, the *traveller not of an age but of Islam*[3], was born at the ocean seaport of northern Morocco in 1304, and started on his wanderings in 1325. Beginning with the North African coast regions, and with the Nearer East of the Syrian, Egyptian, and Arabian Levant, these wanderings were soon extended to regions of remoter and more recondite interest—to the 'Arab' colonies of the East African coast, up to and beyond the Equator[4], to

[1] Of especial interest is a passage of Ibn Said recording the West African coast-voyage (obviously before A.D. 1274) of a certain Ibn Fatima, who reached a 'glittering headland,' conjectured by some to be Cape Blanco, far beyond the Canaries and the extremest points then known to Christendom. Ibn Fatima is also quoted by Ibn Said on East Africa, the Aral, &c.; he probably composed an account of his journeys and observations.

[2] On Al 'Kharizmi' (i.e. Khwarizmi, the Man of Khwarizm) see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 403, 410.

[3] See vol. iv, p. 451 of the edition (and version) of Ibn Batuta's travels by Defrémery and Sanguinetti (hereafter quoted as D.-S.).

[4] Ibn Batuta, though he tells us of the Moslem colonies on this coast as

the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, to the prairie lands of our South Russia [1], to the sub-Arctic territory of Old Bulgaria or Kazan, perhaps even to the southern verge of the *tundra* of 'European Siberia' [2].

In the Crimea, at Kerch and Kaffa, Ibn Batuta made acquaintance with Christian cities and Christian civilization [3]; a visit to Constantinople completed this part of his education; from the Eastern Rome he turned to the ancient civilizations of the Further East; and in September, 1333, he arrived in India,—having passed through Astrakhan and Sarai, through Khiva [4] and Bokhara, through Samarcand and Balkh, through Herat, Kabul, and the Hindu Kush [5].

After eight years spent in the Empire, and largely at the court, of that Indian Caligula, Mohammed Tughlak of Delhi, the explorer set out for China (July, 1342). But his enterprise suffered a temporary shipwreck, and it was only after years of delay and many roamings in the Southern seas,—from Malabar to the Maldives, from Ceylon to Bengal, from Gujerat and the Coromandel coast to the Malayan Archipelago—that he at last

far as Sofala (in 20° 12′ S.), does not himself go beyond Kilwa or Quiloa (in 8° 57′ S.).

[1] On his way to the Kipchak Steppes, Ibn Batuta travels extensively in Syria and Asia Minor, and describes the infant Ottoman dominion under Orkhan, D.-S., ii. 254–355. His account of the great South Russian plains and of the Tartars who ruled it, is photographic (D.-S., ii. 356–7, 360–98).

[2] From D.-S., ii. 402, it appears possible that Ibn Batuta had made a start on that dog-sledge journey from Bolghar into the northern ice-clad desert of the Land of Darkness which he describes so well, and from which at all events he soon turned back (see also D.-S., ii. 400–1).

[3] In *Karsh* he entered a church and talked with a monk; but it was in Kaffa he first heard the din of Christian bell-ringing, and ordered his comrades, in terror at the sound, 'to ascend the minaret of the mosque, to read the Koran, to praise God, and to call to prayer' (D.-S., ii. 355–8).

[4] On his way from Sarai (admirably described in D.-S., iii. 447–8) to Khwarizm (iii. 3–12) Ibn Batuta, like Pascal of Vittoria (see above, p. 245), passes by Saraichik on the Ural (D.-S., iii. 1). All this part of his journey abounds in parallels to that of the Spanish friar, but no Christian writer can rival him in his account of the Kipchak capital; as to Majar on the Kuma (ii. 375–7), Bolghar (ii. 398–9), and Astrakhan (ii. 410–1) he is likewise invaluable.

[5] D.-S., iii. 84–5. Here the name of Hindu Kush first occurs in Moslem literature.

obtained, in *Jawa* or Sumatra [1], a passage to the Central Flowery Land. Ibn Batuta's personal knowledge of Peking and Northern China, in spite of the claim he advances in his narrative, has been disputed by some; but there is no question of his presence on the south and south-east coasts, from Canton to Hangchau, and it appears reasonable to go with him, as he would have us, even to the capital of the Chinese *Sultan*, at *Khanbalik* [2].

In November, 1349, the 'Berber' re-appeared in his native land, having visited or re-visited, Sumatra and Malabar, Baghdad and Damascus, Mecca [3] and Cairo, Tunis and Sardinia [4] upon his homeward way, and being received at Fez with the honour due to one who had made the universal earth the subject of his toil and study [5].

But his ambitions were yet unsatisfied, and after a journey in Moslem Andalusia he plunged into the Sahara, reached the Western Sudan, visited Timbuktu, and examined, with indefatigable interest and admirable result, the lands, peoples, cities and customs of the Negro Nile, or Niger (1352–3) [6]. When finally he had struggled back across the desert [7] and

[1] Ibn Batuta's residence in, and account of, the Maldives (D.-S., iv. 110–62) is especially interesting; among other noteworthy passages of his South Asian narratives we may notice his descriptions of the great ocean-going junks of the Indo-China voyage (D.-S., iv. 92, &c.; iv. 247, &c.), of the Abyssinian mercenaries who formed an escort for merchant ships in these waters (iv. 59, 93), and of the evil climate and rich productivity of Bengal, that 'hell filled with good things' (iv. 210, &c.).

[2] In spite of its brevity and of various deficiencies, Ibn Batuta's account of China, a country which certainly did not rival the Indies in his esteem (D.-S., iv. 254–304), is very valuable, especially for its remarks on Cathayan products, paper-money, burial customs, census system, and organization of travel: on all these, as on the size and splendour of Hangchau, he gives us excellent parallels to the records of Christian explorers.

[3] This was his fourth visit to the Holy Places of Islam.

[4] In this Christian island Ibn Batuta believed he ran great danger of seizure and imprisonment (D.-S., iv. 331).

[5] D.-S., iv. 451. Ibn Batuta re-entered Fez on Nov. 8, 1349 (D.-S., iv. 333).

[6] D.-S., iv. 385–443.

[7] He returned by the Hoggar (Tuareg) country, and describes these desert robbers, 'the wearers of the *litham*,' with his usual accuracy and force (D.-S., iv. 446, &c.).

found himself among his own folk once more, he had surely tested to the uttermost the patriotic convictions of his life, and it was from an almost exhaustive experience that he declares the superiority of Marocco to every land of East and West, the right of Fez to rank above all other human habitations, the glory of his Sultan as the greatest and most sure protector among earthly kings [1].

As to the peculiarities, good or bad, of Moslem world-theory, its usually alarmist views of the outer (and especially of the Western or Atlantic) Ocean, the arrested development of its map-work and navigating science [2], its devotion to such borrowed doctrines as those of an earth-centre and earth-summit midway between the poles and the sunset- and sunrise-extremities of the *Oikoumene*—enough has already been said, both in this, and in a former, volume [3]. But a word must here be added upon later exploring movements of the non-Moslem, and particularly of the Chinese, Orient.

The Mongol universal power did not merely invite exploration from the side of Europe; it also produced a considerable travel-energy within Upper Asia, and even from the lands of Tartary to those of Christendom.

Instances of diplomatic intercourse between the Chingizide sovereigns and Christian states have been noticed in earlier chapters; we shall now have to make fuller acquaintance with the most remarkable of these embassies, as it is described by the chief ambassador himself.

But apart from this narrative of Rabban Bar Sauma, the envoy of Arghun Khan to Christendom in 1287–8, there are

[1] D.-S., iv. 333, 451. On Dec. 13, 1355, Ibn Batuta finished the composition of his narrative.

[2] Thus, except for the copy of a Christian portolan noticed above, p. 517, there is no development in Mohammedan cartography parallel to that of the 'handy charts' of Italy and Catalonia; again, though it may be true that a knowledge of the polar-properties of the magnet existed in Islam even before Neckam (c. A.D. 1180–90; see pp. 508–9), the earliest definite reference to its use in a Moslem ship is of 1242, and comes in Bailak Al Kibchaki's *Treatise on Stones*.

[3] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 393–7, 402–5, and pp. 419, 512 of this volume.

a number of records of purely Asiatic travel, memoirs of sages and statesmen, warriors and ecclesiastics, moving across the Eastern continent, within the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[1]. One of these, a history of surpassing interest and value, may be placed by itself[2].

It was in 1221 that Chang Chun, a Taoist doctor and saint of high repute in China, left his native 'wilds'[3] of Shantung, at the invitation of Chingiz, and made his way over the vast regions of Higher Asia to the conqueror's camp near the Hindu Kush. Peking and Karakorum, the Thian Shan and the Altai, Kulja and Samarcand, Balkh and the Oxus, are landmarks in a journey which has bequeathed to later times some of the most faithful and vivid pictures ever drawn of nature and society between the Aral and the Yellow Sea, and which deserves a place, though it be a 'lower room,' beside the explorations of Hiuen Thsang[4].

Still more to our purpose are the travels of the 'Son of Fasting'[5]. Born at Peking about the middle of the thirteenth century, Bar Sauma, as a devout Nestorian Uigur, early forms the purpose of making pilgrimage from Cathay to Jerusalem, and by 1280 we find him arrived in Armenia upon his sacred quest[6]. Here, however, his purpose is interrupted by warnings

[1] Among these are the five memoirs translated, in whole or part, by E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from East Asiatic Sources* (vol. i, pp. 9–24, 25–34, 35–108, 109–55, 157–63), viz. (1) the *Si-yu-lu*, narrating the journeys of Yelu Chu-tsai, the minister of Chingiz Khan, from N. China to Persia, with the Mongol armies, in 1218–19; (2) the *Pei-shi-ki*, recording the Embassy of Wu-ku-sun from the Kin Emperor in N. China to the camp of Chingiz, then in Turkestan, in 1220–1; (3) the *Si-yu-ki*, giving the experiences of Chang Chun, 1221–4; (4) the *Si-shi-ki*, being the recollections of Chang Te, a Chinese sent by Mangu Khan at Karakorum to his brother Hulagu in Persia, in 1259; (5) the notes preserved of Yelu Hi Liang's wanderings in Central Asia, 1260–3.

[2] Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 35–108.

[3] Chang Chun's usual description of himself, conformably to Chinese courtesy, is 'a savage of the mountains,' or 'a wild man of the woods.'

[4] See *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 503–14.

[5] See the *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Rabban Çauma*, translated from the Syriac by J. B. Chabot in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1893, pp. 566–610; 1894, pp. 73–142, 235–300.

[6] Bar Sauma's journey so far was by way of Tangut, Khotan, Kashgar, Talas in the Syr Daria valley, Kho-

of the extreme danger of the route to Southern Syria, and his friend and fellow pilgrim, Rabban Marcos (otherwise the famous Mar Yaballaha III), becoming Patriarch of Baghdad in 1281, suggests the name of *Bersamas* to Arghun as that of a person uniquely suitable for the embassy contemplated by the Khan.

In 1287, accordingly, our pilgrim—now turned diplomatist, and entrusted with the Ilkhan's appeals to the rulers of the Greeks and Franks (the Pope of Rome included [1]) for an alliance against Islam, and a joint and immediate effort towards the conquest of Syria—arrives at Constantinople, has audience of the *King Basileus* [2], Andronicus II, and gazes with rapture on the splendours of St. Sophia. Italy he reaches by a sea voyage which takes him within sight of Etna; he lands at *Napoli* [3], travels overland to Rome, visits St. Peter's, interviews the Cardinals, and with difficulty recalls the wandering attention of their Eminences from dogmatic disputation to the political purpose of his mission [4]. The Holy See being for the moment vacant, a definite reply to his proposals is postponed till the election of a new pontiff, and Bar Sauma pushes on to other courts and cities. Through *Thuzkan*, or Tuscany, he comes to *Ginuha*, or Genoa [5] (whose democratic government he notices with his usual acuteness); thence he proceeds to visit the King of *Phransis* in *Pariz* and the King of *Alanguitar* in *Kasonia*—of *Angleterre* in *Gascony* [6]. Of the University of Paris he gives an admirable sketch [7]; his meeting with Edward I takes place at a city which appears to be Bordeaux, but of which he speaks as of the capital of *Angleterre* [8]. Everywhere he finds an earnest wish for the reconquest of Jerusalem, everywhere an enthusiastic response to Arghun's proposals.

On his return to Rome, by way of Genoa, the success of his

rasan, Maragha, and Mosul to Ani (*Revue de l'O. L.*, 1893, pp. 587–600).

[1] On the mission of *Roban Barsamma* or *Bersauma[s]*, as noticed from the Latin side, see above, pp. 189–90.

[2] *Revue de l'O. L.*, 1894, p. 83.

[3] *Revue*, 1894, p. 88.

[4] *Revue*, 1894, pp. 90–103.

[5] *Revue*, 1894, p. 103.

[6] *Revue*, 1894, pp. 106–9.

[7] Doubtless he exaggerates the number of its students in putting them at 30,000: *Revue*, 1894, p. 107.

[8] *Revue*, 1894, p. 110.

mission is crowned by the action of the newly chosen pontiff. From Nicolas IV Rabban Bar Sauma receives communion on Palm Sunday, 1288; the same *patriarch of western churches* bestows upon him a commission to visit the Christians of the East, and entrusts to his care the papal tiara which he sends, as a mark of brotherly affection, to Mar Yaballaha[1]; with the full approval of the pope, and in presence of a crowd of sympathetic Catholics, the Nestorian celebrates his own Eucharist in Rome itself[2].

The beginning of the continuous Portuguese explorations under Henry the Navigator, about 1420, has been chosen as the point where 'mediaeval' expansion really becomes a part of 'modern' history, where the 'Dawn' of European world-knowledge and world-empire is succeeded by a fuller day. By the close of the fifteenth century, in the age of Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, and Christopher Columbus (1486–99), when the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded, the shape of Africa determined, the South-East Ocean route to Asia completely followed out, and the New World of the West revealed in the search for a more direct path to Cathay and the Indies, it was easy to recognize that old things had passed away, that a fresh youth and spring-time had come to bless, and intoxicate, the world.

Yet the transition to these times was in truth far advanced when the first slaves and gold dust were brought from Guinea to Europe (in 1441), when Cape Verde was rounded (in 1445), when a *south* coast of Africa was reached (from about 1455), when the line was crossed (in 1471), when the Congo was discovered (in 1484). Not with the termination, but with the commencement, of Prince Henry's life-work (1420–60) we have reached the boundaries of our subject—the *mediaeval* expansion of Europe, the *mediaeval* development of geographical ideas.

[1] On this Patriarch's alleged submission to Rome see above, p. 205.

[2] *Revue*, 1894, pp. 112–21. The return journey was by 'the same seas' as had been traversed on the outward way; Trebizond was doubtless the port of embarkation from, and of debarkation in, the Ilkhanate. On the results of this embassy, as shown in return-missions from Christian princes to Arghun, see above, pp. 189, 203–4, 475–6, 492 of this volume.

APPENDIX

Part I. On the Leading Manuscripts of the Principal Texts in Vols. II and III.

[Those personally examined are marked thus *.]

Heimskringla [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 17–111, 174–83]. 2 chief MSS.: (1) *Eirspennil*, of early fourteenth century, in Copenhagen, Arne Magnusson Collection, no. 47; begins only with *Magnus the Good's Saga*; (2) *Codex Frisianus*, of about 1325, in same collection, no. 45; omits *St. Olaf's Saga*; (3–4) copies of the still more valuable *Kringla*, originally written about 1260, and *Jöfraskinna*, written about 1325, made before the destruction of these texts in the fire of 1728; among these copies are transcripts made by Asgeir Jonsson near the end of the seventeenth century (Arne Magnusson Collection, nos. 35, 36, 38, 63), and one of *Jöfraskinna* made in 1567-8 (Arne Magnusson Collection, no. 37). A leaf of *Kringla* has been lately recovered, and five or six leaves of *Jöfraskinna*; a MS. of about 1300 has also been found which contains forty-three leaves of a text closely resembling *Kringla* (see Arne Magnusson Collection, no. 39); (5) *Gullinskinna*, a MS. of the fourteenth century, also destroyed in the fire of 1728, is only known through a transcript of Asgeir Jonsson's (Arne Magnusson Collection, nos. 42 and 80), which gives the later sagas, beginning with *Olaf the Quiet*.

Vinland Narratives [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 48–83]. 3 chief MSS.: (1) *Hauksbok*, of about 1299–1334, mainly in Arne Magnusson Collection, no. 544, giving the *Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne*, so called; (2) *Red Eric Saga*, so called, of about 1400, in same collection, no. 557, giving substantially the same text as *Hauk's Book*; (3) *Flateyjarbok*, of c. 1380–87, in the Old Royal Collection, Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Other references to Vinland, &c., may be found in *Codex Frisianus* and *Kristni Saga*, Arne Magnusson Collection, nos. 45 and 105; and in nos. 61, 113 a, 113 b, 194, 371, 736, 764 of the same collection, containing various texts: also in the Wolfenbüttel MS. of the *Eyrbyggia Saga*.

Saewulf [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 139–55]. 1 MS.: in Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. *11 [formerly 316], fols. 37–46, of end of twelfth century.

Daniel of Kiev [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 155–74]. 76 MSS., of which only five earlier than 1500, viz.: (1–2) Moscow, Library of Holy Synod, 560,

of fifteenth century; Library of Society of Russian History and Antiquities, 189, of latest fifteenth century; (3) Novgorod, Monastery of St. Cyril of Byeloserbsk, 11/1088, of fifteenth century; (4–5) St. Petersburg, Library of Ecclesiastical History, 9/1086, of 1475; Imperial Library, XVII, K. 88, of 1496. Besides these may be mentioned (6) Moscow, Rumyantsov Museum, 335, of about 1500; (7) St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 5, of about 1500; (8) Vladimir Government, Florishchevsk Monastery, 149, of about 1500. See also R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae*, 1890, pp. 30–1.

SIGURD, see HEIMSKRINGLA.

FETELLUS or FRETELLUS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 186–9]. 53 MSS., of which we may notice four, earlier than 1200: (1) Douai, 838, fols. 36 a–48 b, of twelfth century; *(2–4) London, British Museum, Arundel, 291, fols. 68 r.–74 r., of twelfth century, Latin text; *Harleian 3113, fols. 126 r.–127 r., of twelfth century, Latin text, fragment; *Harleian 5373, fols. 53 v.–59 v., of fourteenth century, Latin text. [British Museum, Additional MSS., 8927, of twelfth century, quoted by Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 34, as a Fetellus MS., does not appear to contain this text.]

NICOLAS OF THING-EYRAR [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 217]. 2 MSS. in Arne Magnusson Collection, Copenhagen: viz. 194, of twelfth century; 736, of thirteenth century.

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 190–5]. 6 MSS., of which the principal are—(1) Berlin, Royal Library, MSS. Lat. 32, fols. 1–33, of fifteenth century; *(2) London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 22,349, fols. 190 r.–203 v., of thirteenth century; (3–4) Munich, Royal Library, 8458, fols. 66–75, of fifteenth century; 19,418, fols. 1–83, of thirteenth century [formerly Tegernsee, 1418]. See also Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 38–9.

JOHANNES PHOKAS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 199–203]. 1 MS. in Bibl. Vallicellana, Rome.

JACQUES DE VITRY [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 212–14]. 123 MSS. (Latin), of which we may mention, among the earliest, written before 1300: (1) Berne, 499; (2) Cambridge, Caius College, 1210; (3) Florence, Laurentian Library, LXVI, 28; (4) Louvain, 10; (5–8) Paris, National Library, Fonds Lat., 14,436; 16,079; Lat. nouv. acq. 1423; (9) Rome, Vatican Library, Older Collections, 5265; (10) Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Aug. 30, 5. Also, among later MSS., *(11–12) Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 1, 17, fols. 184–236 [Röhricht wrongly quotes this as 17 Dd. I, 8]; Ii, 3, 10, fols. 121–77, both of fourteenth century. See also Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 48–50.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 225–64]. 3 MSS.: *(1) London, British Museum, Additional MSS. 27,089, of c. 1220–30; (2)

Rome, *Codices Casanatenses*, 216, of fourteenth century; (3) Vienna, in private collection of A. Epstein, written c. 1323.

PETACHIA OF RATISBON [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 264–73]. 1 MS.: in City Library, Leipzig.

JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 279–317]. 6 MSS.: *(1) 'Corpus,' i. e. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, no. 181 [formerly 61], fols. 278–321, of about 1270–90; *(2) 'Petau,' i. e. Leyden University, 77 [formerly 104], fols. 144 v.–160 r., of about 1290; *(3) 'Colbert,' i. e. Paris, National Library, Fonds Lat., 2477, fols. 67 v.–83 r., of about 1350; *(4) 'London–Lumley,' i. e. London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 13 A. xiv, fols. 198 r.–213 r., of about 1270–90; *(5) 'Dupuy,' i. e. Paris, National Library, MSS. Dupuy, 686, of 1647; *(6) 'Digby,' i. e. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MSS. 11, fols. 59 v.–65 r. Of these (1) and (2) are the primary MSS.

See *Carpini and Rubruquis*, edited by the author for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1903, pp. vii–xviii. In this edition a full examination was made, for the first time, of the hitherto un-examined 'Corpus' MS. (1), and 'London' and 'Lumley' (4), previously treated as two separate MSS., were first shown to be identical. The existence of 'Digby' (6) I only discovered this year (1906).

BENEDICT THE POLE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 295, 390–1, n.]. 1 MS.: viz. *'Colbert' [see CARPINI (3)], fols. 66 r.–67 v.

WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS or RUBROUCK [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 320–75]. 5 certain MSS.: *(1) 'A,' i.e. London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 14 c. xiii, fols. 225 r.–236 v., of about 1350; *(2–4) 'B–D,' i.e. Cambridge, Corpus, 66, fols. 67 v.–110 v., of about 1320; *407, fols. 37 r.–67 r., of about 1410; *181, fols. 321–98, of about 1270–90; *(5) 'E,' i.e. Leyden University, 77, fols. 160 r.–190 r., of about 1290. See also Appendix, Part III.

Of these (4) and (5) are the primary MSS.; see above CARPINI, and *Carpini and Rubruquis*, Hak. Soc., pp. xviii–xx.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 467–514]. The best-known MS. is in Paris, National Library, 2661, in the numeration of Bandurius, *Imperium Orientale*, 1711, and is considered by him to be of the thirteenth century.

ADAM OF BREMEN [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 514–47]. 10 MSS., of which the chief are—(1–2) Copenhagen, Royal Library, Old Royal Collection, no. 2296, of twelfth to thirteenth centuries; no. 718, of fifteenth century; (3) Leyden University, Voss. Lat. 123, of eleventh century; (4) Rome, Vatican Library, 2010; (5) Vienna, Hof- u. Staatsb., 413, of thirteenth century; (6) Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Gud. 83, of fifteenth century.

MAPS. The MS. sources are indicated in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 592–4, 605, 608, 614, 617, 621, 625–6, 628–33, 637–41; among these I have

examined: *(1) 'Paris I,' the St. Sever example of the Beatus group, Paris, National Library, Lat. 8878, fols. 45, *bis*, v.–45, *ter*, r.; *(2) 'Paris II,' of the same group, Paris, National Library, Lat. nouv. acq. 1366, fols. 24 v.–25 r.; *(3) 'Paris III,' of the same group, Paris, National Library, Lat. nouv. acq. 2290, fols. 13 v.–14 r.; *(4) 'Ashburnham' or 'Valcavado,' in Ashburnham MSS., xv; *(5) 'London,' in British Museum, Additional MSS., 11,695, fols. 39 v.–40 r.; *(6) 'Turin,' in Turin National Library, I. ii (i), fols. 45 v.–46 r.; *(7 and 8) 'Jerome' maps, in London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 10,049, fols. 64 r. and v.; *(9) 'Cotton' or 'Anglo-Saxon' map, in London, British Museum, Cotton MSS., Tib. B. v, Pt. i, fol. 56 v.; *(10) Henry of Mainz, in Cambridge, Corpus, 66, fol. 2; *(11) 'Psalter' map, in London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 28,681, fol. 9 r.; *(12) Lambert of St. Omer, Paris, National Library, Lat. 8865 [former Suppl. Lat. 10 E], fols. 45 r., 56 r., 57 r., 62 v.; *(13) Petrus Alfonsus, Paris, National Library, Lat. 10,722 [former Suppl. Lat. 1218], fol. 77 r.; *(14) Macrobius map-type, London, British Museum, Cotton MSS., Tib. B. v, Pt. i, fol. 29 r.; *(15) Isidorian T-O map-type, Paris, National Library, Lat. 7585, fol. 164 v.; *(16) Sallust map-type, Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. lxiv. Cod. 18, end of vol.; *(17) Guido, Florence, Riccardian Library, 881, fol. 20 v. [T-O map]; *(18) 'Situs Hierusalem,' Paris, National Library, Lat. 8865, fol. 133 r.; *(19–31) Matthew Paris, 13 chief map-designs, London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 14, c. vii, fol. 5 v.; *Cotton MSS., Julius D. vii, fol. 49 v.; *Claudius D. vi, fol. 8 v.; *Nero D. i, fols. 183 v.–184 r., 185 r.–186 r., 187 v.; *Nero D. v, fol. 1 v.; *Cambridge, Corpus, 16, fols. 1 v.–2 v., 5 r. and v. [before regular numbering of fols. commences]; *Corpus 26, fols. 3 r.–6 r. [before regular numbering commences].

Marco Polo [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 15–160]. 85 MSS., of which the chief are—(1) Bern, Canton Library, 125, of fourteenth century, French text: contains the inscription relative to Thiébault de Cépoy; *(2) Florence, National Library, II. iv. 88 [formerly Magliabecchian, Cl. XIII. Plut. iv. Cod. 104], fols. 82 (whole vol.), of early fourteenth century; Italian version, usually known as the 'Crusca' or 'Ottimo,' one of the oldest monuments of Italian speech; *(3) London, British Museum, Sloane MSS., 251, fols. 1 r.–39 v. (whole vol.), of 1457, Italian version; *(4) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MSS. 264, fols. 218 r.–271 v., of early fourteenth century, French text; *(5–10) Paris, National Library, Fr. 1116 [formerly 7367; quoted as G], fols. 112 (whole vol.), of early fourteenth century, French text; fundamental MS., representing original narrative dictated by M. Polo to Rustician of Pisa in the prison at Genoa; *Fr. 2810 [former 8392], fols. 1–96 v., of later fourteenth century, French text; *Fr. 5631 [former 10,260], fols. 87 (whole vol.), of mid-fourteenth century, French text; *Fr. 5649 [former 10,270], fols. 136 (whole vol.), of fifteenth

century, French text: this has inscription relative to Thiébault de Cépoy: see (1); *Lat. 3195, fols. 27 r.–61 v., of fifteenth century: this is the oldest Latin version of Polo's book; *Ital. 434 [former 10,259], fols. 56 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, very early Italian version; (11) Venice, Museo Civico, Coll. Cicogna, 2408 [former 2389], written in 1401, Latin version.

Among MSS. of the second rank may be noticed—*(12–14) Florence, National Library, Magliabecchian Collection, Cl. XIII. Plut. iv. Cod. 173, fols. 2 r.–34 r., of 1425, Italian version; *II. ii. 61 [former Magliabecchian Collection, Cl. XIII. Plut. iv. Cod. 44], fols. 1–40, of 1392, Italian version; *II. iv. 136 [former Magliabecchian Collection, Cl. XIII. Plut. iv. Cod. 69], fols. 1 r.–64 v., of fourteenth century, Italian version; *(15–17) Florence, Riccardian Library, 1910, fols. 1 r.–37 r., of sixteenth century, Italian version; *983, fols. 81 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, Latin version; *1922, fols. 1 r.–50 v., of fifteenth century, Italian version; *(18–23) London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 19 D. I, fols. 58 r.–135 r., of fourteenth century, French text; *Egerton, 2176, fols. 103 (whole vol.), French version of Pipino's Latin; *Harleian, 5115, fols. 1 r.–47 v., of about 1400, Latin version; *Arundel, 13, Plut. clxiii. c., fols. 1 r.–38 r., of fourteenth century, Latin version; *Reg. 14, c. xiii, fols. 236 r.–269 r., of fourteenth century, Latin version; *Additional MSS., 19,952, fols. 2 r.–84 v., of 1445, Latin version; *(24–5) Paris, National Library, Fr. nouv. acq. 1880, fols. 1–149 (whole vol.), of early sixteenth century, French text; *Lat. 1616, fols. 308–80, of fifteenth century, Latin version; (26) Stockholm, Royal Library, Fr. 37, French text, probably written before 1370; *(27–9) Venice, St. Mark's Library, MSS. Marc. 3307 [former Cl. X. Cod. Lat. 128], fols. 183 (whole vol.), of fifteenth century, Latin version; *MSS. Marc. 6140 [former Cl. VI. Cod. Ital. 56], fols. 1–74, of late fifteenth century, Italian version of Pipino's Latin; *MSS. Marc. 5881 [former Cl. VI. Cod. Ital. 208], fols. 32 v.–74 r. [fols. 22 v.–64 r. in old numbering]. I also examined two fragmentary MSS. of Polo: *(30) Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 8, 7, fols. 1–7, Latin version; *(31) Milan, Ambrosian Library, 526, P. Inf. [also, but wrongly, quoted as M. 526, Scaf. D.], fols. 77 v.–79, of mid-fourteenth century; and the far more valuable MS. *(32) Milan, Ambrosian Library, X, 12, P. Sup., fols. 83 v.–135 v., of later fourteenth century, Latin version; as well as *(33) Oxford, Merton College, 312, Lat. [H. 3. 12], fols. 1–56 v., of fourteenth century, Latin text.

OTHER MSS. RELATIVE TO POLOS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 21–6]. *(1) Will of Marco Polo the Elder: Venice, St. Mark's Library, *Diplomata et Instrumenta varia*, MSS. Marc. 2437–8 [former Cl. V. 58–9], fol. 31: dated Aug. 5, 1280; *(2) Will of Maffeo Polo: same document, fol. 32: dated Aug. 31, 1300; *(3) Will of Marco Polo the explorer: same docu-

ment, fol. 33: dated March 9, 1323; *(4) M. Polo's suretyship for the wine-smuggler, April 10, 1305: Venice, Archivio Centrale, *Maggior Consiglio, Liber Magnus et Capricornus*, fol. 82 r. [in *copy*, p. 204], sixth entry on page; *(5) M. Polo exempted from penalty for neglecting inspection of his (?) water-pipe, April 13, 1302: same volume, fol. 26 v. [in *copy*, p. 81], last entry on page; *(6) M. Polo's testimony on behalf of a convalescent friend, Sept. 1, 1302, a fresh point, not noticed in text of *Dawn Mod. Geog.* or anywhere else within my knowledge: same volume, fol. 33 v. [in *copy*, p. 97, where 'Paullo' is mis-written 'Parissi'], middle of page; *(7) M. Polo's servant, Peter the Tartar, referred to, 1328, same collection [*Magg. Consigl.*]; *Deliberazione, Brutus* 1324–34, fol. 78 v., lines 8–9; *(8) Jacopo d'Acqui's account of M. Polo's capture by Genoese in '1296': Milan, Ambrosian Library, 526, P. Inf. [otherwise M. 526, Scaf. D.], fol. 77 v.; *(9–10) Peter of Abano, *Conciliator Differentiarum*, Diff. 67, Paris, National Library, Lat. 6961, fols. 92 r. (2nd col., middle)–95 r. (2nd col., middle); see esp. fol. 93 r., col. 2, lines 24–35, written in 1384, Latin text; *Lat. 6962, fols. 122 r. (2nd col., middle)–124 (2nd col., end), of fifteenth century, Latin text.

Other documents and MSS. relative to the Polos will be found sufficiently noticed in the text; I may add that the archives of the *Casa di Ricovero* at Venice (*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 23) are now in the Archivio Centrale in that city.

JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 163–75]. *Epistles*, ultimately drawn from **Liber de Aetatibus*, of which the MS., formerly at Rome, is now in Paris, National Library, 5006, fols. 170 v.–172 r.

ANDREW OF PERUGIA [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 178–81]. *Epistle*, of 1326, in **Liber de Aetatibus*, Paris, National Library, 5006, fols. 186 r. and v.

LETTERS RELATIVE TO MONGOL-CHRISTIAN DIPLOMACY, 1336–8 [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 182–5]. Two MSS. examined: *(1–2) Paris, National Library, Fr. 2810 [former 8392], fols. 133 r.–136 r., French versions; *Fr. 1380 [former 7500], fols. 138 v.–142 r., French versions.

RICOLD OF MONTE CROCE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 190–203]. *Itinerary*. 15 MSS., of which the chief are—(1) Florence, Laurentian Library (Fineschi, 326); (2–5) Paris, National Library, Lat. 4955, fols. 46–55, of fourteenth century, Latin text; *Fr. 1380, fols. 53 v.–94 v., of fifteenth century, French version; *Fr. 2810, fols. 268 r.–299 v., of fourteenth century, French version; Ital. 7714, of fourteenth century, Italian recension; (6) Rome, Barberini, 810, fols. 1–12, of fourteenth century, Latin text; (7) Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Weissenb. 40, fols. 73 B–94 B, of fourteenth century, Latin text [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 190 n.].

Epistles. 1 MS.: Rome, Vatican, 3717, fols. 249 A–267 A [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 190 n.].

JOHN DE CORA [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 207–10]. *Livre du Grant Caan.* 2 chief MSS.: *(1–2) Paris, National Library, Fr. 2810 [former 8392], fols. 136 v.–140 v., of fourteenth century, French version; *Fr. 1380 [former 7500], fols. 142 r.–146 v., of fifteenth century, French version.

DIRECTORIUM [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 210–12]. 14 MSS., of which I have examined six, viz.: *(1) London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 19 D. I, fols. 165 v.–192 v., French version; *(2) Oxford, Magdalen College Library, 43, fols. 1 r.–24 r., of fifteenth century, Latin text; *(3–6) Paris, National Library, Lat. 5990 [former Colbert 2104], fols. 34 r.–55 r., Latin text; Lat. 5138, fols. 1 r.–39 v., transcript of seventeenth century, Latin text; *French, 5593, fols. 1 r.–67 v., of fifteenth century, French version; *French, 9087 [former Suppl. Fr. 3205], fols. 1 r.–82 v., of fifteenth century, French version.

JORDANUS OF SEVERAC [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 217–35]. *Epistles*, in **Liber de Aetatibus*, Paris, National Library, 5006, fols. 182 r. and v. [see JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO]. *Mirabilia*, 1 *MS. in London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 19,513, fols. 3 r.–12 r., of fourteenth century, Latin text.

ODORIC OF PORDENONE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 250–87]. 73 MSS., of which the chief are—*(1) Cambridge, Corpus, 407, fols. 68 r.–90 r., of latest fourteenth century, Latin text; *(2) Florence, Riccardian Library, 683, fols. 180 r.–185 v., of fifteenth century, Italian version, imperfect; *(3–4) London, British Museum, Reg. 14 c. xiii, fols. 216 r.–224 v., of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Latin text; *Arundel, 13, fols. 38 v.–51 v., of fourteenth century, Latin text: both these MSS. were probably written before 1350; *(5–6) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MSS. 11, fols. 44 r.–59 v., of mid-fourteenth century, Latin text; *Digby 166, fols. 36 r.–45 r., of mid-fourteenth century, Latin text, imperfect; *(7–10) Paris, National Library, Lat. 2584, fols. 118 r.–127 v., of mid-fourteenth century, Latin text, primary MS.; *Lat. 3195, fols. 19 r.–26 r., of fifteenth century, Latin text; *Fr. 2810 [former 8392], fols. 97 r.–115 v., of fourteenth century, French version; *Fr. 1380 [formerly 7500], fols. 95 r.–117 r., of fifteenth century, French version; *(11–12) Venice, St. Mark's Library, MSS. Marc. 4326 [former MSS. Lat., Cl. XIV. Cod. 43], fols. 73 r.–96 v., of fourteenth century, Latin text; *MSS. Marc. 5726 [former Cl. VI. Cod. 102, Ital.], fols. 31 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, Italian version.

I have also examined *(13) Cambridge, Corpus, 275, fols. 149 v.–162 v., of early fifteenth century, Latin text; *(14) Cambridge, Caius, 162, fols. 87 r.–105 v., of fifteenth century, Latin text; *(15–17) London, British Museum, MSS. Reg. 19 D. I, fols. 136 r.–148 v., of fourteenth century, French version; *Cotton, Otho D. I, Latin text, fragments; *Otho D. II, French version, fragments; *(18) Milan, Ambrosian Library,

H. 188, P. Inf., fols. 80 r.–91 v., of fifteenth century, Latin text; *(19–20) Venice, St. Mark's Library, MSS. Marc. 5881 [former Cl. VI. Cod. 208, Ital.], fols. 1 r.–22 v., Italian version, of fifteenth to sixteenth centuries; *MSS. Marc. 6672 [former Cl. XI. Cod. 32, Ital.], fols. 231 r.–242 B, v., Italian version.

MARIGNOLLI [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 288–309]. 2 MSS.: (1) Prague, Public Library, of fifteenth century; (2) Venice, St. Mark's Library, MSS. Marc. Lat., Cl. X. Cod. 188, Lat., fols. 243 r.–63 [examined for me by Mr. Horatio Brown].

MARINO SANUTO [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 309–19]. 23 MSS., of which the chief are—(1–2) Brussels, 9347–8, of fourteenth century; 9404–5, of fourteenth century; (3) Florence, Riccardian Library, 237, fols. 162, containing both the *Secreta* and *Letters*, of fourteenth century, with maps and plans on fols. 141 v.–144 r. [examined for me by Mr. Walter Ashburner]; *(4–5) London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 19,513, fols. 67 r.–84 r., of late fourteenth century, Latin text, containing only Palestine and Egypt as described in Book III of *Secreta*; *Additional MSS., 27,376, fols. 178 (whole vol.), of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Latin text, with maps on fols. 180 v.–190 r.; *(6–7) Paris, National Library, Lat. 4939, of fourteenth century, with maps and plans on fols. 9 r.–11 r., 27, 98, 99; Colbert, 644, of fourteenth century; (8) Rome, Vatican, 2971–2, of fourteenth century.

MANDEVILLE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 319–23]. 202 MSS., of which I have examined nineteen, viz.: *(1–5) Cambridge, Corpus, 275, fols. 69 r.–145 v., of fifteenth century, Latin; *426, fols. 55 r.–75 v., of fifteenth century, Latin; *University Library, Gg., 1, 34, 3, fols. 83 (whole vol.), of fifteenth century, English; *University Library, Ff., 5, 35, fols. 1–49, of fourteenth century, English; *University Library, Dd., 1, 17, fols. 32 v.–53 v. [Bradshaw's numbering], of fifteenth century, English; *(6–8) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS., B. 216, fols. 131 r.–161 r., English; *D. 100, fols. 73 (whole vol.), English; and *D. 101, fols. 115 (whole vol.), English: all of fifteenth century; *(9–19) Paris, National Library, Fr. 1403, fols. 111 (whole vol.), of fifteenth century, French; *Fr. 2129, fols. 101 (whole vol.), of fifteenth century, French; *Fr. 5586, fols. 1–88, of 1477, French; *Fr. 5633, fols. 1–185, of fifteenth century, French; *Fr. 5634, fols. 87 (whole vol.), of fifteenth century, French; *Fr. 5635, fols. 65 (whole vol.), of 1402, French; *Fr. 5636 [otherwise 4515 Fr. nouv. acq.], fols. 96 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, French; *Fr. 5637, fols. 98 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, French; *Fr. 6109, fols. 136 (whole vol.), of fourteenth century, French; *Fr. 24,436, fols. 2–62, of 1396, French. See also Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 79–85.

PEGOLOTTI [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 324–32]. *1 MS. existing, viz.: Florence, Riccardian Library, 2441, fols. 241 (whole vol.), written in 1471, Italian text [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 324, n. 1].

CLAVIJO [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 332–56]. *1 MS. examined, viz.: London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 16,613, fols. 1 r.–125 v., of fifteenth century.

SCHILTBERGER [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 356–76]. 5 MSS.: (1) 'D.,' viz. Donaueschingen, Princely Library, 481, of fifteenth century; (2) 'G.,' viz. Ghent, City Library, 418 (29 suppl.), of fifteenth century; (3) 'H.,' viz. Heidelberg, University Library, 216, of fifteenth century; (4) 'N.,' viz. Nuremberg, City Library, 34, of fifteenth century; (5) 'S.,' viz. St. Gall, Cloister Library, 628, fols. 918–40, of fifteenth century, fragmentary.

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 383–90]. 100 MSS., of which two of the most important, used by Laurent, are—(1) Breslau, University Library, IV. F. 191, fols. 142–51, of thirteenth to fourteenth centuries; (2) Hamburg, City Library, 18 [in vol. xxx. b of former Library of St. Peter's Church], fols. 27, of fourteenth century. Eight others I have examined: *(3–6) London, British Museum, MSS. Reg., 13 B. xix, fols. 84 r.–90 r., of late fourteenth century; *Additional MSS., 15,835, fols. 163 r.–195 v., of thirteenth to fourteenth centuries; *Additional MSS., 18,929, fols. 1 r.–50 v., of fourteenth century; *Harleian, 3995, fols. 141 r.–158 r., of fourteenth century: all these give the Latin text of Burchard; *Cotton, Galba, A. vii, has been almost wholly ruined by the Cotton fire; *(7) Oxford, Magdalen College Library, 43, fols. 24 r.–43 v., of fifteenth century; *(8–10) Paris, National Library, Fr. 5593, fols. 68 r.–152 r., of fifteenth century; *Fr. 9087, fols. 86 r.–150 v., of fifteenth century; *Lat. nouv. acq. 288, of fourteenth century. See also Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 56–8.

BOLDENSEL [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 393–8]. 29 MSS., of which I have examined four, viz.: *(1) London, British Museum, Cotton Otho D. II, almost wholly ruined by the Cotton fire; *(2–4) Paris, National Library, Fr. 1380, fols. 119 r.–138 r., of fifteenth century, French version; *Fr. 2810, fols. 116 r.–132 v., of fourteenth century, French version; *Fr. 12,002, fols. 134 v.–161 v., of fifteenth century, French version.

LUDOLF OF 'SUCHEM' [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 398–402]. 52 MSS., of which may be mentioned—(1) Berlin, Diez, 60, of fourteenth century; (2) Berlin, Royal Library, 198, fols. 169–216, of fifteenth century; *(3) Cambridge, St. John's College, I. 11, of fourteenth century; (4) Danzig, City Library, V. 9, 84, of fourteenth century; (5) Halberstadt, Library of Cath. School, 86, of fourteenth century; (7) Hanover, City Library, 188, of fourteenth century; (8) Karlsburg, Count Batthyany's Museum, of fourteenth century; *(9–10) London, British Museum, Cotton, Titus A.

xxv, fols. 72 r.–93 v.; *Harleian, 3589, fols. 1 r.–73 r. of fourteenth century; *(11) Oxford, Bodleian Library, James MSS., 24, fols. 87–90, fragment of seventeenth century.

SIMON SIGOLI [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 403]. 6 MSS., of which I have examined two, both in Florence, Riccardian Library, viz. *818, fols. 215 r.–234 r.; *1030, fols. 28 r.–47 v., both of fifteenth century.

SWINBURNE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 403–4]. 1 MS., viz.: Cambridge, Caius College, *449, fols. 167 r.–169 v., of end of fourteenth century.

STEPHEN OF NOVGOROD [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405]. 1 MS.: Moscow, Rumyantsov Museum.

IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405–7]. 12 MSS., of which the three earliest are—(1–2) Moscow, Lavra of St. Sergius, 224, of fifteenth century; 765, end of fifteenth century; (3) St. Petersburg, Library of Ecclesiastical Academy, 1086–9, of fifteenth century.

ALEXANDER THE SCRIBE [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 407–8]. 1 MS.: St. Petersburg, Imperial Library, Dubrovski Collection.

GRETHENIUS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 408–9]. 1 MS.: Kiev, Library of Museum of Ecclesiastical Archaeology, 174, of fifteenth century.

EPIPHANIUS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 408–9]. 6 MSS., of which the oldest is at Moscow, Library of Chudov Monastery, 34/236, of end of sixteenth century.

ZOSIMUS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 408–9]. 2 MSS., of which the best is at St. Petersburg, Imperial Library, K. xvii. 76, of fifteenth century.

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO MARITIME EXPLORATION [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 410–54]. I have examined the five documents relating to Tedisio Doria and the Vivaldi [quoted in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 413 n. 2, 414 n. 4, 416 n. 1] at Genoa, *Archivio di Stato, Notarilio di Angelino da Sestri*, *fols. 168, 171, 199; *Notarilio di Ambrogio di Rapallo*, *fol. 90; and *Materie Politiche*, **Mazzo VII*; also the original narrative of the expedition of 1341 [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 424] at Florence, National Library, *II. ii. 327 [former Magliabecchian Library, 122, Cl. 23, palch. 5], fols. 123 v.–124 r.; and the primitive record of the French conquest of the Canaries, London, British Museum, *Egerton MSS., 2709, fols. 1 y.–36 v.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LESSER COMMERCIAL AND OTHER EXPLORATIONS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 461–96], e.g. *(1) English Embassy of 1291 to Persia, London, Public Record Office, *Accounts, &c., King's Remembrancer, Bundle* 308, nos. 13–15 [formerly quoted as *Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt, Miscellanea*, 49; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 492–3]; *(2) Simon Simeonis, *Itinerarium*, Cambridge, Corpus, 407, fols. 1 r.–33 v. [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 491]; *(3) Latin-Persian-Kuman Dictionary of 1303, Venice, St. Mark's Library, MSS. Marc., *Fondo antico*, 549 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 480].

MAPS [*Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 511–29]. *(1) Carte Pisane, Paris, National Library, Department of Maps; *(2) Carignano of 1300-5 (?), Florence, Archivio di Stato, Map Collection, no. 2; (3) Tammar Luxoro, in 1882 in possession of Professor Tammar Luxoro, Genoa; *(4–9) Marino Sanuto's six chief map-designs, Paris, National Library, Lat. 4939, see especially fols. 9 r., 10 r. and v., 11 r., 27, 98, 99; also *London, British Museum, Additional MSS., 27,376, fols. 180 v.–190 r.: besides other copies, not examined; *(10) Vesconte's Portolan-map of 1311, Florence, Archivio di Stato, Map Collection, no. 1; (11–15 or 15 B) Vesconte's five [or seven] other principal map-designs, partly in Vienna, Imperial and Royal Library, partly in Venice, Museo Civico, partly in Rome, Vatican Library; (16) Dalorto of 1325, in possession of Prince Tommaso Corsini, Florence; *(17) 'Dulcert' of 1339, in possession of M. Lesouëf, of 109 Boulevard Beaumarchais, Paris; *(18–19) Laurentian Portolano of 1351, including *α.* world-map and *β.* series of portolan charts, Florence, Laurentian Library, Gaddiani Reliqui, 9; (20–1) 'Pizigani' maps of 1367 and 1373, in Parma, National Library, and Milan, Ambrosian Library; *(22) Catalan Atlas of 1375, Paris, National Library, Armoire X, no. 11, Espagnol 30; *(23–4) Soleri of 1380, Paris, National Library, Map Department; *of 1385, Florence, Archivio di Stato, Map Collection, no. 3; *(25) Viladestes of 1413, Paris, National Library, Map Department; (26) Combitis, Venice, St. Mark's Library; *(27) Hereford Map of late thirteenth century, Hereford Cathedral; *(28) Ranulf (Radulf) Hygden's world-map of mid-fourteenth century, Cambridge, Corpus, 21, fol. 17; *ruder form in University Library, Additional MSS., 3077, fol. 11 r.

PART II. ON THE LEADING EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL TEXTS IN VOLS. II AND III.

HEIMSKRINGLA: (1) first edition by J. Peringskiöld, Stockholm, 1697; (2–3) best by G. Schoening, B. Thorlacius, and E. C. Werlauff, 1777–1826; and by C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1868.

Among versions may be especially mentioned the first English one by Sam. Laing, revised by Rasmus B. Anderson, London, 1889. There are in all seven editions of the original text, and at least fifteen translations (six Danish, five Swedish, two German, and two English).

VINLAND NARRATIVES: (1) in *Antiquitates Americanae*, published by Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 1837; (2) in A. M. Reeves' *Finding of Wineland the Good*, London and Oxford, 1890 (texts, with English versions, and facsimiles). Among treatises relating to the subject the most valuable is G. Storm's *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne* in *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.*, Copenhagen, 1887, 293–372; Englished as *Studies on the Vineland Voyages*, Copenhagen, 1888.

SAEWULF: standard edition in *Recueil de Voyages*, &c., iv. 817–54 [text, 833–54], by M. A. P. d'Avezac, Paris, 1839.

KING SIGURD, see HEIMSKRINGLA.

DANIEL OF KIÉV: best editions of Russian text (1) by I. P. Sakharov, in *Narratives of the Russian People* [in Russian], Vol. II, book viii, pp. 1–45 [text, 11–35], St. Petersburg, 1849; (2) by Abraham Norov, St. Petersburg, 1864; (3) by M. A. Venevitinov, in third and ninth parts of *Publications of Russian Palestine Society*, St. Petersburg, 1885; French versions in Norov's edition and in *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, published by the *Soc. de l'Orient Latin*, and edited by Mme. B. de Khitrovo, Geneva, 1889; English in *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society Publications*.

FETELLUS: Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clv. 1037–54, Paris.

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG: best in T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, 108–92 [and 415–48, commentary]; also in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clv. 1054–90.

JOHANNES PHOKAS: Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxiii. 927–63.

JACQUES DE VITRY: in Bongars, Hanover, 1611, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 1047–1145.

WILBRAND OF OLDENBURG: best by J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, 154–91, Leipzig, 1873.

NICOLAS OF THING-EYRAR: best in *Antiquités Russes*, 397–415, Copenhagen, 1852.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA: best by A. Asher, Berlin, 1841; also by L. Grünhut, &c., Jerusalem, 1903.

PETACHIA OF RATISBON: (1) best by John Christopher Wagenseil, in *Exercitationes sex*, 160–203, Altdorf, 1687; others (2) by A. Benisch, London, 1861; (3) by L. Grünhut, &c., Jerusalem, 1904.

JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI: (1) by M. A. P. d'Avezac, in *Recueil de Voyages*, &c., iv. 399–733 (text, 603–733), Paris, 1839 [separately by same editor, identical text and commentary, 1838]; (2) in *Carpini and Rubruquis*, by present writer, Hakluyt Society, London, 1903.

WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS: (1) by F. Michel and T. Wright in *Recueil de Voyages*, &c., iv. 205–396 (text, 213–396), Paris, 1839; (2) by present writer, in *Carpini and Rubruquis*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1903.

KING HAYTON: Armenian text in *Sibiriskii Vestnik*, 1822, pp. 69, &c.; French version in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 1833, xii. 273, &c.; English in Bretschneider's *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, i. 164–72, London, 1888.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS: in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxiii. 158–422.

ADAM OF BREMEN: Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxlvi. 451–660.

MARCO POLO: (1) best in the Paris *Recueil de Voyages*, 1824, vol. i [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 25]; French text also in (2) G. Pauthier's edition of 1865, Paris. The oldest Italian version in (3) Baldelli Boni's Florence edition of 1827, and the (4) most recent issue of Sir Henry Yule's modern English translation and commentary by Henri Cordier, London, 1903 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 20-1], must also be mentioned. There are in all ten editions of the French text, as well as four Latin editions, twenty-seven Italian, nine German, four Spanish, one Portuguese, twelve English, two Russian, one Dutch, one Chekh, one Danish, one Swedish.

JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO: *Epistles*, in Wadding, *Annales Minorum* [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 168, &c.], vi. 69-72, 91-2; *Münchner Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1855, no. 22, Part III, 171-5 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 164].

ANDREW OF PERUGIA: *Epistle* of 1326, in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vii. 53-4 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 178].

RICOLD OF MONTE CROCE: *Itinerary*, in Laurent, *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, 101-41, Leipzig, 1873; *Epistles*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. ii. 258-96 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 190].

JOHN DE CORA: *Livre du Grant Caan*, in *Journal Asiatique*, vi. 57-71, Paris, 1830 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 207].

DIRECTORIUM: no full edition, abstract printed in Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, i. 571-4.

JORDANUS OF SEVERAC: *Epistles*, in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi. 359-61; Quétif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Praedic.*, i. 549-50; *Mirabilia* in *Recueil de Voyages*, &c., iv. 1-68 [text, 37-64], Paris, 1839 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 218, 222].

PASCAL OF VITTORIA: *Epistle* of 1338, in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vii. 256-7 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 242].

ODORIC: best editions of original Latin text by (1) G. Venni, *Elogio Storico alle Gesta del Beato Odorico*, Venice, 1761; (2) H. Yule, *Cathay*, vol. II, Appendix i. pp. i-xlii, London, 1866; (3) T. Domenichelli, Prato, 1881; (4) H. Cordier's edition of the Old French (fourteenth century) version, Paris, 1891; and (5) the first edition of the Latin text, at Pesaro, 1513, must also be mentioned [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 251]. Counting versions (e.g. the Italian of 1513, the French of 1529, and the two Italian of Ramusio, *Navigationi*, ii. 245 v.-256 v.) there are only twelve editions of Odoric in all—1513, 1529, 1583[2], 1599, 1761, 1859, 1866, 1875, 1877, 1881, and in the *Acta Sanctorum*; that of 1859 is embedded in the *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, iii. 739-81, that of 1599 in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, ii. 39-67.

MARIGNOLLI: best in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, iii. 492-604, Prague, 1882 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 288].

MARINO SANUTO: only complete edition in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 1–288 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 310].

MANDEVILLE: best in G. F. Warner's *Buke of . . . Mandeuille*, Westminster, Roxburghe Club, 1889. (1) First edition of French text, Lyons, 1480; (2) first English, Westminster, 1489 (Wynken de Worde); (3) first Latin, Zwolle, 1483. Among other editions or reprints (including ten French, twenty-one English, four Latin, seventeen Italian, three Spanish, twenty-two German, eleven Flemish, two Danish, and three Chekh) may be mentioned: (4) that of the Cotton MS., London, 1725; (5) J. O. Halliwell's, London, 1839; (6) J. Ashton's, London, 1887; (7) F. Zambrini's, Bologna, 1870 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 319].

PEGOLOTTI: only complete edition in G. F. Pagnini's *Della Decima*, &c., vol. iii [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 324].

CLAVIJO: best in A. Sancha's *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, Madrid, 1782 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 332–3].

SCHILTBERGER: best in 172nd vol. of *Bibl. d. Literar. Vereins*, Stuttgart, by V. Langmantel, Tübingen, 1885 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 357]. We may also mention (1) the first edition of about 1460, Augsburg; (2–5) four other editions of fifteenth century; (6–11) six editions of sixteenth century; (12) A. J. Penzel's, Munich, 1813; (13) K. F. Neumann's, Munich, 1859; (14) P. Brunn's, Odessa, 1866, with Russian commentary.

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION: best in J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, 1–100, Leipzig, 1873 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 384–5].

BOLDENSEL: in (1) Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, v. 95–142; (2) Basnage, *Thesaurus Mon. Eccl.*, &c., iv. 331–57, 1725 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 393]; (3) *Zeitschrift d. hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, ed. Grotefend, Hanover, 1855.

LUDOLF OF SUCHEM: in (1) 25th vol. of *Bibl. d. Literar. Vereins*, Stuttgart, 1851, ed. Ferd. Deycks; (2) *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. ii. 305–77, Paris, 1884, ed. W. Neumann; (3) J. G. L. Kosegarten's edition, Greifswald, 1861. Ten other editions exist, beginning 1470 (?), and including six more of fifteenth century [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 398].

SWINBURNE: in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. ii. 378–88, Paris, 1884, ed. Count Riant [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 403].

IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK: (1) in Nikon's *Chronicle*, iii. 158–64, St. Petersburg, 1786; (2) in I. P. Sakharov's *Narratives of the Russian People*, vol. II, book viii. pp. 95–108, St. Petersburg, 1849; (3) in twelfth vol. of *Publications of Russian Palestine Society*, St. Petersburg, 1887, ed. S. V. Arsenyev [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405].

STEPHEN OF NOVGOROD: in Sakharov (as above), 47–56.

ZOSIMUS: in Sakharov (as above), 57–69.

ALEXANDER: in Sakharov (as above), 70–1. [On these three explorers see also *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405.]

GRETHENIUS: in *Russian Philological Publications*, Warsaw, 1885, vi. 107, ed. I. I. Gorosanski [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405].

EPIPHANIUS: best in fifteenth vol. of *Publications of Russian Palestine Society* (vi. 6), St. Petersburg, 1887 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 405].

TEXTS RELATING TO MARITIME EXPLORATION, 1270–1420 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 421, 424, 428, 430, 431, 436, 438, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, &c., 455, 456, where the printed authorities are fully described in footnotes].

TEXTS RELATING TO LESSER COMMERCIAL AND OTHER EXPLORATIONS [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 197, 463–4, 466–8, 470, 472–3, 475–91, 493–6, where the printed authorities are fully described in footnotes].

TEXTS RELATING TO GEOGRAPHICAL THEORY AND DESCRIPTION, 1270–1420 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 501–5, 509–11, 513, 515–16, 518, 520–3, 525, 527–9, where the printed authorities are fully described in footnotes. On the Hereford and Ebstorf maps, see also Konrad Miller, *Die Herefordkarte*, and *Die Ebstorfkarte*, Stuttgart, 1896 [Parts IV and V in *Mappaemundi*: *die ältesten Weltkarten*]; Santarem, *Essai sur... Cosmographie*, ii. 288–434, Paris, 1849–52; and Bevan and Phillot, *The Hereford Map, an essay in mediaeval Cartography*, Hereford, 1874. On the Acre of Sanuto and Vesconte see Santarem, *Essai*, iii. 179; Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, i. 18. On Ranulf Hygden's maps, on lost map-designs, and on the lesser cartographical works (other than portolani) of 1260–1420, see K. Miller, *Die kleineren Weltkarten*, 1895, pp. 94–109, 111–15, 121–2, 127–8, 136–9, 146–7, 150–1 [Part III in *Mappaemundi*]; Santarem, *Essai*, iii. 1–173, 214–29, 244–61, 301–52].

TEXTS RELATING TO NON-CHRISTIAN GEOGRAPHY, 1000–1350 [see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, iii. 530, 533, 535, 539, where the chief printed authorities are described in footnotes].

PART III. ON CERTAIN REFERENCES IN FOOTNOTES TO VOL. III.

P. 21, n. 2: see pp. 546–7. **P. 24, n. 1; p. 25, n. 4.** From the revised French text made for Marco Polo before 1307, descend not only the copy presented by the explorer to Thiébault de Cépoy in 1307, but also the six MSS. Paris, National Library, Fr. 5631, 5649, 8392; Bern, Canton Library, 125; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. MSS. 264; Stockholm, Royal Library, 37 [see pp. 545–6]. The evidence for the priority of the French text, and especially of that primitive but most complete form exhibited in the Paris MS., National Library, Fr. 1116, is well set forth by Yule and Cordier [Y.-C.] *Marco Polo*, 81–9, following Baldelli Boni in his Florence edition of 1827.

Pipino apparently translated his Latin version from an Italian translation of the original French, from which latter the Italian *Crusca* or *Ottimo* text [see p. 545] is also derived. Detailed evidence of this derivation is given in Y.-C., *82–3*, n. The text of Fr. 1116 is evidently a literal reproduction of a dictated narrative; its fundamental character is also well shown by its reproduction of *all* the various name-forms which distinguish different varieties of later text [cf. Y.-C., *83–6*]. **P. 27, n.** See p. 547. **P. 28, n. 1.** The passage here referred to is from a MS. of Pipino's *Chronicle* in the Modena Library, and is printed by Bianconi, *Mem.* i. 37, and (in English) by Y.-C., *119*. **P. 29, n. 1.** See p. 547. **P. 29, nn. 2, 3.** Long John of Ypres speaks as follows: 'magnus imperator Tartarorum Cobilaazan [*sic*, for 'Cobila Can' or 'Chaam' as below] frater Alahonis [i. e. Hulagu] nuntios . . . misit ad papam. Nuntii . . . erant duo cives Venetiarum . . . Nicolaus Pauli et frater eius Maffeus.' As in the Polo Narrative, Long John then tells how they returned to 'Cobila Chaam,' 'cum Marco Pauli filio Nicolai,' how they were trusted and honoured by Kublai, and how 'Nicolaus' and 'Maffeus' were again sent 'ad has partes,' while 'Marcus . . . cum imperatore retentus ab eo miles effectus . . . cum eo mansit spatio viginti septem annorum' (as if the Elder Polos were sent home to Europe, while Marco stayed on in Cathay). Kublai, John concludes, sent Marco, on account of his skill 'in suis negotiis,' to divers parts of India and Tartary and to islands rich in marvels 'de quibus postea librum *in vulgari Gallico* composuit, quem librum . . . penes nos habemus.' **P. 29, n. 4.** The *Bauduin de Sebourc* Romance is especially close to the Polo Narrative in its account of the 'Roy des Haus-Assis,' or Old Man of the Mountain, and his 'Paradis,' of the Saracen stone taken from the Christian Church [at Samarcand in Polo, at Baghdad in *Bauduin*], of the incombustible covering of St. Veronica's napkin, and of various customs of savage races, such as the Tartar habit of 'sending' a dead man's horses, servants, clothes, and furniture 'to bear him company in the other world,' while if it was a king that died 'Si fasoit on tuer, viii jour en un tenant, Tout chiaus c'on encontroit par la chité passant, Pour tenir compaingnie leur segnor soffisant.' [See above, pp. 63, 71, 76, 80 of this vol.] **P. 30, n. 1.** Marino Faliero's relics of M. Polo, as recorded in the original inventory, are fully quoted in Y.-C., *80*. The white porcelain incense-burner, said to have once belonged to M. Polo, given to Baron Davillier by a keeper of St. Mark's Treasury at Venice, and presented to the Louvre by Ernest Grandidier, is described and figured in Y.-C., *80* (and plate). **P. 39, n. 3.** Besides the discussion on these forms (*Caan, Kaan, Khan*, &c.) in Y.-C., *10*, see also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, i. 239; Rockhill, *Rubruck*, 108. **P. 39, n. 4.** See Y.-C., plans facing p. 4, and p. 5, n. 1; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 167; ii. 8, 71, 184; C. Grigoryev, *Four Years' Researches among Sarai Ruins*. **P. 40, n. 2.** On Bolghar see Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii. 81–4; Y.-C., i. 6–8. **Pp. 41, n. 6; 43, n. 3.** The first outward journey of the Elder Polos from *Ouchacca* or Uvyek on the Lower Volga [see pp. 237–8; Ibn Batuta, ii. 414; Yule, *Cathay*, i. 233] to Bokhara probably took them through Urganj or Khiva: beyond Bokhara, Samarcand

and Otrar, Almalig or Kulja, and Kamul are all possible (perhaps probable) stations of their route. See pp. 74–5 of this vol. **P. 44, n. 3.** See also Léon Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 386. **P. 45, n. 4.** Ramusio's phrase that Kublai considered Christ the only 'true God,' is clearly an improvement of a Western editor. **P. 45, n. 7.** On the 'Golden Tablets' and other *paizas* of the Mongols, see G. Devéria, *Journal Asiatique*, ixe série, viii. 105; *Notes d'Epigraphie Mongole-Chinoise*, p. 47, n. 1 (Paris, 1897); Y.-C., i. 351–4, and illustrations; Rockhill, *Rubruck*, 181. **P. 47, n. 1.** The year 1260 would fall in Alexander IV's pontificate, the short reigns of Urban IV and Clement IV both intervening before the Papal interregnum of 1268–72, spoken of in the text, and the election of Gregory X. **P. 51, n. 1 and 58, n. 5.** According to this view, the Polos' route, all the way from Lajazzo to Ormuz, lay along the great highways (Lajazzo—Erzerum—Tabríz, and Tabríz—Yezd—Kerman—Ormuz). Baft and Bafk are wrongly identified on p. 60, n. 4. **P. 55, n. 4.** On 'buckrams,' see Carpini, 614 (*Recueil*); Rubruquis, 231, 290 (*Recueil*), and Rockhill's notes, pp. 71, 153 of his *Rubruck*; Y.-C., 145, 147–8, notes, &c. **P. 56, n. 5.** On 'baldakins,' see Carpini, 755, 758–9 (*Recueil*), Benedict the Pole, 777–8 (*Recueil*), and Rockhill's note in his *Rubruck*, p. 71. **P. 57, n. 1.** See Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. 77, &c. **P. 63, n. 1.** See Cordier, *Odoric*, pp. 21–9. **P. 65, n. 4.** On 'azure,' meaning lapis lazuli, and the alleged derivation of both words (*l'azur*, and *lazuli*) from Lajwurd, so famous for its mines of this precious stone, cf. Y.-C., i. 162. **P. 67, n. 3.** Cf. Y.-C., i. 174. **P. 68, n. 1.** On Younghusband's route between Kashgar and Little Pamir, especially regarded as that of M. Polo reversed, see *Proceedings of Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, 1892, xiv. 205–34. **P. 70, n. 3.** The unsatisfactory nature of M. Polo's Kashgar references has led Paquier, *Itinéraire de M. Polo à travers la région du Pamir*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog.*, Paris, Aug., 1876, 113–28, to deny that Messer Marco ever visited this city. See also Grenard, *Dutreuil de Rhins Mission scientifique dans la haute Asie*, ii. 17, Paris, 1897–8. **P. 71, n. 3.** On Chagatai's real character as the leader of the extremest nationalism among the Mongols after Chingiz' death, see L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 321–2. **P. 71, n. 6.** On Khotan, see also M. A. Stein, *Archaeological work about Khotan* in *Journal of Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, April, 1901; Grenard, *Dutreuil de Rhins Mission*, &c., ii. 106, 175, &c., 191, &c.; iii. 127, &c.; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 16, 231 (a passage which throws light on Khotan Christianity); ii. 47, 246–7; Rémusat, *Histoire de . . . Khotan*. **P. 73, n. 6.** On these diabolic powers of the Gobi, &c., see Odoric, chs. xlviii, xlix, and pp. 282–3, 286, of this vol.; Chang Chun in Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 61, 63–4; Ibn Batuta (D.-S.), iv. 382. **P. 74, nn. 3, 5.** On Tangut, see Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 27, 38, 58, 104, 184, 213, 221; ii. 16; Y.-C., i. 29, 207, 214, 220, 224, 245, 276 (notes); Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 333, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 75, n. 3.** On Kamul, see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 455–6; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 16, 163; ii. 20, 144, 147–8, 176–7, 183, 330–1. **P. 75, n. 4.** On Mangu, see Rubruquis, 280–390, *passim* (*Recueil*); Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 113, 308–12, 315–18; Rockhill's

Rubruck, 115, 137, 175, &c. (notes); Cahun, *Introduction*, 339, 342, 387–91; Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 282, and other refs. as there quoted. **Pp. 76, n. 3**; 77, n. 2. On 'Ghinghintalas,' see Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 101–2; ii. 156. **P. 77, n. 6.** On the rhubarb of Suchau, see Rockhill's *Rubruck*, 192–3 (note); Y.-C., i. 218. **P. 79, n. 3.** On Karakorum, see Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 122, 256; ii. 162; Beazley, *Carpini*, 272, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 80, n. 1.** On 'Churche,' see Beazley, *Carpini*, 333, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 80, n. 2.** On Prester John, see below, p. 88, n. 4. **P. 80, n. 6.** On Batu, &c., see Beazley, *Carpini*, 281–2, 288–9, 291, 325, and other refs. there quoted. **Pp. 80, n. 8; 84, n. 3.** On the Altai, cf. Y.-C., i. 247–51. **P. 81, n. 2.** On the Mongol dwellings, cf. Y.-C., i. 253–4. **P. 82, n. 8.** On the Mongol army-divisions, &c., see Pauthier, *Livre de Marc Pol*, i. 193–4. **P. 83, n. 4.** On the Mongol *Kurut*, see Rockhill's *Rubruck*, 68 (note); Beazley, *Carpini*, 311, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 84, n. 3**: see p. 80, n. 8. **P. 85, n. 2.** On the 'barghenlac,' cf. Y.-C., i. 272–3; Rockhill, *Journey through Mongolia*, &c., Washington, 1894, p. 9. **P. 85, n. 3.** On the Islands of the Falcons, see Witsen, *Noord en Ost Tartaryen*, Amsterdam, 1785, ii. 656. **P. 86, n. 3.** On 'Erginul' or 'Erguiul,' see Palladius, *Elucidations of Marco Polo* [cf. p. 87, n. 5 of this volume], pp. 17–18; Y.-C., i. 276. The form 'Erguiul' does not occur in G. **P. 87, n. 6.** On 'Egrigaia' and 'Calacian,' see Palladius, *Elucidations*, pp. 18–20. **P. 88, n. 2.** On 'Tenduc' and its capital, see Palladius, pp. 20–1. **Pp. 88, nn. 4, 5; 89, n. 1**; and above, 80, n. 2. On Prester John, Wang Khan, &c., see Palladius, pp. 21–3; Y.-C., i. 286–9; Beazley, *Carpini*, 278–80, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 89, n. 5.** On the 'Ung-Kut,' &c., see Palladius, 21–3; Y.-C., i. 288–9, 294. **P. 90, n. 1.** On the rampart of Gog and Magog, cf. Y.-C., i. 53–7, 292–4. **P. 90, n. 3.** On 'Tartar' stuffs of cloth of gold, &c., see Dante, *Inferno*, Canto xvii, lines 16–19; Y.-C., i. 295. **P. 90, n. 4.** On Chaghan Balghasun, cf. Y.-C., i. 297; Pauthier, 221–2. **P. 90, n. 5.** On Shangtu and Kublai's palace, cf. Y.-C., i. 25–6, 304–6; Pauthier, 21; Palladius, 25–7. **P. 91, n. 1.** On the date of the Polos' arrival at Shangtu, see Pauthier, 21; Y.-C., *21*. **P. 92, n. 4.** On M. Polo's four scripts, see Pauthier, 23; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 262. **P. 93, n. 1.** On the six months' journey, cf. Y.-C., *i.* 30; Pauthier, 23. Ramusio makes it identical with that to 'Carazan' or Yunnan ('ad una città . . . Carazan'). **P. 94, n. 3.** See Pauthier, 169, whose text adds the essential words 'en legation.' **P. 95, n. 2.** On the history and names of Peking, cf. Y.-C., i. 305, 375–8; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 40–1, 181, 185, and the same author's *Archaeological . . . Researches on Peking*, Shanghai, 1876. **P. 95, n. 4.** On the Peking walls, cf. Y.-C., i. 376–8; Bretschneider, *Archaeological Researches on Peking*, esp. pp. 13–14, 20. **P. 97, n. 1.** On 'fondachi,' see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, i. 150, 152, &c.; ii. 430, &c. **P. 98, n. 2.** On the Chinese paper-money, cf. also Y.-C., i. 426–30; Pauthier, 319–27; Rockhill's *Rubruck*, 201 (note 2); Rubruquis, 329 (*Recueil*); Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, i. 372 (Oxford edition of 1897); Palladius, *Elucidations*, 50–1; Barbaro, *Travels to Tana*, p. 77 (Hak. Soc. edition). **P. 98, n. 3.**

On the Mongol post-service, &c., cf. also Y.-C., i. 437; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 187–8; Rockhill's *Rubruck*, 101 (note 2); Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 319–20, and other refs. there quoted. **P. 100, n. 2.** On the charities of Buddhism, see also Fa-Hien (Beal), 107; Hiuen-Thsang in Stanislas Julien's *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, ii. 190. **P. 100, n. 4.** On the Mongol astronomy in China, see also Palladius, *Elucidations*, 51–3; A. Wylie, *The Mongol Astronomical Instruments at Peking* in *Chinese Researches*, Shanghai, 1897. **P. 101, n. 1.** On Chinese Calendars and Printing, cf. Y.-C., i. 448–9; Pauthier, 515–17. **P. 101, n. 6.** On Kublai's Peking palaces, cf. Y.-C., i. 366–72; Bretschneider, *Archaeological Researches on Peking*, esp. pp. 13–37. **P. 102, n. 1.** On the yearly movements of Kublai's court, see Pauthier, 313. **P. 102, n. 7.** On the 'Bulgarian' boots ('Russia leather') at Kublai's court, see Pauthier, 285; Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, iii; Y.-C., 395–6. **P. 102, n. 9.** On the *Oirat* or *Horiat* Tartars, cf. Beazley, *Carpini*, 277, and other refs. there quoted; on Kublai's Mongol brides, the *Scieng*, and the *Bacsi*, cf. Y.-C., i. 309–19, 358–9, 431–3; Pauthier, 328–35. **P. 103, n. 1.** On the 'Pulisangin' bridge, cf. Y.-C., ii. 5–9; Bretschneider, *Peking*, 50–4; W. S. Ament, *Marco Polo in Cambaluc*, 116–17. **Pp. 103, n. 2; 112, n. 9.** On the 'Caramoran' or Hoangho, see Pauthier, 359; Y.-C., ii. 23; Richthofen, *Letters to Shanghai Chamber of Commerce*, no. iii, p. 7–8; no. vii, p. 25. **P. 104, n. 5.** On 'Caicui' ['Caycuy' in the Paris Cépoy MS.:—Fr. 5649], otherwise 'Caichu,' 'Catay,' 'Taighin,' &c., perhaps our Kichau, cf. Pauthier, 354–5; Y.-C., ii. 25–7. On 'Cacianfu,' otherwise 'Cachanfu,' almost certainly Hochungfu (now called Puchaufu; see Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, p. 23), close to the great elbow of the Hoangho, cf. Pauthier, 359–60; Y.-C., ii. 25–7. On the 'Roi d'Or' legend, cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 241–2; Wylie in Y.-C., ii. 20; Pauthier, 173–4, 355–6. **P. 104, n. 6.** On Singanfu, cf. Pauthier, 361–2; Y.-C., ii. 27–31; Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, pp. 32–4; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 215, &c.; Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 334. **P. 105, n. 4.** On the whole route from Singanfu to Chengtufu, as followed by modern trade, see Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, pp. 41–5. On 'Acbalec [i. e. Ak-baligh] Mangi,' cf. also Pauthier, 365; Y.-C., ii. 34–5. It is perhaps identical either (1) with the now extinct Pemaching, 'White Horse town,' as Klaproth suggested, or (2) with Hanchungfu in the upper valley of the Han Kiang and the first important place in the descent of this river. **P. 105, n. 6.** On the Yangtse Kiang, see also Pauthier, 368; Y.-C., ii. 40–1, and pp. 296, 306 of this vol. **P. 107, n. 2.** On Chengtu, its bridge and customs-station ('coviereqe' for 'comereqe' or 'comerqe'), cf. also Y.-C., ii. 38–41; E. C. Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, 26–8; Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, pp. 63–6. Following the traditional Chinese view, M. Polo treats the Tibetan head-water of the Yangtse (our Kinsha Kiang), though by far the longest, as a tributary, under the name of 'Brius.' **P. 108, nn. 4, 6.** On 'Gaindu,' 'Caraian,' &c., cf. Y.-C., ii. 68–72; Pauthier, 381–3, 387–9, 391–3; Baber, *Travels*, 58–103, and esp. 58, 80–2, 102, also 181; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1834, ii. 639; Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, pp. 67–8, 72–9; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 183–4. **P. 109, n. 4.**

On Zardandan, cf. Pauthier, 397-8; Baber, *Travels in W. China*, 171, 173, 181; Y.-C., ii. 88-91. In the MSS. this name appears in corrupted forms ('Ardandan,' &c.). Pp. 109, n. 6; 110, n. 2. On 'Mien' or Burma, &c., see also Pauthier, 404-6; Y.-C., ii. 111-14; Baber, *Travels*, 173-4, 180-1. P. 110, n. 7. On 'Cangigu,' see Pauthier, 424-6; Y.-C., ii. 117-19, 128. P. 111, n. 6. On Marco Polo's route in Kweichau, &c., see also Pauthier, 430-3; and, for a view of present-day conditions and communications in this part of China, Richthofen, *Letters*, no. vii, pp. 79-81. P. 112, n. 9. See above, p. 103, n. 2. P. 114, n. 3. On the siege of Siangyang, cf. Y.-C., *ii*, ii. 167-9; Pauthier, xi-xiii. 471-3. P. 115, n. 3. On the Grand or Imperial Canal of China at this time, see also Pauthier, 481-2; and pp. 276, 278 of this vol. P. 116, n. 1. On Mar Sergius, see also Pauthier, 484. P. 117, n. 3. Cf. Pauthier, 490-2; Y.-C., ii. 183-4, 193. P. 118, n. 3. On 'Ganfu' or 'Khanfu,' cf. Y.-C., ii. 199; Pauthier, 498-9; Hirth in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, 68-9; Abulfeda in Guyard's trans., II. ii. 122-4; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 187. P. 123, n. 4. On the Polo journey between Hangchau and 'Zaiton,' see also Pauthier, 519-28; G. Phillips, *Identity of . . . Zaitun with Chang-chau* in *T'oung Pao*, i. (Oct., 1890), pp. 218-38; and the same author's *Marco Polo in Fookien* and *Zaitun Researches* in *Chinese Recorder*, iii. (1870-1), pp. 12, 44, 71, &c.; v. pp. 327-39; vi. pp. 31-42; vii. pp. 330-8, 404-18; viii. pp. 117-24; as well as his *Notices of Southern Mangi* in *Proceedings of Roy. Geog. Soc.*, xviii. 168-73 (1873-4); on modern routes in the Tsien Tang valley and S. Chekiang, cf. Richthofen, *Letters*, no. iv, pp. 3, 11-13, 15-17. P. 124, n. 4. Cf. Y.-C., ii. 221-2. P. 125, nn. 1, 2, 5. On the identifications of 'Unqen,' &c., and above all of 'Zaiton,' and on Fokien province at this time (c. 1280-90), cf. Pauthier, 521-30; Y.-C., ii. 228-30, 232-3, 237-41; and G. Phillips, *Identity of . . . Zaitun with Chang-chau*, and other works (as quoted above), as well as his *Changchow the capital of Fuhkien in Mongol times* (in *Publications of China Branch of Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, xxiii. N. S., no. 1, 1888, pp. 23-30), and *Two Mediaeval Fuhkien Trading-Ports* (in *T'oung Pao*, vi, no. 5, pp. 449-63, Dec., 1895, and vii, no. 3, pp. 223-40, July, 1896); also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 186-7. P. 127, n. 8. On the great Chinese junks, cf. also Pauthier, 535; Y.-C., ii. 252-3; Ibn Batuta's ref. to these craft is in vol. iv, pp. 91-4 of Defrémery and Sanguinetti's edition. P. 128, nn. 4, 5. On Ulatai, Kukachin, &c., cf. Y.-C., i. 33, 38. P. 130, nn. 5, 6. On Kublai's invasion of Japan, cf. also Pauthier, 547; Y.-C., ii. 260-2; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i. 190. P. 131, nn. 1, 2. On the gold-roofed palace and steel-proof charms of Japan, see also Amyot, *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, xiv. 55; Kaempfer, *Histoire du Japon*, i. 139; Odoric's ref. to the latter is on p. 266 of this vol. In the same sense Nicolo Conti alludes to the *iron* charms of Java (against iron wounds); see p. 32 of the Hak. Soc. version in *India in the Fifteenth Century*. P. 132, n. 2. On the terms of 'China,' &c., see Pauthier, 549-50; Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 276-7, &c.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 208-9, 231-2, 252-3; ii. 38. [In *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 193, I have not sufficiently recognized Cosmas' clear

knowledge of the *name* of China, c. A. D. 545.] P. 134, n. 2. On 'Sondur' and 'Condur,' 'Lochac,' &c., cf. Y.-C., ii. 276–88; Pauthier, 562–5. P. 135, n. 6. On Basma in Sumatra and its unicorns or rhinoceroses, cf. Y.-C., ii. 288–91; *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, &c., ed. J. R. Logan, ii. 603–12; ix. 358. P. 136, n. 2. On 'Gavenispola' and 'Necuveran,' see also Pauthier, 579–80. P. 137, n. 8. On Ceylon and its Buddhist traditions, cf. Y.-C., ii. 314–16, 320–30; Pauthier, 582–600; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 190–4. P. 137, n. 9; 138, nn. 1, 3, 6, 7. On Maabar or Coromandel and its sovereign, fisheries, customs, &c., cf. also Y.-C., ii. 332–7, 346–52; Pauthier, 600–22; Polo's contemporary Rashiduddin, as quoted by Pauthier, 606–7; and 'The Two Musulman Travellers' in Reinaud, *Relations des voyages dans l'Inde... dans le ixe siècle* (1845), i. 120–1, 134, &c. P. 139, n. 2. As to St. Thomas in India and the Thomas Christians, cf. also Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III. ii. 32, 450; Gregory of Tours, *Libri Miraculorum*, Lib. i. *De Gloria Martyrum*, cap. xxxii; Y.-C., ii. 355–7, Pauthier, 622–7; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 94–6; Rae, *Syrian Church in India* (passim). P. 140, n. 3. On the Fakirs, cf. Pauthier, 635–40; Plutarch, *Alexander*, ch. 64; J. J. Bochinger, *La Vie contemplative... chez les Indous*, esp. pp. 229–34, &c. (Strassburg, 1831). P. 141, n. 3. On 'Comari,' cf. Y.-C., ii. 382–3; Pauthier, 645–6; Ptolemy, *Geography*, VII. i. 9 (Nobbe's edition); *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, i. 300, in Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* (pp. 139–41 in McCrindle's edition of 1879). P. 141, n. 4. 'Java la menor' is of course Sumatra. G., 222, reads simply 'Java.' P. 141, n. 6. On Kulam, cf. also Y.-C., ii. 377–80; Pauthier, 603–6, 642–4; Ibn Batuta, iv. 99–103 (D.-S.); Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III. ii. 437. P. 144, n. 1. On Tana of India, see also Pauthier, 662–4; Y.-C., ii. 396; Ibn Batuta, ii. 177 (D.-S.). P. 144, n. 2. On 'Cambay,' cf. also Pauthier, 665–6; Y.-C., ii. 398; Ibn Batuta, i. 369; ii. 177; Marino Sanuto as quoted on p. 318 of this vol. P. 144, n. 3. On Somnath, cf. also Pauthier, 666–9; Y.-C., ii. 400–1; and for Al Biruni's ref. see Reinaud, *Fragments arabes... relatifs à l'Inde*, 111, note. P. 146, n. 2. On the 'Islands of Men and Women,' cf. Pauthier, 671–2; Y.-C., ii. 405–6; Jordanus as quoted on p. 230 of this vol.; Hiuen Thsang in Stanislas Julien, *Vie de H. T.*, &c., 268. Pp. 146, n. 4; 147, n. 2. On Socotra, cf. also Pauthier, 673–6; Y.-C., ii. 408–10; Ptolemy, *Geography*, VIII. xxii. 17 (Nobbe's ed.); *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, in *Geographi graeci minores*, i. 280 (McCrindle, 91–4); Masudi, iii. 37 (B. de Meynard, &c., ed.); Ibn Batuta, i. 362 (D.-S.); 'The Two Musulman Travellers,' in Reinaud's *Relations*, i. 139; Cosmas Indicopleustes, 178–9 (Montfaucon's edition: see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 222–3, 423). P. 148, n. 1. On Madagascar, cf. also Pauthier, 676–7; G. Ferrand, *Les Musulmans à Madagascar* (Paris, 1893); Alfred Grandidier, *Histoire de la Géographie de Madagascar*; cf. also Masudi on 'Kanbalu' island, i. 230 (Meynard; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 463). P. 148, n. 2. On the currents off Madagascar, see Pauthier, 678–80; Y.-C., ii. 415; *Annales hydrographiques*, 1857, pp. 134, 136, &c. P. 149, n. 5. On the 'Rukh,' see also Pauthier, 681–3; Benjamin of Tudela in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 259; Ibn Batuta, iv. 305–6. P. 149, n. 9. On Polo's Zanzibar, cf. also Pauthier, 684; Y.-C., ii. 424; on the Moslem use of the term 'Land of the Zanj,' see

Bakui in *Notices et Extraits*, ii. 395; 'The Two Musulman Travellers,' in Reinaud's *Relations*, i. 137. The 'sea' and 'coasts' of the Zanj are well known also to Masudi (e.g. i. 234, 333, &c., ed. Meynard; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 463–4). On Arab Colonies along this coast, cf. also *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, i. 463–4; Badger, *Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân*, pp. xii–xiii, reproducing the primary passage in Al Baladhuri's *Futuh-al-Buldan* (*Liber Expugnationis Regionum*) ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leyden, 1866, pp. 132–5. P. 151, n. 5. On Marco's account of Abyssinia, see also Pauthier, 692–702; Y.-C., ii. 432–4. It is to the Abyssinian and other Jacobite Christians that we must refer Clavijo's account of the sect which *baptized with fire in the face*; see above, pp. 350–1 of this vol., and Marino Sanuto, *Secreta*, III. viii. 4 (Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii. p. 185). Pp. 151, nn. 6, 7; 152, n. 1. On the whole question of an Ethiopic or African India (partly based on the ancient belief, as expressed by Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 291–3, of the Indian origin of the Nile); see also Y.-C., ii. 431–2; Pauthier, 693–4; Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, 279–80, and other refs. there cited. Roger Bacon's allusion to the 'Aethiopes de Nubia et . . . illi qui vocantur Indi *propter approximationem ad Indiam*' is in vol. i. p. 312, of the recent Oxford edition of the *Opus Maius* (1897). P. 152, n. 5. On the Aden-Alexandria trade-route, cf. also Pauthier, 703–4; Y.-C., ii. 439. Marino Sanuto's account of the same, given below, pp. 318–19, deserves close comparison with Polo's, but is markedly inferior to the latter, e.g. in its omission of the Red Sea navigation. P. 153, n. 3. On Aden, cf. Pauthier, 702–3; Y.-C., 439–41; Ibn Batuta's account is to be found in vol. ii, pp. 177–9 of Defrémery and Sanguinetti's edition. P. 156, n. 2. On Toktai or Toktagu, cf. Y.-C., ii. 497–8. P. 156, nn. 4, 5. On 'Oroech' for 'Nõroech,' or perhaps for 'Variag,' in either case a term for Norway or 'Varangians' Land,' cf. Y.-C., ii. 489–90. P. 156, n. 6. On the land of 'Lac,' cf. Y.-C., ii. 489; Rockhill's *Rubruck*, 130, note 2 (to Rub.'s text, pp. 274–5 of *Recueil* edition). P. 158, n. 3. On Kaidu and the embassy of 1293, see Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 149, 249 (Pesth, 1840); *Geschichte der Ilchane*, i. 354–[illegible]; ii. 193 (Darmstadt, 1842). P. 158, n. 4. On the 'Land of Obscurity,' cf. Y.-C., ii. 485–6; Ibn Batuta, ii. 399–401 (D.-S.); *Notices et Extraits*, XIII. i. 285; Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan*, 205, &c., 221; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 24 (quoting the Chinese accounts of 'Kulihan,' apparently a Siberian land, north of the Gobi desert). P. 159, n. 3. On the date of the Polos' final return (1295) as trustworthy, all the texts are agreed, cf. G., 16, 310; Pauthier, xviii. 30–2, and 33: Y.-C., *24*, inclines (wrongly, I think) to 1296. P. 164, n. 1. On Pietro d'Abano's reference to Monte Corvino, see also Yule, *Cathay*, i. 167. P. 167, n. 1. Monte Corvino's view appears to be that in the region of India he is especially describing (Madras or the 'Thomas Country') the longest days occurred about Aug. 24, when the sun 'entered Virgo,' and at the end of March, when he 'entered Aries'; and that from the time of the sun's entrance into Aries the day's length diminished till about our midsummer (when the sun 'turned to' Virgo), increased up to Aug. 24, and then again diminished till the 'solstice of Capricorn' in December. P. 167, n. 2.

'Sizia,' which Yule, *Cathay*, i. 218, reads 'Sitia,' is found nowhere else; but the name has been derived (by Yule) from the name 'Setu' ('bridge' or 'causeway') applied to the Ramisseram island or peninsula. **P. 167, n. 4.** On Bartholomew of San Concordio, see Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 623–5; Yule, *Cathay*, i. 209. [Here I may correct a ref.: 'pp. 28–9' refer to Pietro d'Abano, not to Bartholomew.] **Pp. 170, n. 6; 241, n. 3.** On the Goths of the Crimea (besides the thirteenth-century evidence of Rubruquis, *Recueil*, 219, and of Benedict the Pole, *Rec.* 776, quoted in *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, ii. 324, 390), cf. Beazley, *Carpini and Rubruquis*, pp. 308–9; Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 51; Yule, *Cathay*, i. 200–1; Nicephorus Gregoras, ii. 5 (in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. xxx, p. 36); Josafat Barbaro, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, p. 30 (Hak. Soc.); Busbecq, *Epistolae*, i. 383–90, &c. (Leipzig, 1689). **P. 172, n. 2.** On this chronologic difficulty we have only to remember the length of time frequently occupied even in letter-transmission between the extremes of the Mongol world. Ghazan's envoys must have always taken a fair number of months in going from Persia (usually from Tabriz) to Peking: cf. Y.-C., *Marco Polo*, i. 38, on another instance, where four years are occupied in the outward and homeward journey. **P. 182, n. 6.** On Nicolas, archbishop-designate of Peking after Monte Corvino, see also Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Part I, pp. 111–12. **P. 184, n. 1.** On 'Fodim Iovens,' &c., cf. Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 314–15, where it is suggested that the first six words (e.g.) form only two names. **P. 189, n. 4.** On the Papal letters of 1288 to Dionysius of Tabriz, and others, cf. also Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, Part I, pp. 76–7. **P. 190, n. 3.** Ricold's *Confutatio Alcorani* in the Venice edition of 1607 (*Propugnaculum Fidei contra Alchoranum*; there is also a Seville edition of 1500) occupies sixty-three pages and is divided into seventeen chapters. The chief points are nearly all to be found in the *Itinerary*, pp. 135–41, e.g. the list of the principal errors of the Saracen Law (ch. i; the charge of sodomy, p. 7 of *Propugnaculum*, being the most noteworthy addition of the *Confutatio*) and the proofs of the 'violent,' irrational, deceitful, injurious, and self-contradictory nature of the Islamic creed (chs. vi–xii). **P. 196, n. 6.** See p. 131, n. 2, and p. 341 of this vol. **P. 200, n. 2.** On the Nestorian *Iafelie* or 'Catholic' ('Gathalik'), i. e. Patriarch, see also pp. 146 (text and n. 6) and 389 of this vol.; Burchard of Mt. Sion in *Per. Quat.*, 91; Y.-C., *Marco Polo*, i. 61; Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. ii. **P. 205, n. 2.** On Mar Yaballaha III, James the Dominican, and the Nestorian reconciliation with Rome in 1304, see also Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccles.*, Part I, pp. 92–3. Mar Yaballaha's part in the negotiations of 1287–8 and the Embassy of Rabban Bar Sauma is noticed on pp. 540–1 of this vol. **P. 212, n. 1.** See p. 548 of this vol. Most MSS. attribute the *Directorium* to this Brocardus (surely by mistake, as Yule concludes, *Cathay*, i. 191, though the mistake appears traceable at least as far back as 1457), and appear to consider him as the same as Burchard of Mt. Sion, whose pilgrim-narrative is repeatedly to be found transcribed with the *Directory*. **P. 214, nn. 1, 2.** On Roman Mission-sees in the Euxine basin, &c., see also Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 432, 441, 454–6. For the Latin arch-

bishopric of Trebizond I can only discover the name of a single occupant in the Middle Ages, viz. one Dorotheus, in 1439. At least eight Latin bishops are registered within the limits of this period (1260–1420), at Kaffa, two at ('Russian') Tana, and Sevastopolis of Colchis (Sukhum-Kalé), and one at Kherson (Sevastopol), Bosporos, Vosporo, or Vosprus (Kerch), and Matracha. In the same time we have to notice eight Catholic bishops at Sultaniyah, five at Nakhichevan, four at Tiflis, and two at Maragha, to name only a few of the mission-sees within the Ilkhanate. P. 218, n. 1. On 'Caga,' see the Atlas Catalan of 1375 (sheet iii), where 'Goga' appears between 'Semenat' and 'Baroche'; Ibn Batuta, iv. 60 (D.-S.); Yule, *Cathay*, i. 228. P. 219, n. 2. The form Columbus, though given by Jordanus in this place, an unique (or almost unique) example of this nominative in the Latin records, is an artificiality, like the 'magnus Canis.' Columbum is the true Western equivalent of 'Kulam,' and was probably the ordinary spoken and written form. P. 223, n. 2. On the term 'Black Sea,' cf. also the (possible) application in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, ch. 31 (in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. xviii, p. 152); Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 41, n. 1. P. 231, n. 5. For the treatment of Abyssinia in the Fra Mauro map, cf. in Azurara's *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (Hakluyt Society, 1899, vol. ii), the reproduction of part of Fra Mauro's Africa, at end of vol. (second map-illustration). P. 232, n. 4. On parallels between Marco Polo and Jordanus, cf. also the statements of both writers on the paper money of the Great Khan, and on the latter's maintenance of indigent folk (Jordanus in *Recueil*, iv. 58–9; Polo in *Rec.*, i. (our 'G.') 107–9, 114, 116–17; see also pp. 97, 99–100, 208 of this vol.). P. 233, n. 2. On these Christian sacrifices, cf. G. P. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, i. 229; Haxthausen's *Trans-Caucasia*, 397; Yule, *Jordanus* (Hak. Soc.), 51–2. P. 238, n. 2. For the further illustration of these Catalogues of fourteenth-century Franciscan houses in the Mongol world, and the identifications of the place-names in the same, we may also compare sheets ii-4v of the Atlas Catalan; Masudi, ii. 7, 40, &c. (B. de Meynard); Ibn Batuta, ii. 414 (D.-S.); Yule, *Cathay*, i. 233–4, note. P. 241, n. 3. On Bosporos see also Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 365; Heyd, *Commèrce du Levant*, i. 11, 16, 208, 551; ii. 380, 387, 393, and esp. ii. 184–5. P. 250, n. 2. On Franciscus de Podio, Vicar-Apostolic in Northern Tartary, A.D. 1370, see Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Part I, p. 121. The new Vicar was a Franciscan; his commission is dated, not from Rome, but from Avignon. P. 251, n. 3. On John of Viktring, cf. also Cordier, *Odoric*, vi–vii, ix; and on the Bohemian origin of Odoric, a tradition whose best support is in the Paris MS. 2584 Lat. and in John of Viktring (an absolutely contemporary witness), see Yule, *Cathay*, i. 3; T. Domenichelli, *Sopra la Vita e i Viaggi del . . . Odorico*, 76; and the Anonymous Chronicler of Laybach in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, 866 (1740). On Odoric's earlier European travels, e.g. in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Hungary, Poland, and Byzantine lands, see Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. vii, pp. 123–4 (which only contains an allusion to journeys in Europe); Domenichelli, *Odorico*, 95. P. 254, n. 2. On the Odoric monuments and relics, see Yule, *Cathay*, i. 13–17; Cordier, *Odoric*, xxxiii–

xliv. P. 257, n. 4. On this story, cf. Yule, *Cathay*, i. 45; Cordier, *Odoric*, 5; Domenichelli, *Odorico*, 260, merely repeats Yule. P. 264, n. 2. On Odoric's 'Lamori,' cf. Yule, *Cathay*, i. 84; Cordier, *Odoric*, 136–45; Domenichelli, *Odorico*, 320–1. Pp. 284, n. 5; 285, n. 3. On the Prester John-country in Odoric, and the names of 'Chosan,' 'Tozan,' and 'Penthexoire' for the Prester's chief city and country, see also Cordier, *Odoric*, 435–45. P. 287, nn. 1, 2. On the details of Odoric's Tibetan picture, see also Cordier, *Odoric*, 454–68. P. 291, n. 3. On the number of the Embassy of 1338, see also Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 319–20. John of Winterthur, in Eccard, *Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi*, i. 1852, says that the original party consisted of fifty Franciscans; up to the Lent of 1343, John adds, no news of their progress had reached Suabia. Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccl.*, Part I, p. 115, gives only the four leaders of the mission (from Wadding). P. 297, n. 1. On Marignolli's chronology in this place, see Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 342. P. 301, n. 3. On 'Coya Jaan,' cf. Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 357.

Additional Notes to Chapters V, VI, and VII.

Pp. 64, n. 1; 536; 539. On Balkh, see Ibn Batuta, iii. 58–62 (D.-S.); Masudi, iv. 48 (B. de Meynard, &c.); Al Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, and Mukaddasi in M. J. de Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, i. 275, 278, 280; ii. 325–6, 329; iii. 301–2; also Guy le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 420–3. Pp. 56, n. 5; 73, n. 6; 75, n. 3; 539. On the stuffs called 'baldakins, the goblins of the Gobi,' the Kamul Oasis,' see p. 558. Pp. 89, n. 3; 118, n. 2; 126, n. 2; 136, n. 4; 138, n. 1; 144, n. 2; 149, n. 4; 153, n. 3; 481, n. 3; 535–7; for Ibn Batuta's references to the rampart of Gog-Magog (Great Wall of China), see D.-S. iv. 274; for his account of 'Khinzai' or 'Khansa' (Hangchau), D.-S., iv. 284–93; for his conception of the internal waters of China as one vast river, D.-S., iv. 254–5; for his description of Ceylon, D.-S., iv. 165–85 (for the pearls of Ceylon, D.-S., iv. 168–9); for Cambay, D.-S., iv. 53–7; for the Rukh, D.-S., iv. 305–6; for Aden, D.-S., ii. 177–9; for 'Zayton,' D.-S., iv. 268–71. Pp. 144, n. 3; 147, n. 6; 528; 531–4. Al Biruni's reference to Somnath pirates is in his *India* (Sachau's trans., Trübner's Oriental series), vol. i, p. 208; Edrisi's account of Socotra is in Climate I, § 6. Pp. 262, n. 10; 263, n. 2. On Judaism as existing in Malabar when the first Moslems arrived here, see Firishta (Briggs, iv. 532). On the Christianity of Malabar, see also G. B. Howard, *Christians of St. Thomas* (1864). Pp. 264, n. 2; 531–4. On the Sumatran 'Ramni,' see also Edrisi, Climate I, § 9. Pp. 412, n. 1; 512–13. On Raymond Lull's suggestion of a circumnavigation of Africa, see also Wauwermans, *Henri le Navigateur et l'Académie . . . de Sagres*, pp. 28–9.

Summary of European Expansion, 1420–99.

The Portuguese advance along Africa and in the Atlantic, as organized by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), third son of King John I (1385–1433), founder of the House of Aviz, really commences with the Conquest of Ceuta in 1415, and the re-discovery of the Madeira group in 1418–20. The Colonization of these islands begins, at latest, in 1425: the 'Lusitanians' appear, as in the Cape Verdes (and perhaps in the Azores), to be the very earliest European *settlers*. In 1427 (?) the Portuguese Government sends an expedition to the Azores; another is dispatched to the same archipelago in 1431–2. In 1434, after many unsuccessful efforts, one of Prince Henry's captains rounds Cape Bojador; during the next two years (1435–6) the Portuguese pioneers push on more than 250 miles south of Bojador, almost to Cape Blanco; after this, African exploration languishes till 1441, but the colonization of the Azores is authorized by royal charter in July, 1439. The year 1441 is marked by decisive successes; the first native captives and the first gold dust are brought home from the Sahara coasts beyond Bojador; Cape Blanco is rounded; popular opinion is won over to Prince Henry's schemes. Between 1441 and 1445 the whole coast from Cape Blanco to Cape Verde is explored, and the mouth of the Senegal discovered; in other words, the Portuguese now reach the fertile Sudan lands beyond the desert. In the last years of Prince Henry's life, 1446–60, exploration advances beyond the Gambia river, almost to Sierra Leone; the Cape Verde islands are discovered in 1456; and the colonization of the Azores is steadily pursued. Several attempts are also made (as in 1445, 1455–6, 1458–60) to obtain some knowledge of the interior of Africa, both in the Sahara and the Western Sudan; the military occupation of the new-discovered shore-lands is commenced in 1448 with the building of Arguim Bay fort just south of Cape Blanco. Immediately after Prince Henry's death (1460), and probably as a final result of his own personal influence, discovery makes important advances; in 1461 the Sierra Leone littoral and the Grain, Ivory, and Gold Coasts, as far as 'Elmina,' are all explored in a single voyage.

After a long pause the Portuguese resume their onward movement in 1469; in 1470–1 the remainder of the Gold Coast, the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the mouths of the Niger are passed, and the islands in the great angle of the West African coast (Fernando Po, &c.) are discovered; finally, in 1472–3, the Equator is crossed, and in 1474–5, Cape St. Catherine (2° south of the Line) is reached. Six years of inactivity follow; but in 1481, on the accession of King John II, the great task is resumed and practically finished. Two daring navigators guide the European vanguard round the southern extremity of Africa; in 1484 Diego Cam (Cão) penetrates to the mouth of the Congo in one voyage, and in a second reaches 21° 50′ S. Lat.; finally, Bartholomew Diaz in 1486–7 [or 1487–8; see E. G. Ravenstein in *Geographical Journal* (London, 1900), xvi. 638–49] rounds the Cape of Good Hope and advances to what is now the Great Fish river, beyond Cape Agulhas, and midway

between the present Port Elizabeth and East London, where Africa clearly begins to trend north-eastwards. At the same time King John dispatches three other expeditions, one of which approaches India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, and enters Abyssinia; while another attempts to penetrate into the heart of Africa by the Senegal, and the third seeks for a North-East passage to Cathay and the Indies. (One doubtful tradition brings a Portuguese to Timbuktu in 1487.) The death of John II causes so long a delay in the completion of the work, whose main difficulties have been already surmounted, that six years before the Portuguese bring their ships to India by the South-Eastern route, the Genoese Christopher Columbus guides Castillian vessels to the 'Indies' by a rival track, due West over the Ocean (1492). Vasco da Gama sails from Lisbon only in 1497, reaches Malabar in 1498, and returns in 1499.

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